

# Armenians and Byzantium

Prepared by Robert G. Bedrosian

---

English translations of some **Byzantine historical sources** are available at Fordham University's *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*:

[Byzantine Sources](#)

[Byzantine Literature](#), at Wikipedia.

The following page, compiled by Roger Pearse, has links to 50 downloadable volumes of the series **Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae**:

[Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae](#)

English translations of some **Armenian historical sources** important for the study of the Byzantine Empire are available at Internet Archive and may be downloaded there:

[Armenian Historical Sources of the 5-15th Centuries](#)

English translations of some **Syriac** sources for the 4th through 13th centuries at Internet Archive:

Extracts from the **Chronicle** of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian]:

[The 4th through 6th Centuries](#)

[The 7th through Mid-9th Centuries](#)

[The 10th-12th Centuries](#)

[The Late 12th Century](#)

[Chronography](#), by Bar Hebraeus (Gregory Abu'l-Faraj).

**Maps** are available at Internet Archive and may be downloaded there:

[Maps of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Neighboring Lands](#)

[Maps of Historical Armenia](#)

---

[Suda On Line](#) is a searchable database for the *Suda*, a 10th-century Byzantine Greek historical encyclopedia of the ancient Mediterranean world derived from earlier works. For advanced search facilities, enter **guest** for the loginid and **sol** for the password.

---

## Cyril Toumanoff

*Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963):

Searchable pdf files

[I. The Social Background of Christian Caucasasia](#)

[II. States and Dynasties of Caucasasia in the Formative Centuries](#)

[III. The Orontids of Armenia](#)

[IV. Iberia \[Georgia\] between Chosroid and Bagratid Rule](#)

[V. The Armeno-Georgian Marchlands](#)

See also: [Studies by Cyril Toumanoff at Internet Archive](#).

## Hagop Manandian

*The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon, 1965):

[Trade and Trade Centres in Armenia in the Roman-Parthian and the Byzantine-Sasanid Periods](#) (Chapter 4).

[The Commercial Importance of Armenia in the Period of the Arab Caliphate and the Bagratid Kingdom](#) (Chapter 5).

[The Trade and Cities of Armenia After the Fall of the Bagratid Kingdom](#) (Chapter 6).

## Nicholas Adontz

[The Reform of Justinian in Armenia](#). These sections from Nicholas Adontz's *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (1908) describe the substance, intent, and effects of the reforms of the Byzantine emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-565) in Armenia. English translation, updated notes and bibliography, and new appendices by Nina G. Garsoian (1970). Included are the Introduction (pages 1-6), Chapter 1 (pages 7-24), Chapters 5-8 (pages 75-164), their Footnotes, Appendices I-V (pages 1\*-246\*), and full Bibliography (247\*-303\*). Chapter 1, The Political Division of Armenia; Chapter 5, Administration: Western Armenia before Justinian; Chapter 6, The Reform of Justinian in Armenia; Chapter 7, The Civilian Reorganization of Armenia; Chapter 8, The Significance of Justinian's Reform in Armenia.

The Russian original of the above translation also is available:

[Армения в эпоху Юстиняна Armeniia v epokhu Iustiniana \[Armenia in the Period of Justinian\]](#) (St. Petersburg, 1908), in 544 pdf pages. Entire book.

[The Role of Armenians in Byzantine Science](#), in 19 searchable pdf pages. This article, translated into English by James Mandalian, appeared in the journal *Armenian Review* 3(1950) pp. 55-73. The work initially was written in 1930. Attached to the document is the Armenian version [Հայ]



գիտական դեմքեր Բյուզանդիայում], extracted from *Works of Nicholas Adontz in Five Volumes* [in Armenian], Volume 5 (Erevan, 2012), pp. 48-80, P. H. Hovhannisyan, editor.

[Basil I, the Armenian](#) This article appeared in the *Armenian Review* 9(1956), in 19 pdf pages.

[Հայ-բյուզանդական ուսումնասիրություններ Hay-byuzandakan usumnasirut'yunner \[Armeno-Byzantine Studies/Études Arméno-Byzantines\]](#), articles by Nicholas Adontz, in 335 pdf pages. This is volume 5 (Erevan, 2012) of Adontz' aforementioned collected works translated into Armenian, P. H. Hovhannisyan, editor.

Extensive additional material: [Writings of Nicholas Adontz](#).

## Hratch Bartikyan

[The Religious Diplomacy of Byzantium in Armenia during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries](#), from *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 55-62, in 9 pdf pages.

[Armenia and Armenians in the Byzantine Epic \[Digenes Akrites\]](#), by Hratch Bartikyan, from *Digenes Akritas, New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Variorum, 1993), pp. 86-92, in 8 pdf pages.

H. M. Bartikyan, [Բյուզանդական «Դիգենիս Ակրիտաս» վիպերգությունը և նրա նշանակությունը հայագիտության համար \[The Byzantine Epic Digenes Akrites and Its Significance for Armenology\]](#), Բարթիկյան, Հ. Մ., Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես 3(1963), pp. 185-194.

Extensive additional material: [Writings of Hratch Bartikyan](#).

---

[The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire](#) (Lisbon, 1963), by Peter Charanis.

[Հայերը Բիւզանդական կայսրութեան մէջ \[The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire\]](#), by Peter Charanis (Vienna, 1966), in 148 pdf pages. This is an Armenian translation of the above work, made by Haig Berberian. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 199.

See also: [Selected Writings of Peter Charanis](#).

[Armenia and Its Relations with the \[Byzantine\] Empire \(520-1120\)](#), and "The Predominance of the Armenian Element," from *The Roman Empire*, by F. W. Bussell (London, 1910), Volume 2, Part 2, pp. 335-483, in 153 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. This is a valuable study based on Western and Armenian sources, with excellent notes. Also available at Internet Archive are Volumes 1 and 2 in full, and other works by this renowned scholar. [Writings of F. W. Bussell](#), at Internet Archive.

[The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia](#) (Lisbon, 1976), by Aram Ter-Ghewondyan.

See also: [Writings of Aram Ter-Ghewondyan](#).

[The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians](#). This material is presented in fifteen very readable lectures delivered by the great historian J. B. Bury. *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians* (London, 1928) contains: 1. The Germans and Their Wanderings; 2. The Roman Empire and the Germans; 3. The Clash of Roman and Barbarian; 4. The Visigothic Entry into the Empire; 5. The Raiding of Italy and Gaul; 6. The Visigoths in Italy and Gaul; 7. Gaul, Spain, and Africa in Transition; 8. A New Menace to the Empire; 9. Attila's Attack on Gaul and Italy; 10. The Decline of Roman Power in the West; 11. The Ostrogothic Conquest of Italy; 12. Visigoths and Franks in Gaul; 13. The Reign of Clovis; 14. The Lombard Invasion of Italy; and 15. The Lombard Law. Includes five beautiful maps.

---

## Searches

### Encyclopaedia Iranica

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)  
[Selected Topics in Medieval Iranian History](#)

### The Ancient World Online

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)  
[Sasanians](#)

### Dumbarton Oaks

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)  
[Armenia/Armenian](#)  
[Georgia/Georgian](#)

### Tertullian

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)

### Internet Archive

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)

### Wikipedia

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)  
[Byzantine Armenia](#)  
[Byzantine Empire Portal](#)

### Google

[Byzantine/Byzantium](#)  
[Byzantine Armenia](#)

# Images

## Google Images

[Byzantine Art](#)  
[Byzantine Architecture](#)

---

**Available at Internet Archive, for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:**

[Constantine's Successors to Jovian, and the Struggle with Persia](#), by Norman H. Baynes, appeared as Chapter 3 in Volume 1 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911). Chapter 3 describes the period from 337 to 364 and includes: Last dispositions of Constantine; the Persian War; Reign of Constans; Revolt of Magnentius; Civil War—Vetranio—Battle of Mursa; Julian's youth and conversion to Paganism; Julian made Caesar—his first campaign in Gaul; Constantius at Rome; Battle of Strassburg; Julian on the Rhine; Constantius on the Danube; Siege of Amida; Julianus Augustus; Negotiations with Constantius; Death and character of Constantius; Julian's reforms; Julian's religious policy; the Persian Expedition; Death of Julian—Election of Jovian; Disgraceful Peace with Persia; Death of Jovian. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 3 (pp. 55-86), Bibliography for Chapter 3 (pp. 630-635), and Chronological Table in 42 pdf pages.

[The Dynasty of Valentinian and Theodosius the Great](#), by Norman H. Baynes, appeared as Chapter 8 in Volume 1 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911). Chapter 8 describes the period from 364 to 395 and includes: Election of Valentinian; Revolt of Procopius; Valentinian in Gaul—Count Theodosius in Britain; Rome and Armenia; Conspiracy of Theodorus; Count Romanus in Africa; Execution of Count Theodosius; Work and character of Valentinian; Gratian Emperor; The Goths—Battle of Hadrianople—Death and character of Valens; Theodosius and the Gothic war; The usurper Maximus; Partition of Armenia; Riot at Antioch; The Fall of Maximus; Ambrose and Theodosius; Revolt of Arbogast—Eugenius; Battle of Frigidus; Death of Theodosius. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 8 (pp. 218-249), Bibliography for Chapter 8 (pp. 649-651), and Chronological Table in 39 pdf pages.

[Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century](#), by Norman H. Baynes, in 20 pdf pages. This classic study appeared on pp. 625-643 of the *English Historical Review* #25(1910). Baynes compares and contrasts information found in the 4th-century Latin historian Ammianus Marcellinus with materials from the 5th-century Armenian historian P'awstos Buzand, whose *History of the Armenians* describes events of the 4th century.

[The Eastern Provinces from Arcadius to Anastasius](#), by the noted Syriac scholar and historian E. W. Brooks, appeared as Chapter 16 in Volume 1 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911). Chapter 16 describes the period from ca. 395 to ca. 518. Topics include: Murder of Rufinus; Fall of Eutropius; Revolt of Gainas; Exile of John Chrysostom; Regency of Pulcheria; Elevation of Valentinian III; Fall of Eudocia; Accession of Marcian—of Leo I; Rise of Zeno—Murder of Aspar; Usurpation of Basiliscus; Gothic Wars; Revolt of Illus; Accession of Anastasius; Isaurian revolt; Invasion of Kawad; Peace with Persia; Financial Administration of Anastasius; Revolt of Vitalianus; and Death of Anastasius. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 16 (pp. 457-486), Bibliography for Chapter 16 (p. 676-680), and Chronological Table, in 40 pdf pages.

[Byzantino-Arabica: The Conference of Ramla, A. D. 524](#), by Irfan Shahid, from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Apr., 1964), pp. 115-131, in 18 pdf pages.

[Justinian's Government in the East](#), by the noted Byzantinist Charles Diehl, appeared as Chapter 2 in Volume 2 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), and describes the reign of Byzantine emperor Justinian (527-565). Topics include: Early life and marriage of Theodora; Her religious policy; The Persian Wars; The Huns; Justinian's fortresses and other buildings; Justinian's diplomacy; Domestic government of the East; Constantinople and its trade; Fiscal oppression; The Church; Dealings with the Monophysites; Pope Vigilius; Last years and results of Justinian's reign. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 2 (pp. 25-52), Bibliography for Chapter 2 (p. 723-725), and Chronological Table, in 40 pdf pages.

[The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE in the Mediterranean Sources](#), by Antti Arjava, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 59 (2005), pp. 73-94, in 23 pdf pages.

[The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies](#), by John L. Teall, from *Speculum*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 294-322, in 30 pdf pages.

[The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice \(582-602\)](#), by Martin J. Higgins. This classic work (a chronology of the period, with a brief history of the Persian calendar) is Reverend Higgins' doctoral dissertation, published by the Catholic University of America Press (Washington, D.C., 1939), in 91 pdf pages.

[International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century](#), by Martin J. Higgins, from *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Oct., 1941), pp. 279-315.

[The Road-System of Eastern Asia Minor with the Evidence of Byzantine Campaigns](#), by J. G. C. Anderson, from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 17 (1897), pp. 22-44, in 30 pdf pages.

[The Successors of Justinian](#), by Norman H. Baynes, appeared as Chapter 9 in Volume 2 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), and describes the period from ca. 565-641. Topics include: Accession and Policy of Justin II; Negotiations with Persia; Avars and Turks; The Persian War; Policy of Tiberius; Tiberius Emperor; Maurice Emperor; Chosroes restored by Maurice; Campaigns on the Danube; Phocas Emperor—Character of Maurice; Persian War; Revolt of Africa—Heraclius Emperor; Persian War—Capture of Jerusalem; The Avar Surprise; Invasion of Persia; Siege of Constantinople; Battle of Nineveh—March on Ctesiphon; Peace with Persia; Character of Heraclius. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 9 (pp. 263-301), Bibliography for Chapter 9 (p. 747-757), and Chronological Table, in 59 pdf pages.

[Byzantium and the Sasanians](#), by Nina G. Garsoian, from *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 3: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid Periods, Part 1 (Cambridge, 1983), chapter 15, pp. 568-592, plus bibliography, pp. 1284-1289, 1316-1322, in 40 pdf pages. Extensive additional material: [Writings of Nina G. Garsoian](#).

[The Successors of Heraclius to 717](#), by E. W. Brooks, appeared as Chapter 13 in Volume 2 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), and describes the period from 641-717. Topics include: Death of Heraclius; Constans Emperor; Constans in Italy; Constantine IV Emperor; Saracen attacks on Constantinople; The Monothelete Controversy—Pope Honorius; Arrest and deposition of Pope Martin; Sixth General Council; Justinian II Emperor; Trullan Council; Leontius Emperor; Tiberius (Apsimar) Emperor; Justinian restored; Philippicus Emperor; Anastasius II Emperor; Theodosius Emperor; Accession of Leo the Isaurian. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 13 (pp. 391-417), Bibliography for Chapter 13 (p. 766-769), and Chronological Table, in 40 pdf pages.

[Leo III and the Isaurian Dynasty \(717-802\)](#), by Charles Diehl, appeared as Chapter 1 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and includes: Character of the Period; Leo III the Isaurian; Repulse of the Arabs from Constantinople; Domestic administration (finances, Codes and the Ecloga); Religion: the cult of images; Edict against images (726); Opposition in East and West; Constantine V Copronymus; The

revolt of Artavasdus; Successes at home and abroad; Reopening of the iconoclastic struggle; Persecution of image-worshippers; Defeat of the monks; Alienation of Italy and the Papacy; Italy lost to the Empire; Leo IV the Chazar [Khazar]; Regency of Irene; Restoration of images; Irene and Constantine VI; Constantine VI sole ruler: intrigues of Irene; Irene reigns as Emperor; Deposition of Irene; Achievements of the Isaurian Emperors. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 1 (pp. 1-26), Bibliography for Chapter 1 (p. 795-797), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table in 43 pdf pages.

*The Later Roman Empire 284-602, a Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, by A.H.M. Jones (Oxford, 1964), in three volumes. This classic work, which is considered one of the best narrative histories of late Rome and early Byzantium, begins with the reign of the Roman tetrarch Diocletian (285-305) and ends with that of the Byzantine emperor Maurice (582-602). The files are searchable, making them particularly useful.

[Volume 1](#), in 522 pdf pages. Contents: 1. The Principate; 2. Diocletian; 3. Constantine; 4. The House of Constantine; 5. From Jovian to Theodosius I; 6. The House of Theodosius; 7. The Eastern Empire from Marcian to Anastasius; 8. The Fall of the Western Empire and the Barbarian Kingdoms; 9. Justin I and Justinian; 10. The Successors of Justinian; 11. Government; 12. Administration; 13. Finance; 14. Justice.

[Volume 2](#), in 1068 pdf pages. Contents: 15. Senators and Honorati; 16. Civil Service; 17. Army; 18. Rome and Constantinople; 19. Cities; 20. The Land; 21. Industry, Trade, Transport; 22. The Church; 23. Religion and Morals; 24. Education and Culture; 25. The Decline of the Empire.

[Volume 3](#), in 448 pdf pages. Contents: Notes and Appendices.

[The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces](#), by A.H.M. Jones (Oxford, 1971), in 607 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. This magnificent achievement originally was published in 1937. The second edition was revised by numerous specialists under Jones' direction. It is a work of major importance for classicists and Byzantinists, and for those interested in the history of the period from the Roman Republic through Late Antiquity. Attached to the document are the book's maps, and also some beautiful color maps from H. Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869). Book's contents: Introduction, Thrace, Asia, Lycia, The Gauls, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia; 6. Bithynia and Pontus; 7. Cappadocia; 8. Cilicia; 9. Mesopotamia and Armenia; 10. Syria; 11. Egypt; 12. Cyrenaica; 13. Cyprus; Notes; Appendices; Bibliography.

J. B. Bury's *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.) in two volumes: [volume 1](#), (London, 1889). [volume 2](#), (London, 1889).

[From Nicephorus I to the Fall of the Phrygian Dynasty](#), by Charles Diehl, appeared as Chapter 2 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and covers the period from 802 to 866. Topics in Chapter 2 include: Nicephorus I; Opposition of the monks; Michael I Rangabe; Leo V the Armenian; Theodore of Studion and the freedom of the Church; Murder of Leo V: accession of Michael the Amorion; Michael's tolerant policy; Theophilus: revival of persecution; Civil wars (802-823); Recognition of the Western Empire (812); Losses to the Arabs and Bulgarians; Struggle with the Caliphs; Internal government of Theophilus; Regency of Theodora; Final restoration of image worship (843); Persecution of the Paulicians; Michael III and Caesar Bardas; Intellectual revival under Bardas; Conversion of Bulgaria to Orthodoxy; External dangers; The Photian schism with Rome; Murder of Bardas and of Michael III. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 2 (pp. 27-48), Bibliography for Chapter 2 (p. 798-800), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table in 40 pdf pages.



J. B. Bury's [A History of the Eastern Roman Empire](#) from the fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867), (London, 1912).

[The Struggle with the Saracens, 717-1057](#). These two articles, which appeared as Chapter 5 (parts A and B) in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), were written by the Syriac scholar E. W. Brooks ("The Struggle with the Saracens, 717-867") and the Byzantinist A. A. Vasiliev ("The Struggle with the Saracens, 867-1057"). These are well-documented, very readable descriptions of four hundred years of warfare and competition between the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate for control of Asia Minor, a struggle which fatally weakened both sides. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 5 (parts A and B, pp. 119-152), Bibliography for Chapter 5 (p. 805-813), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 57 pdf pages.

[The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century](#), by Peter Charanis, from *The First Hundred Years (A History of the Crusades, volume I)* (Madison, 1969), M. W. Baldwin, editor, pp. 177-219, in 43 searchable pdf pages. This is a thorough study of events within Byzantium and on its eastern and western borders which caused the state's rapid disintegration by the late 11th century.

[The \[Byzantine\] Empire and Its Northern Neighbours](#), by Charles Kadlec, appeared as Chapter 7a in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and covers the period from the first through the early eleventh century. Topics include: Scythians and Sarmatians; Alans, Goths, and Huns; Bulgars, Avars, and Turks; The Avars in Europe; Chazars/Khazars and Turks; Growing power of the Khazars; Relations with the Empire; Khazar institutions; Religious tolerance; The Burdas; The White Bulgars; The Magyars; Admixture of Races; Magyar customs; Patzinaks and Magyars; The Magyars migrate to Hungary; Russia: the Varangian theory; The Eastern Slavs; Trade Routes; The volosti; Settlement of the Varangians; Oleg and Igor of Kiev; Trade and Tribute; Beginnings of Christianity in Kiev; Reign of Svyatoslav; Vladimir the Great; Russia accepts Christianity; The Magyars in Hungary; The Magyar raids; The Magyars become a settled people; Christianisation of Hungary; St. Stephen. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 7a (pp. 183-215), Bibliography for Chapter 7a (p. 819-821), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 51 pdf pages.

[The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North](#), by J. B. Bury, appeared as Chapter 13 of his excellent *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912). It examines Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Persian, and Syriac sources on the history of the Turkic Khazar Empire (7-10th centuries). The Khazars, whose leadership converted to Judaism in the 9th century, posed a grave danger at times to Byzantium as well as to the Muslim world. "The Empire of the Khazars and the Peoples of the North" (pages 402-426) treats: 1. The Khazars; 2. The Subjects and Neighbors of the Khazars; 3. The Russians and Their Commerce; 4. Imperial Policy. The Russian Danger; 5. The Magyars. Includes Appendix 12, The Magyars (pp. 489-492), and full Bibliography (pp. 493-510), in 47 pdf pages.

[Muslim Civilisation during the Abbasid Period](#), by Thomas W. Arnold appeared as Chapter 10a in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923) and covers the 8-13th centuries. Topics include: The Abbasid Empire; Character of the Abbasid dynasty; Decline of the Abbasid Caliphate; Ascendancy of the Buwaihids; The Seljuq Empire; The Mongol Conquests; Muslim political theory; Theory of the Caliphate; Organisation of administrative machinery; The postal system; Censorship of morals; judiciary: army; The Turkish guard; Slavery: commerce; Toleration; Religious persecution; Position of Christians; Literature under the Abbasids; Exegesis: law; Dogmatic systems; Mysticism. Historical Literature; Belles lettres; The encyclopaedists and geographers; Philosophy; Medicine; Mathematics and Astronomy. Includes Title Page,

Table of Contents, Chapter 10a (pp. 274-299), Bibliography for Chapter 10a (p. 831-835), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 45 pdf pages.

[The Ottoman Turks to the Fall of Constantinople \[1453\]](#), by Edwin Pears, appeared as Chapter 21 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and covers the 13th-15th centuries. Topics include: Infiltration of Turkish nomads into Asia Minor; Ertughril; Accession of Osman; The Catalan Grand Company; First entry of Turks into Europe, 1308; Progress of Osman; Capture of Brusa; Capture of Nicaea; Capture of Nicomedia; Orkhan styled Sultan; The Janissaries; Organisation of the army; Orkhan in alliance with Cantacuzene; Venetian versus Genoese influence; The Ottomans in Europe; Murad I; European policy of the Ottomans; Defeat of the Serbs on the Maritza, 1371; Subservience of the Empire to Murad; Battle of Kossovo, 1389; Causes of Murad's success; Bayazid the Thunderbolt; Western crusade against the Turks; Victory of Bayazid at Nicopolis, 1396; Boucicaut at Constantinople; The appearance of Timur; His capture of Aleppo and Baghdad; Battle of Angora, 1402; Timur's conquests in Asia Minor; Death of Timur and Bayazid; Civil war among the Ottomans; Mahomet I; Character of his reign; Murad II; Increasing numbers of the Ottomans; European conquests of Murad; Crusade of Vladislav and Hunyadi; Murad's victories at Varna and Kossovo; Accession of Mahomet II; Preparations for the siege of Constantinople; Western assistance for the Emperor; The besieging force; The defences of Constantinople; The dispositions of the besieged; Defeat of Mahomet's Fleet; The Turkish fleet in the Golden Horn; Preparations for a general assault; Commencement of the assault, 29 May 1453; The Janissaries force the stockade; Capture of Constantinople; Character of Mahomet II. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 21 (pp. 653-705), Bibliography for Chapter 21 (pp. 883-889), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 75 pdf pages.

[The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks](#), by Edwin Pears (London, 1903), in 566 pdf pages.

[The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire](#), by Charles Diehl, appeared as Chapter 23 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and covers the period from the 4th through the 15th centuries. Topics in Chapter 23 include: The Basileus; Limitations of imperial authority; The twofold hierarchy of rank and office; The ministers; Institution of the themes; The themes in the 10th century; Officials of the themes; Importance of the bureaucracy; Hellenisation of the Empire; Assistance of the Church; The army; The fleet. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 23 (pp. 726-744), Bibliography for Chapter 23 (p. 894-895), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 35 pdf pages.

[Byzantine Civilization](#), by Charles Diehl, appeared as Chapter 24 in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), and covers the period from the 4th through the 15th centuries. Topics in Chapter 24 include: Splendour of Constantinople; Twofold aspect of Byzantine civilisation; Constantinople's extent and walls; Its plan in the tenth century; The population of Constantinople; Religion; St Sophia; The power of Monasticism; The Sacred Palace; Imperial ceremonial; Court life: intrigues; Part played by women; Luxury of society; The Hippodrome and the factions; The populace; Bazaars and guilds; Commerce; Culture; The University of Constantinople; History; Theology; Poetry; Art; The provinces; The towns; The countryside; Power of the great nobles; The Byzantine character; Oriental, Greek, and Christian influences; Virtues and defects of the Byzantines; The inheritance of Europe from Byzantium; Byzantium and the Renaissance. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 24 (pp. 745-777), Bibliography for Chapter 24 (p. 896-898), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 50 pdf pages.

[Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz](#), by H. Gelzer, from *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 86, H. 2 (1901), pp. 193-252, in 61 pdf pages.

[Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches: von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen](#), by Ernst Honigsmann (Bruxelles, 1935), in 277 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages,

Volume 3 in Alexander A. Vasiliev's series *Byzance et les Arabes*. This remarkable work, based on Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian sources, thoroughly describes what is known about the eastern border between Rome/Byzantium and Persia/Iran, and the border between Byzantium and the Arabs, during the fourth through eleventh centuries.

Writings of the great German Byzantinist, Karl Krumbacher, are available at Internet Archive: [Krumbacher's works](#).

*A History of Byzantine Literature*, by Alexander Kazhdan, in two volumes (Athens, 1999). Volume 1 is in collaboration with Lee E. Sherry, and Christine Angelidi. The posthumous volume two was compiled by Christine Angelidi.

[Volume 1](#) (640-850), in 446 searchable pdf pages: Andrew, metropolitan of Crete (660-740); Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople (715-730); John Damaskenos (675-749); Barlaam and Ioasaph; Kosmas the *melode* (ca. 675-ca. 752); Medieval Constantine-legend; The dark century (ca. 650-ca. 775); The monks and the Arabs: Martyrdom of the Sabaites (BHG 1200); The monks and the icon: The first iconodulic biography (Stephen the younger, BHG 1666); Monastic world chronicle: Theophanes the confessor; Monks and society: Theodore of Stoudios; New Hymnography: Clement and his successors; Semi-secular *Vitae*: the *Vitae* of St. Philaretos the merciful and Antony the Younger; Comic Discourse: Vitae of Leo of Catania and Pankratios of Taormina, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*.

[Volume 2](#) (850-1000), in 365 searchable pdf pages: Photios and the classical heritage; George the Monk: a commonplace *Chronicle*; Eloquence around 900: the "school" of Photios; Niketas-David Paphlagon: reinvention of the pamphlet; The gentle patriarch and the emperor in tears: the *Vita* of the patriarch Euthymios; Provincial *literati* ca. 900; At the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos; Three Constantinopolitan Vitae of the mid-tenth century; Paul of Latras and some other provincial saints; Great reader and collector: Symeon Metaphrastes; John Geometres and "political" poetry; Chivalresque historiography: Leo the Deacon and his contemporaries; "The Patriot" or the revival of Lucian of Samosata; Gabriel: between hymnography and hagiography; Literature of the age of encyclopedism.

[The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature](#), by Romilly J. H. Jenkins, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 17 (1963), pp. 37-52, in 16 pdf pages.

#### **Some Byzantine Prose Writers (Wikipedia):**

[Cosmas Indicopleustes \(c. 520-550\)](#)

[Procopius \(c. 500-570\)](#)

[Agathias \(c. 530-594\)](#)

[Ioannes \(John\) Malalas \(c. 491-578\)](#)

[Ioannes \(John\) Moschos \(550-619\)](#)

[Theophanes the Confessor \(c. 758-818\)](#)

[Photius I \(c. 810-893\)](#)



[Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus \(905-959\)](#)

[Ioannes \(John\) Mauropous \(c. 1000-1060\)](#)

[Michael Psellos \(1018/1019-1096/1097\)](#)

[Kekaumenos \(11th century\)](#)

[Anna Comnena \(1083-1153\)](#)

[Eustathius of Thessalonica \(c. 1115-1195/1196\)](#)

[Michael Choniates \(c. 1140-1220\)](#)

[George Akropolites \(1217/1220-1282\)](#)

[Maximus Planudes \(c. 1260-1305\)](#)

[Theodore Metochites \(c. 1260-1332\)](#)

[Nicephorus Gregoras \(c.1295-1359/60\)](#)

[Manuel II Palaiologos \(1350-1425\)](#)

[Basilios Bessarion \(1403-1472\)](#)

[The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography](#), by Cyril Mango, from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989), pp. 360-372, in 14 pdf pages.

[Selected Writings of E. W. Brooks](#).

## **Norman H. Baynes**

[Byzantium: an Introduction to East Roman Civilization](#), edited by Norman H. Baynes and H. Moss (Oxford, 1948), in 510 pdf pages. Contents: 1. Outline of Byzantine History, H. Moss and Charles Diehl; 2. The Economic Life of the Byzantine Empire, by A. Andreades; 3. Public Finances, by A. Andreades; 4. The Byzantine Church by H. Gregoire; 5. Byzantine Monasticism, by H. Delehaye; 6. Byzantine Art, by Charles Diehl; 7. Byzantine Education, by G. Buckler; 8. Byzantine Literature, by F. H. Marshall; 9. The Greek Language in the Byzantine Period, by R. M. Dawkins; 10. The Emperor and the Imperial Administration, by W. Ensslin; 11. Byzantium and Islam, by A. A. Vasiliev; 12. The Byzantine Inheritance in South-eastern Europe, by W. Miller; 13. Byzantium and the Slavs, by Steven Runciman; 14. The Byzantine Inheritance in Russia, by Baron Meyendorff and Norman H. Baynes.

See also: [Selected Writings of Norman H. Baynes](#).

## Arthur E. R. Boak

[A history of Rome to 565 A. D.](#) (New York, 1922), in 472 pdf pages.

[Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires](#), *Aspects of Roman Law and Administration* (New York, 1919), in 181 pdf pages.

[Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries](#), from *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 30 (1919), pp. 37-47, in 12 pdf pages.

## John Bagnell Bury

[De Administrando Imperio \[On the Governance of the Empire\]](#), in 62 pdf pages. This study appeared in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig, 1906) pp. 517-577. It is a description and analysis of the 10th-century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' manual known as *De Administrando Imperio*. This document was written by the emperor in 948-952 for his son and heir Romanus II, as a guide to foreign and domestic policies. It describes, among many other things, the histories and characters of the nations neighboring the Empire or incorporated into it, including the Kievan Rus', Arabs, Lombards, Armenians, Georgians, Venetians, Magyars, Pechenegs, and Turks.

[The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos](#). This study appeared in the *English Historical Review* 22 (1907) pp. 209-227 and 426-448. It is a description and analysis of the 10th-century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *Book of Ceremonies*. Contents include: 1. General Analysis of the Treatise; 2. The Ecclesiastical Ceremonies of Book I; 3. The Secular Ceremonies of Book I; 4. Conclusions as to the Sources of Book I, in 42 pdf pages.

[The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century](#), with a revised text of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (London, 1911).

See also: [Selected Writings of J. B. Bury](#).

## Francis Dvornik

[The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 7 (1953), pp. 68-97, in 31 pdf pages.

[The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew](#) *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* IV (Washington, 1958), in 351 searchable pdf pages.

[The Significance of the Missions of Cyril and Methodius](#), from *Slavic Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Jun., 1964), pp. 195-211, in 18 pdf pages.

Bibliography available in [Francis Dvornik](#), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 27 (1973), pp. 1-10, in 13 pdf pages.

## Alexander Kazhdan

[Ten Studies](#), by Alexander Kazhdan, in 193 pdf pages.

Contents:

*Армяно-византийские заметки [Armeno-Byzantine Notes]*, Каждан, А. П. Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես, 4(1971) pp. 93-106, in 14 pdf pages.

*The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth Through Twelfth Centuries*, from *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1983), Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, editors, pp. 439-451, in 15 pdf pages.

*Some Little-Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources*, from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students (1983), pp. 344-358, in 16 pdf pages.

*The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (1984), pp. 43-51, in 10 pdf pages.

*Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989), pp. 414-429, in 17 pdf pages.

*Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 131-143, in 14 pdf pages.

*Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art*, by Alexander Kazhdan and Henry Maguire from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 45 (1991), pp. 1-22, in 23 pdf pages.

*State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 47 (1993), pp. 83-100, in 19 pdf pages.

*The Italian and Late Byzantine City*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries (1995), pp. 1-22, in 23 pdf pages.

*Women at Home*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 52 (1998), pp. 1-17, in 18 pdf pages.

## George Ostrogorsky

[Selected Writings of George Ostrogorsky](#), in 157 pdf pages.

Contents:

*The Peasant's Pre-Emption Right: An Abortive Reform of the Macedonian Emperors*, from *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 37, Parts 1 and 2 (1947), pp. 117-126, in 11 pdf pages.

*The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order*, from *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 35, No. 84 (Dec., 1956), pp. 1-14, in 15 pdf pages.

*Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages*, a paper delivered at the Symposium on "Byzantium in the Seventh Century" held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1957, in 22 pdf pages.

*The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 13 (1959), pp. 1-21, in 22 pdf pages.

*Byzantium and the South Slavs*, from *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 42, No. 98 (Dec., 1963), pp. 1-14, in 15 pdf pages.

*Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, from *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* from the Decline of the Roman Empire Volume 1: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, M. M. Postan, editor (Cambridge, 1966), Chapter V, pp. 205-234 and chapter bibliography, in 38 pdf pages.

*Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 25 (1971), pp. 1-32, in 33 pdf pages.

## Ihor Ševčenko

[Five Studies on Byzantium](#), by Ihor Ševčenko, in 139 pdf pages.

Contents:

*The Decline of Byzantium Seen Through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 15 (1961), pp. 167-186, in 21 pdf pages.

*The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)*, by Philip Grierson, Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 16 (1962), pp. 1-63, in 63 pdf pages.

*Byzantium and the Slavs*, from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3/4 (December 1984), pp. 289-303, in 16 pdf pages.

*Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium*, from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989), pp. 7-27, in 22 pdf pages.

*The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800*, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 46, *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* (1992), pp. 279-293, in 16 pdf pages.

## Alexander A. Vasiliev

[The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond \(1204-1222\)](#), from *Speculum*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Jan., 1936), pp. 3-37, in 36 pdf pages.

[The Goths in the Crimea](#) (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), in 304 pdf pages. *Mediaeval Academy of America*, No. 11.

[Justin the First](#), *An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), in 453 pdf pages. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, No. 1.

[Notes on Some Episodes concerning the Relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the Fourth to the Sixth Century](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 9/10 (1956), pp. 306-316, in 12 pdf pages.

[The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A. D. 721](#), from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 9/10 (1956), pp. 23-47, in 26 pdf pages.

*Византия и Арабы [Byzantium and the Arabs]*, in two volumes, volume 1 (Petersburg, 1900) Relations during the Amorian dynasty; and volume 2 (Petersburg, 1902) Relations during the Macedonian dynasty (867-959):

Both volumes also are available for reading online, at [vostlit.info](http://vostlit.info): [Византия и Арабы](#).

Bibliography available in [Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev \(1867-1953\)](#), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 9/10 (1956), pp. 1-21, in 22 pdf pages.

---

## Trade, Economic Life

[Byzantine Economy](#), at Wikipedia.

*Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, by W. Heyd, in two volumes: [volume 1](#) (Leipzig, 1885), in 594 pdf pages. [volume 2](#) (Leipzig, 1886), in 820 pdf pages.

[Byzantine and Sasanian Trade Relations with Northeastern Russia](#), by Richard N. Frye, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 26 (1972), pp. 263-269, in 8 pdf pages.

[The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas \(1059\)](#), by Speros Vryonis, Jr., from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 11 (1957), pp. 263-277, in 16 pdf pages.

[Byzantine  \$\Delta\$  and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century](#), by Speros Vryonis, Jr., from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 17 (1963), pp. 288-314, in 28 pdf pages.

[Some Byzantine Accounting Practices Illustrated from Georgian Sources](#), by Robert P. Blake, from *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 51, In Honor of William Scott Ferguson (1940), pp. 11-33, in 24 pdf pages.

[The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries](#), by Charles M. Brand, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 43 (1989), pp. 1-25, in 26 pdf pages.

[Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor](#), by Clive Foss, from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 56 (2002), pp. 129-151, in 24 pdf pages.

---

The French journal *Revue des études byzantines* is now Open Access. The following page of downloadable volumes was prepared by Charles Jones.

[Revue des études byzantines](#)

---

# Armeniaca

[La Narratio de rebus Armeniae \[The History of Armenian Matters\]](#), by Gerard Garitte (Louvain, 1952), in 524 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. This is Garitte's critical edition and study of a Greek text which was written around 700 and describes Armenian Church history from the Council of Nicaea in 325 until about 700, from the standpoint of an Armenian Chalcedonian. Originally written in Armenian, the text has survived only in a Greek translation. Attached to the document are: Hratch Bartikyan's Modern Armenian translation of the Greek original, and an English translation made from Bartikyan's translation by Robert Bedrosian.

Five volumes from the important series *Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին* *O'tar aghbyurnere" Hayastani ev hayeri masin* [Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians] contain modern Armenian translations of Byzantine sources, together with invaluable introductory studies and scholarly notes. All five volumes are the work of the great Byzantinist Hratch Bartikyan. Available at Internet Archive for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:

[Դրոկոպիոս Կեսարացի Prokopios Kesarats'i \[Procopius of Caesarea\]](#) (Erevan, 1967), in 384 pdf pages.

[Կոստանդին Ծիրանածին Kostandin Tsiranatsin \[Constantine Porphyrogenitus\]](#) (Erevan, 1970), in 444 pdf pages.

[Հովհաննես Սկիլիցեա Hovhannes Skilit'sea \[John Skylitzes\]](#) (Erevan, 1979), in 525 pdf pages.

[Թեոփանես Խոստովանող T'eop'anes Xostovanogh \[Theophanes Confessor\]](#) (Erevan, 1983), in 415 pdf pages.

[Թեոփանեսի Շարունակող T'eop'anesi Sharunakogh \[Theophanes Continuator\]](#) (Erevan, 1990), in 438 pdf pages.

Two volumes from the above series contain modern Armenian translations of relevant passages from Syriac sources, together with invaluable introductory studies and scholarly notes.

[Ասորական աղբյուրներ Asorakan aghbyurner \[Syriac Sources\] I](#) (Erevan, 1976), in 479 pdf pages. Translation, study, and notes by H. G. Melkonyan. Translated selections from the sixth-century historians Mshikha Zekha, Joshua the Stylite, Zakaria Rhetor, and John of Ephesus.

[Ասորական աղբյուրներ Asorakan aghbyurner \[Syriac Sources\] II. Անանուն Եդեսացի Ժամանակագրություն Ananun Edesats'i zhamanakagrut'yun \[Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan\]](#) (Erevan, 1982), in 269 pdf pages. This is a 13th-century chronicle containing important information on the Saljuq domination, the Crusades, the Armenian principalities of Northern Syria, and other topics. Translation, study, and notes by L. H. Ter-Petrosyan.

[Recueil des historiens des croisades, documents arméniens tome premier](#) (Paris, 1869), French translations of Armenian histories and chronicles relating to the Crusades, preceded by an extensive study of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia, in 992 pdf pages. Matthieu d'Édesse, Grégoire le Prêtre, Basil, Nersés Schnorhali, Grégoire Dgh, Michel le Syrien (extrait), Guiragos de Kantzag (extrait), Vartan le Grand (extrait), Samuel d'Ani (extrait),

Héthoum, Vahram d'Edesse, Héthoum II, Nersés de Lampron, le Connétable Sempad, Mardiros de Crimée, Mèkhitar de Daschir.

[Recueil des historiens des croisades, documents arméniens tome second](#) (Paris, 1906), French and Latin documents relating to Cilician Armenia, in 1310 pdf pages. Jean Dardel, Hayton (*La Flor...*), Haytonus, Brocardus, Guillelmus Adae, Daniel de Thaurisio, Les Gestes des Chiprois.

---

[L'architecture arménienne aux VIe et VIIe siècles](#), by Charles Diehl. This article appeared in *Revue des études arméniennes* 1(1921) pp. 221-231. 13 pdf pages.

[Three Lectures on Armenian Art](#). Three chapters from **Armenia and the Byzantine Empire** (Cambridge, MA., 1945), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, dealing with art and architecture.

[Anazarbus](#), by Michael Gough, from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 2 (1952), pp. 85-150, in 71 searchable pdf pages. Geographical and historical study of a city in Cilicia, including Latin and Greek inscriptions, descriptions of Armenian architectural monuments, drawings, floor plans, and rare photographs.

Available for reading online at the website of OpenEdition books is *L'Arménie et Byzance* (Paris, 1996) from the series *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, pp. 191-201: [Les influences byzantines sur l'art arménien \(étude critique\)](#), by Michel Thierry.

---

Karl Güterbock, [Römisch-Armenien und die Römischen Satrapieen](#) im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert (Königsberg, 1900).

Armenian translation of the above, Karl Güterbock's [Հռոմէական հայաստան եւ հռոմէական սատրապութիւնները դ-գ դարերուն](#) Hr'ovme'akan hayastan ew hr'ovme'akan satraput'iwnnere" d-z darerun [*Byzantine Armenia and the Byzantine Satrapies in the 4th-6th centuries*] (Vienna, 1914). *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 74.

Karl Güterbock, [Byzanz und Persien in ihren diplomatisch-völkerrechtlichen beziehungen im zeitalter Justinians](#) (Berlin, 1906).

Armenian translation of the above, Karl Güterbock's [Բիւզանդիոն եւ Պարսկաստան եւ անոնց դիւանագիտական եւ ազգային-իրաւական յարաբերութիւնները Յուստինիանու ժամանակ](#) Biwzandion ew Parskaskan ew anonts' diwanagitakan ew azgayin-irawakan yaraberut'iwnnere" Yustinianu zhamanak [*Byzantium and Persia and Their Diplomatic and National-Juridical Relations in the Time of Justinian*] *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 62 (Vienna, 1911). Unfortunately, the title page is mangled, and pages 68-69 are missing.

H. Gelzer, [Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung](#) (Leipzig, 1899).

Armenian translation of the above, H. Gelzer's [Սկզբնաւորութիւնք բիւզանդեան բանակաթմերու դրութեան](#) Skzbnaworut'iwnk' biwzandean banakat'emery drut'ean [*Beginnings of the Byzantine Military Theme System*] *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 44 (Vienna, 1903).



H. Gelzer, [Համառոտութիւն Բիւզանդական կայսրների պատմութեան Hamar'o'tut'iwn Biwzandakan kaysrneri patmut'ean](#) [[Concise History of the Byzantine Emperors](#)] (Vagharshapat, 1901), 526 pdf pages.

V. Chapot, [La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe](#) (Paris, 1907). A detailed study of the historical geography and ethnography of western historical Armenia from Roman times through the 7th century A.D.

Armenian translation of the above: [Եփրատի սահմանագլուխը Պոմպէոսի ժամանակէն մինչեւ Արաբացոյց աշխարհակալութիւնը Ep'rati sahmanagluxe" Pombe'osi zhamanake'n minch'ew Arabats'wots' ashxarhakalut'iwne"](#) [[The Euphratean Frontier from the Time of Pompey until the Arab Conquest](#)], by V. Chapot, translated by Y. Tashean (Vienna, 1960), in 802 pdf pages. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 189.

Jacobus Dashian/Yakovbos Tashean, [Հին Հայաստանի արեւմտեան սահմանը Փոքր-Հայք եւ Կողոփենէ \(Սեբաստիա\) Hin Hayastani arewmtean sahmane" P'ok'r-Hayk' ew Koghop'ene' \(Sebastia\)](#) [[Ancient Armenia's Western Border: Armenia Minor and Colophene \(Sebastia\)](#)] (Vienna, 1948). This important work by the great Tashean was written in 1910 and published posthumously. Contents: Armenian traditions about the western border; the Armenian element to the west of the Euphrates, Armenia Minor; a new conception of Armenia Minor; proto-Armenia according to latest research; Cappadocia from the ethnographic standpoint; a look at the history of Armenia, 800 B.C. through 1400 A.D. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 156, in 506 pdf pages.

J. Laurent, [L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 836](#) (Paris, 1919), in 471 searchable pdf pages.

**Arminiya**, entry from *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden, 1986, repr.) volume 1, pp. 634-650, in 20 pdf pages with a map. Authors include M. Canard, Cl. Cahen, and J. Deny. [Arminiya](#).

[The Historical Geography of the Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies](#), by George Huxley, from *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1983), T. Samuelian and M. Stone, editors, pp. 81-95, in 15 pdf pages.

[Die Paulikianer im Byzantinischen Kaiserreiche](#), by Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian (Leipzig, 1893), in 186 pdf pages.

[Armenian Paulicianism and the Key of Truth](#), by Leon Arpee, in 21 pdf pages. This study, which appeared in the *American Journal of Theology* 10 (1906) pp. 267-285, is an analysis of information found in Greek and Armenian historical and ecclesiastical sources about the Paulicians, dissident iconoclastic Christians of Western Armenia. Hated and persecuted by both the Greek and Armenian Church establishments and savaged by the Byzantine military, the Paulicians in the 9th century made common cause with the Muslims. They were a power to be reckoned with, doctrinally and militarily, and were never destroyed as an ideological current. Mystical Sufism and extremist (*ghulat*) Shiism were to develop and thrive in the same geographical area once controlled by the Paulicians. Deported to the Balkans, some Paulicians founded kindred movements such as the Bogomils, and may have had an influence on the development of Protestantism in Europe. The *Key of Truth*, the Paulicians' only surviving work of doctrine, is examined in detail.

[The Key of Truth](#), a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. Introduction, English translation, Armenian text, and scholarly notes by Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (London, 1898), in 412 pdf pages.

Extensive additional material: [Writings of Nina G. Garsoïan](#).



Sirarpie Der Nersessian, [Image Worship in Armenia and Its Opponents](#). This article deals with the history of iconoclasm in Armenia from earliest Christian times through the Middle Ages. It originally appeared in the journal *Armenian Quarterly* (1946).

[Selections from De Administrando Imperio](#), by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (944-959) concerning Armenians and Iberians/Georgians. Greek text and English translation of chapters 43-46, edited and translated by Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, 1993; repr. of 1967 edition), in 45 pdf pages.

J. Laurent, [Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081](#) (Paris, 1913), in 136 pdf pages.

J. Laurent, [Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarète](#). This article appeared in *Revue des études arméniennes* 9(1929) pp. 61-72, in 12 pdf pages.

V. A. Arutyunova, [Из истории северо-восточных пограничных областей византийской империи в XI веке \[From the History of the Northeastern Border Areas of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th Century\]](#), from *Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]*, 1(1972), pp. 91-102, in 12 pdf pages.

V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, [«Իբեր» տերմինը XI դարի բյուզանդական աղբյուրներում \[The Term "Iber" in 11th Century Byzantine Sources\]](#), from *Banber Matenadarani*, volume 11 (1973), pp. 46-67, in 22 pdf pages.

V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, [Армянские средневековые историки об экспансии Византийской империи на Восток в X-XI вв. \[Medieval Armenian Sources on the Expansion of the Byzantine Empire in the East in the 10th-11th Centuries\]](#), from *Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]*, 2(1978), pp. 191-206, in 16 pdf pages.

V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, [Образ Византии в армянской историографии X века \[The Image of Byzantium in Armenian Historiography of the 10th Century\]](#), from *Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]*, 1(1992), pp. 42-56, in 15 pdf pages.

Arshak Ter-Mikelian [Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen](#) (vom IV. bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert) (Leipzig, 1892).

Armenian translation of the above, Arshak Ter-Mikelian [Հայաստանեայց եկեղեցին եւ քիւզանդեան ժողովոց պարագայք Hayastaneayts' ekeghets'in ew biwzandean zhoghovots' paragayk' \[The Armenian Church and the Byzantine Councils\]](#) (Moscow, 1892).

K. Ter-Sahakean, [Հայ կայսերք քիւզանդիոնի Hay kayserk' biwzandioni \[Armenian Emperors of Byzantium\]](#), both volumes (Venice, 1905), in 1012 pdf pages.

Zareh N. Pe'rpe'rean, [Քիւզանդական հայ կայսրեր եւ կայսրուհիներ 583-830 թուականին Biwzandakan hay kaysrer ew kaysruhin 583-830 t'ukanin \[Byzantine Armenian Emperors and Empresses 583-830\]](#), (Constantinople, 1909), in 68 pdf pages with 19 illustrations. Some duplicate pages.

[Legends about Constantine in Armenian](#), by Michael/Michel van Esbroeck, from *Classical Armenian Culture*, edited by Thomas J. Samuelian (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 79-101, in 24 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. The article examines legends about the first Christian emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Constantine the First (305-337).

[Ավանդություններ Բյուզանդիայի կայսրեր Մորիկի և Կոստանդին V-ի մասին](#) *Avandut'yunner Byzandiayi kaysrer Moriki ev Kostandin V-i masin* [[Traditions about the Byzantine Emperors Maurice and Constantine V](#)], by Nicholas Adontz, in 19 bookmarked pdf pages. This article originally was written in 1932 and published several times in French. It examines material from Armenian and Greek sources about Maurice (582-602) and Constantine the Fifth (740-775).

[Կիլիկիայի հայկական պետությունը](#) *Kilikiayi haykakan petut'yune*" [[The Armenian State of Cilicia](#)], chapters 40-46 from volume 3 of *Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն* *Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun* [*History of the Armenian People*] (Erevan, 1976), in 139 pdf pages, by M. K. Zulalyan, S. V. Bornazyan, and Kh. A. Musheghyan.

[Հայ մշակույթը XII-XIV դարերում](#) *Hay mshakuyt'e" XII-XIV darerum* [[Armenian Culture in the 12th-14th Centuries](#)], chapters 47-54 from volume 3 of *Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն* *Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun* [*History of the Armenian People*] (Erevan, 1976), in 326 pdf pages. Multiple authors.

[Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480](#), *A Source for Middle Eastern History*, by Avedis K. Sanjian (Cambridge, MA., 1969), in 470 searchable pdf pages. Colophons are additions to the ends of manuscripts, made by their copyist(s). Some contain invaluable information on local and regional events. Sanjian's translations are selections from the magisterial publications of Levon Khachikyan, and are accompanied by extensive glossaries.

[The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia](#), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, from *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1962), K. M. Setton, Editor-in-Chief, vol. II. Chapter XVIII. I, pp. 630-659, in 30 searchable pdf pages. Written by the great 20th-century Armenist and art historian, Dr. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, this is a concise, scholarly survey of the Cilician Armenian kingdom's political, military, and cultural history to the early 14th century.

See also: [Writings of Sirarpie Der Nersessian](#).

[The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades](#), by R.J.H. Jenkins (London, 1953), in 23 searchable pdf pages. This is the text of a thought-provoking lecture delivered by Romilly Jenkins, the acclaimed historian and Greek specialist. It describes how a variety of problems in the Byzantine empire caused it to decline quickly after the battle of Manzikert (1072). These problems included the destructive struggle between the bureaucracy and the landed military nobility, the impoverishment of the peasant-soldiers, and the neglect of the army. In addition, the Empire experienced an exhaustion resulting from the drain on resources produced by almost continuous warfare over several centuries.

[The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources](#), by Matti Moosa, from *The Muslim World* Vol. 93 (April, 2003), pp. 249-289.

See also: [Writings of Matti Moosa](#), at Internet Archive.

[Aims of the Medieval Crusades and How They Were Viewed by Byzantium](#), by Peter Charanis, from *Church History*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Jun., 1952), pp. 123-134, in 13 pdf pages. The great Byzantinist examines the activities and personalities of the Vatican, European monarchies, the Byzantine Empire, the Saljuqs and their successors in the 11th-12th centuries.

[Eleven Studies of the Middle Ages](#), by Robert Lee Wolff, in 356 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. The author was a professor of History at Harvard, with a particular interest in Latin secular and clerical rule over Constantinople. Wolff published the eleven articles in this download in a variety of journals between the years 1937 and 1959.

\*

[Շնորհալի եւ պարագայ իւր Shnorhali ew paragay iwr \[Shnorhali and His Times\]](#) (Venice, 1873). A detailed study of the life, times, and works of Saint Nerses Shnorhali ("The Gracious" or "The Graceful") (1098-1173), *kat'oghikos* of the Armenian Church (1166-1173), poet, theologian, and philologist, in 641 pdf pages.

[Սիսուան: համագրութիւն Հայկական Կիլիկիոյ եւ Լեւոն Մեծագործ Sisuan: hamagrut'iwn Haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Metsagorts \[Sisuan: a Study of Armenian Cilicia and Levon the Magnificent\]](#) (Venice, 1885), in 674 pdf pages. Historico-philological study of Cilicia including natural resources, folklore, flora and fauna.

[Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie](#) (Venice, 1888), in 428 pdf pages.

---

The important work *L'Arménie et Byzance* (Paris, 1996) from the series *Byzantina Sorbonensia* is now Open Access. Individual articles from it, written by renowned specialists, may be read online at the website of OpenEdition books: [Table des matières](#).

---

# Folklore and Mythology

Wikipedia entry: [Physiologus](#). *Physiologus* is the name given to a bestiary dated between the second and fourth centuries and containing tales of real and fantastic animals, usually with a Christian moral attached. The tales are attributed to a variety of Fathers including Epiphanius, Basil, and St. Peter of Alexandria.

[Physiologus for Grownups](#), *Tales from a Medieval Bestiary with Moral Guidance Removed*, in 17 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. English translation by Robert Bedrosian.

[Physiologus](#), from the series *Spicilegium Solesmense* prepared by Jean-Baptiste Pitra (Paris, 1855), in 740 pdf pages. Greek, Latin, and Classical Armenian texts of the tales of Physiologus.

Ch. Cahier's study and French translation of the Armenian text with scholarly notes is available on pp. 106-164 of the series *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie d'histoire et de littérature sur le moyen âge* (Paris, 1874). Download is the entire volume: [Physiologus](#), in 382 pdf pages.

[The Greek Romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius](#) (London, 1855), translated from Greek with notes by the Rev. Rowland Smith, in 546 pdf pages. Byzantine secular tales from the 2nd-5th centuries.

[Byzantine Satire](#), by Henry F. Tozer, in 39 pdf pages. From *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1881), pp. 233-270.

[Digenes Akrites](#) (Oxford, 1970; repr. of 1956 edition), John Mavrogordato, editor. Greek text, English translation, and extensive introductory study of a fascinating 10th-century Byzantine epic, in 353 searchable pdf pages.

Also available:

[Les exploits de Digénis Akritas](#), épopée byzantine du dixième siècle (Paris, 1875), in 455 pdf pages. Greek text with French translation and notes by C. Sathas and E. Legrand.

[Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa](#), by Steven Runciman, from *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1931), pp. 238-252, in 16 pdf pages.

[The History of the Image of Edessa](#): The Telling of a Story, by Averil Cameron, in 16 pdf pages. From *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students (1983), pp. 80-94.

---

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

---

[Medieval Armenian Kingdoms and Communities at Internet Archive](#)  
[Other Armenian Resource Guides at Internet Archive](#)

# Roger Pearse

Thoughts on Antiquity, Patristics, Information Access, and More

## Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae

Posted on [April 16, 2009](#) by [Roger Pearse](#)

This collection of 50 volumes contains the Byzantine historical writers. Thanks to Google books these are online, and thanks to [Les Cigales éloquentes](#) we can access them. The editions are not always reliable; but they are sometimes all we have.

This list is copied from there:

Authors	Links
Agathias	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Dexippus, Eunapius, Petrus Patricius, Priscus, Malchus, Menander, Olympiodoros, Candide, Nonnos, Théophanee, also the panegyrics of Procopius and Priscianus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Ducae, Michaelis Ducae nepotis	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Ioannis Cinnamus, Nicephore Bryennos	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Ioannis Malalas	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Leo Diaconus and various texts on the "Histories" of Nicephorus Phocas and Iannes Tsimiscis	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Nicetas Choniates	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Theophylactus Simocatta, Genesisius	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Michael Glycas	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Merobaudes et Corippus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Constantinus Manasses, Ioel, Georgius Acropolita	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Zosimus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Ioannis Lydus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Paulus Silentiarus, Georgius Pisida, Nicephore Constantinopolitanus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>
Theophanus Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus	<a href="#">One volume only</a>

Georgius Cedrenus	Volume one Volume two
Georgius Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes	One volume only
Codinus Curopalates	One volume only
Ephraemius	One volume only
Leo Grammaticus , Eusthatios	One volume only
Laonicus Chalcocondylas	One volume only
Georgius Codinus	One volume only
Historia politica et patriarchica constantinopoleos, Epirotica	One volume only
Michael Attaliota	One volume only
Constantin Porphyrogenete	Volume one Volume two Volume three
Theophanis (with the Ecclesiastical History of Anasatasius Bibliothecarius in volume 2)	Volume one Volume two
Georgius Syncellus	Volume one Volume two
Anne Comnene	Volume one Volume two
Jean Cantacuzene	Volume one Volume two Volume three
Chronicon Pascale	Volume one Volume two
Georgius Pachymeres	Volume one Volume two
Nicephorus Gregoras	Volume one Volume two Volume three
Procopius	Volume one Volume two Volume three
Zonaras	Volume one Volume two Volume three

All of these are in Google books, apart from volume 3 of Zonaras which is at Archive.org



---

Byzantino-Arabica: The Conference of Ramla, A. D. 524

Author(s): Irfan Shahîd

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Apr., 1964), pp. 115-131

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/543677>

Accessed: 31/03/2013 00:12

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*The University of Chicago Press* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

## BYZANTINO-ARABICA: THE CONFERENCE OF RAMLA, A.D. 524

IRFAN SHAHÎD (KAWAR), *Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.*

THE Conference of Ramla is, undoubtedly, the most important episode in the diplomatic annals of Arab-Byzantine relations before the rise of Islam. In A.D. 523, Justin I (A.D. 518–527) sent Abraham, son of Euphrasius, his specialist on Arabian affairs, to negotiate a peace with the Lakhmid King, Mundhir, who had successfully campaigned against Byzantium and had even captured the two Roman dukes, Timostratus, son of Silvanus, and John, son of Lucas. The diplomatic mission was successful, and a peace treaty was concluded in February A.D. 524 at Ramla, a locality to the south-east of Hira. In addition to the liberation of the two dukes for a very high ransom, Abraham interceded effectively on behalf of the Diophysites as well as of the Monophysites who were living in Mundhir's jurisdiction. These successes alone would have given Abraham's mission a respectable place in the history of Byzantine-Lakhmid relations; but a new and unexpected development gave that mission a wider significance. During the Conference, an envoy arrived from South Arabia dispatched by the newly established Jewish ruler Masrûq, announcing the massacre of the Christians of Najrân and asking Mundhir and the Persian king to do likewise to the Christian communities in their realms. The arrival of the South Arabian envoy obscured the Byzantine-Lakhmid phase of the Conference and opened a new phase which involved Byzantium in the world of the Red Sea, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Ethiopic-

Himyaritic conflict. This involvement culminated in the contribution of a fleet which transported the Ethiopic expeditionary force across the Red Sea. South Arabia fell and was converted into an Ethiopic dependency, a fact which was to have far-reaching consequences on the history of the Arabs and Arab-Byzantine relations.

### I

The material for reconstructing the history of this diplomatic transaction is scattered in secular and ecclesiastical sources of various orders. The secular sources, Procopius and Nonnosus, inform briefly on the main objective of the diplomatic mission, the liberation of the two dukes. It is the ecclesiastical sources, however, notably the *Martyrium Arethae* and the *Letter* of Simeon of Beth Arsham, which supply the most detailed and valuable information and complement the accounts of the secular sources on religious and ecclesiastical matters in which Byzantium, Iran, and the Lakhmids, are involved.<sup>1</sup> Of these two ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> For the *Martyrium* in its various versions, see A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, (Lund, 1924), p. xxiv, n. 1. Of these the best is the Greek version. The text was first edited by J. Fr. Boissonade in *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1833; photocopy reprint, Hildesheim, 1962), V, 1–62; later in 1869 E. Carpentier published the Greek version again with a Latin translation and a commentary in *Acta Sanctorum*, X, October, 721–59, which will be referred to as ASS. On his manuscript see ASS, p. 721. The Metaphrastic version is included in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXV (2), cols. 1249–90, accompanied by a Latin version. The Arabic text of the *Martyrium* has not yet been published, for which see Moberg, *Book*, p. xxiv, n. 1, I, d. The Karshûni manuscript referred to in Moberg's note



sources, the *Martyrium* reflects most adequately the Byzantine profile of Abraham's mission, but its accounts need and deserve much examination and clarification. It has preserved a long list of the names of the participants at the Conference of Ramla. This list is the key to understanding the complex character of the Conference: the various groups who participated, and the various issues involved which bore on the religious, economic, and political aspects of Near Eastern history and the history of Arab-Byzantine relations. But it is only after the identification and classification of these names have been attempted that the issues involved can be clarified.<sup>2</sup>

---

is being prepared for publication by the present writer. The best text of the *Letter* of Simeon of Beth Arsham is Guidi's accompanied by an Italian translation: I. Guidi, "La Lettera di Simeone vescovo di Beth-Arsham sopra i martiri omeriti," in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, VII (Rome, 1881), 471-515. More accessible is an English translation by the late Professor Arthur Jeffery in *The Muslim World*, XXXVI (1946), 204-16, which will be referred to in this article as Jeffery, *Letter*. For various editions of this letter see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, pp. 24 ff. References to the embassy are also to be found in three other works: Agapius of Manbij, *Kutāb al-'Unwān*; Bar-Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. A. Šālḥānī (Beirut, 1890), p. 148; Histoire Nestorienne (*Chronique de Séert*), trans. Addāi Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 144. For Nonnosus see Müller, *FHG*, IV, 179; for Procopius see *History*, I. xvii. 44; neither gives a date for the embassy of Abraham which is accurately given in the *Letter* of Simeon.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. Vasilev was the first to tell the story of the Conference of Ramla at length; see *Justin the First*, "Dumbarton Oaks Studies," I (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 278-83, and its useful bibliography on problems related to the Conference. But the problems which the accounts of this Conference inevitably raise are not adequately discussed or brought out, and some of his identifications and interpretations cannot be accepted. See also brief notices of the Conference in the standard works of J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 324, of E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-empire*, p. 266, and a more detailed notice in the recent work of B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, (Berlin, 1960), pp. 272-73, 310-11, which has a valuable bibliography on pre-Islamic Arabia. For Mundhir and the history of the Lakhmids, the standard work is still G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin, 1899); the Conference of Ramla is briefly noticed on pp. 79-80.

### The List

The *Martyrium* mentions the names of seven personages who were present at Ramla, to whom may be added the name of Sergius mentioned in the *Letter*.<sup>3</sup> Thus the full list comprises eight participants: (1) Abraham, (2) Sergius, (3) Simeon of Beth Arsham, (4) John Mandinos, (5) Isaac, (6) Shilas, (7) Aggaios, and (8) the Son of Job.

(1) Abraham: the principal Byzantine representative.<sup>4</sup>

(2) Sergius: mentioned once in the *Letter*. He is accurately described as the bishop of Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis), who accompanied Abraham on his peace mission.

(3) Simeon, of Beth-Arsham: the well-known Monophysite figure in Persia, and the representative of the Monophysites at the conference.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For these names, see Boissonade, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40; for Sergius, see Guidi, *La lettera*, p. 487.

<sup>4</sup> Vasilev seems to question the fact that he was a presbyter and tries to account for it; but diplomats were chosen sometimes from Christian ecclesiastics for whom the Arabs had great reverence; for another ecclesiastic-diplomat, who was sent to Mundhir, see Malalas, *Chronographia* (Bonn), pp. 466-67. Abraham's father and son were both diplomats in the service of Byzantium. The *Letter* gives his father's name in Syriac as part of his patronymic, and it may be transliterated "Euphrasius"; see Guidi, *La lettera*, p. 487; Rubin prefers "Euporos," see *ZJ*, pp. 310-11. "Eugenius" is a *lapsus calami* for "Euphrasius" in "Ghassan and Byzantium, a new terminus a quo," *Der Islam*, XXXIII, Heft, 3, p. 237, n. 18. His son was Nonnosus, well known through his book which was abstracted by Photius, for which see "Byzantium and Kinda," *BZ* (1960), pp. 57-73. The name Nonnosus is undoubtedly Semitic; it is in all probability the Syriac name *Nūnā*, "fish," a common Christian name, to which is added the Syriac diminutive ending "*āsā*." There can be no doubt that the three spoke Arabic and were Semites; whether they were "Saracens" is hard to say; cp. Bury, *LRE*, II, 326, n. 2; Vasilev, *Justin*, p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> The writer of the famous *Letter*; for his *vita* see *Patrologia Orientalis*, XVII, 137-58. Strangely enough, Bury (p. 324) considers him the ambassador whom Justin dispatched to negotiate peace with Mundhir; Stein also misconceived the position of Simeon in the Conference and his relation to Abraham and Mundhir: Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Vasilev includes in his list of participants at Ramla two Simeons, the famous Monophysite figure and another one whom he describes as "the priest (presbyter) and apokrisiarius, that is ambassador, Simeon, for the orthodox Christians in Persia": Vasilev, *Justin*, p. 280; it is possible that there were two Simeons, but it is unlikely.

(4) Isaac: the Metaphrastic version gives him great prominence in that it limits the participants at the conference to three: Abraham, Shilas, and Isaac. He is described as a presbyter and the *apokrisiarios* of the Orthodox Christians in Persia: he is closely associated with Abraham in all the versions of the *Martyrium*, which clearly indicates that by "Orthodox" the martyrologist means "Diophysite."<sup>6</sup>

(5) John Mandinos: this cognomen argues for a Mandaean background. He is a subdeacon and so he must have accompanied one of the ecclesiastical superiors at the conference. From his association with Isaac it could be inferred that he was a Diophysite in Isaac's party rather than a Monophysite in Simeon's.<sup>7</sup>

(6) Shilas: a well-known figure, the Nestorian Catholicus in Persia.<sup>8</sup>

The Greek text of the *Martyrium* on which Vasiliev's statement is based may have inadvertently substituted Simeon for Isaac, the representative of the Orthodox in Persia (see notes 6 and 7); alternatively, the Martyrologist compiling from Syriac sources may not have realized that the Monophysite writer would have referred to Simeon as "orthodox," since the Monophysites considered themselves, not the Chalcedonians, as the orthodox; hence the confusion in the Greek text of the *Martyrium*.

<sup>6</sup> Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 40; the Metaphrastic version describes him most adequately: *πρεσβύτερος καὶ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι χριστιανῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἀποκρισιάριος*, Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 1; see also *PG*, col. 1277; on *apokrisiarios* (legate) see O. Braun, *ZDMG* (1900), p. 381. The Metaphrastic version indicates that Isaac was dispatched to the conference by the Persian king; this is possible as the Persian king at this period was courting the friendship of Chalcedonian Justin and so he could very well have sent as his representative an ecclesiastic who was of the same doctrinal persuasion as Justin's envoy, Abraham. But it is quite likely that the Metaphrastic version erroneously linked him with the party of the Persian king. If so, then Isaac would have been at Ramla representing the Diophysites of Persia, just as Simeon was, representing the Monophysites. His association with Abraham and his Persian connection are both reflected in a statement which only the Latin version has preserved and which deserves to be brought out and quoted: *Abraamius autem ipse quoque foedere inito cum Alamundaro, salutatoque Isacio in Persidem revertente, rediit . . .*, *PG*, col. 1279. As a participant at the Conference of Ramla, Isaac escaped the notice of Vasiliev.

<sup>7</sup> Boissonade, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>8</sup> On Shilas see Histoire Nestorienne, *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 135-38.

(7) Aggaios: this figure, who is described in *Cod. Paris. Graec.* 1454 as *κόμητος Ἀγγαίου, υἱοῦ Ζήτ, ἐθνάρχου ὄντος χριστιανῶν τῆς πάσης παρεμβολῆς*<sup>9</sup> has so far defied identification,<sup>10</sup> and the group he belonged to has not been determined. But the solution of both problems is possible, and it should throw light on other related problems which bear on the history of the Lakhmid dynasty.

Aggaios<sup>11</sup> is none other than the Greek equivalent of Arabic Ḥajjāj, a historical figure attested in one of the sources for this period. The *Nestorian Chronicle of Sert* refers to an Arab by the name of Ḥajjāj in connection with a religious controversy between the Monophysites and the Nestorians at the court of Mundhir during the reign of Justin.<sup>12</sup> Aggaios, therefore, is an Arab figure associated with the Lakhmid Mundhir, not with the Byzantine party. It is also certain from the accounts of that *Chronicle* that he was not a Nestorian; he is referred to as a "heretic," thus he must have been either a Monophysite or a Diophysite. This identification will solve the problem of the term *κόμητος* which is used in the *Martyrium* to describe Aggaios and which could assign him to the Byzantine Party,<sup>13</sup> if *κόμητος* were a transliteration of the Latin technical term *comes*. The same *Chronicle* which has made possible the identification of Aggaios as a Christian Arab in Mundhir's party affords a key to solving the problem of *κόμητος*.

<sup>9</sup> This reading was accepted by E. Carpentier for his text of the *Martyrium* in *ASS* in preference to that of *Cod. Paris. Graec.* 1537, which was the basis of Boissonade's recension; on these codices see Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Die Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), pp. 312, n. 5; G. Rothstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10, n. 1; Vasiliev, *Justin*, p. 280; B. Rubin, *ZJ*, p. 310.

<sup>11</sup> Ἀγγαῖος is the Greek form of Haggai, the O. T. Prophet.

<sup>12</sup> *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 143.

<sup>13</sup> B. Rubin, *ZJ*, p. 310, clearly implies a Byzantine connection.

Ḥajjāj is described in the *Chronicle* as “*ṣāḥib*,” a companion of Mundhir, and the Martyrologist might have had the term “companion” in mind which he rendered *comes*, in a non-technical sense.<sup>14</sup> An alternative explanation of this term is afforded by the patronymic, “son of Qays,” given to Ḥajjāj in the *Chronicle*. In the Syriac script bar Qays ܒܪ ܩܝܫ bears a resemblance to *comes* transliterated ܕܡܝܬܐ. The Martyrologist, while translating and adapting, possibly from a Syriac original, could have easily confused the patronymic “bar Qays” with the Byzantine title *comes* which very often is left transliterated in the Syriac sources.

(8) The son of Job: just as a valuable passage in the *Nestorian Chronicle* has made possible the identification of Aggaïos and has disclosed his patronymic, so does *Cod. Paris. Graec. 1537* of the *Martyrium* contribute a better and fuller reading which adds the name of another important figure to the participants at Ramla. The Codex reads: *παρόντος καὶ Ἀγγέιου κόμητος υἱοῦ Ζῆδ, καὶ υἱοῦ Ἰῶβ, ἐθνάρχου χριστιανοῦ πάσης τῆς παρεμβολῆς*. This reading introduces a new figure *υἱοῦ Ἰῶβ*, “son of Job,” and describes him as “the Christian ethnarch of all the Parembolē,” i.e. the commander in charge of the military encampments, a phrase which has been wrongly construed with Aggaïos.<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of “son of Job” in the list will also solve the problem of *υἱοῦ Ζῆδ*, “son of Zayd” which precedes the “son of Job.” In both Codices, Paris. Graec. 1454 and 1537, “son of Zayd” appears as the patronymic of Aggaïos, but the fuller

reading of Codex 1537 with the new patronymic it adds, namely, “son of Job” clearly indicates that “son of Zayd” has to go with “son of Job” and not with Aggaïos: (i) Aggaïos is known to be the “son of Qays” from the external evidence of the *Nestorian Chronicle* and it has already been argued that this patronymic is probably concealed under the erroneous transliteration *comes*; (ii) what is more important is the fact that “son of Job” in the text stands as a patronymic without a *praenomen*, and this is unnatural. The term Zayd, then, is none other than the *praenomen* for the patronymic, “son of Job,” just as Aggaïos is for the patronymic “son of Qays.” The Martyrologist or the scribe, bewildered by Arabic patronymics, unwittingly or erroneously repeated the word *υἱοῦ*, “son,” before Ζῆδ and separated Ζῆδ from its patronymic *υἱοῦ Ἰῶβ* by the conjunction καὶ which should have preceded Ζῆδ, not followed it.<sup>16</sup> A decisive corroboration of this suggested emendation is available and it rests on a correct identification of the new figure “son of Job.”

One of the ancestors of the famous pre-Islamic poet of Ḥira, ‘Adiyy was called Zayd ibn-Ayyūb (son of Job).<sup>17</sup> In the genealogies he appears as the poet’s grandfather. As ‘Adiyy’s *floruit* was towards the end of the sixth century, his ancestor Zayd must have been alive towards the beginning of the same century and could have been a contemporary of the events and the personages described in

<sup>14</sup> Loose application of technical terms is not uncommon; see Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 463, on *dux*.

<sup>15</sup> Vasiliev, *Justin*, p. 280, and Rubin, *ZJ*, p. 310, who have overlooked the reading of *Cod. Paris. Graec. 1537*, following Carpentier’s text, although Carpentier quoted the variant reading in his notes; see *ASS*, X, 744; see also Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> This case of dittography must have been the cause of Nöldeke’s inability to identify Aggaïos and to construe Ζῆδ correctly with *υἱοῦ Ἰῶβ*. He also overlooked *υἱοῦ* which precedes Ἰῶβ and thus translated the passage “Comes Ἀγγαῖος(?), Sohn des Ζῆδ, und Ἰῶβ . . .”. This oversight must also have prevented him from connecting Ζῆδ with Ἰῶβ and it accounts for what he says on the age of Ἰῶβ; see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 312, n. 5. Perhaps the text originally read as follows: *παρόντος καὶ Ἀγγέιου κόμητος, καὶ Ζῆδ, υἱοῦ Ἰῶβ ἐθνάρχου χριστιανοῦ πάσης τῆς παρεμβολῆς*.

<sup>17</sup> See *Aghāni* (Beirut, 1955), II, 80–81; also R. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 45–48.

the *Martyrium*. Therefore, onomastically and chronologically, Zayd ibn-Ayyūb of the genealogists can easily be identified with the  $\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \text{I}\omega\beta$  of the *Martyrium*. Other relevant considerations clinch the argument in favor of this identification: (a) ibn-Ayyūb (Job) is an extremely rare name in the Arabic onomasticon before Islam;<sup>18</sup> it is, therefore, quite unlikely that Ayyūb and  $\text{I}\omega\beta$  were merely namesakes, two different fathers of two sons each of whom was called Zayd; (b) the House of 'Adiyy had adopted Christianity as the biblical name Job clearly indicates, and this is consonant with the description of the "son of Job" as the *Christian* ethnarch; (c) it was an illustrious House, whose members, including Ayyūb and Zayd, held public office under the Lakhmids, a fact which is consistent with the description of Zayd as the "commander of all the military encampment." It is quite likely that the anonymous Christian Arab chief, mentioned in the *Letter* as having remonstrated with Mundhir vehemently when the latter felt inclined to massacre the Christians after the arrival of Masrūq's letter, was this Zayd, son of Ayyūb.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> It is stated in *Aghāni*, II, 80, that this ancestor of 'Adiyy was the first Arab to assume the name Ayyūb (Job).

<sup>19</sup> Cp. the description of the anonymous chief in the *Letter*: "... because of his family, and because of his recognition, for he was a great man in the world, and one of the headmen in Hirta," Jeffery, *Letter*, p. 210. Alternatively, this anonymous Christian chief could have been the  $\text{Tau}\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$  Dayzan mentioned by Malalas in connection with the events of a few years later; see *Chronographia*, p. 460. It would be superfluous to emphasize the importance of such identifications for the history of the Arabs before the rise of Islam, whose accounts, recorded in the Muslim era, rest on an oral tradition. In this case, the interlocking of an Arabic source with a Greek one has made certain that Zayd ibn-Ayyūb is not a genealogist's fabrication but a real historical personage. The further information in the *Martyrium* that he was the Christian ethnarch of all the Parembole throws important light on the position of the Christians under the rule of the pagan Mundhir. From the statement on Zayd in the *Martyrium* it is clear that the Christian element in Mundhir's army was grouped together and was commanded by a Christian chief.

### Two Conferences

The unusual number of participants at this Conference raises the question whether the *Martyrium* has united the proceedings of two different conferences in one and the same passage. The most important fact which points towards this conclusion is the participation of Shilas the Nestorian Catholicus, who is known to have died in A.D. 523 at the latest. The Conference at Ramla took place early in February, A.D. 524,<sup>20</sup> and this date definitely excludes the participation of Shilas at that Conference.<sup>21</sup> The reference to Ḥajjāj (Aggaïos), is also relevant in this connection. The *Nestorian Chronicle*<sup>22</sup> brings Ḥajjāj and Shilas together before Mundhir in a religious controversy at Ḥira. These two must, therefore, have attended a previous conference there. It will be remembered that the party of Abraham and Simeon had tarried at Ḥira before they set out for Ramla on January 20, 524. This date is so close to the year 523 that it is possible that that conference in which Shilas and Ḥajjāj participated had just taken place late in A.D. 523 at Ḥira. Documentation of such a conference in 523 is not lacking, since Simeon of Beth-Arsham refers at the beginning of his famous *Letter* to a previous letter he had written in which he praised the presbyter Abraham for his services to the Monophysite party.<sup>23</sup> Very

<sup>20</sup> According to Simeon's *Letter*, the party set out from Ḥira on January 20th, A.D. 524 and reached Ramla after a ten-day journey on January 30th; the Conference took place at Ramla early in February; see Jeffery, *Letter*, p. 204.

<sup>21</sup> *Histoire Nestorienne, Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 144-45; also p. 144, n. 5, Vasiliev's statement: "But we know that he was still alive in 524" begs the question, since it is based on the *Martyrium*; see Vasiliev, *Justin I*, p. 282, n. 42.

<sup>22</sup> *Histoire Nestorienne, Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 143.

<sup>23</sup> "About him we have already written in our previous letter, for we and all the faithful who are with us are in receipt of his goodness, for in everything he is assisting our part of the faithful, and he knows well what formerly we wrote and what we now are writing," Jeffery, *Letter*, p. 204. The *Nestorian*

likely this letter refers to this first conference held at Ḥira late in A.D. 523.

From the preceding analysis the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) Before the Conference of Ramla, another conference had been held in Ḥira probably late in A.D. 523. Shilas could have participated in this conference during which his colloquy with Ḥajjāj might have taken place. It is clear, however, that he did not

attend the Conference of Ramla. (2) Negotiations with Mundhir passed through two stages: at Ḥira late in A.D. 523 and at Ramla in 524.

### *Ḥira, A.D. 523*

Little can be inferred about this conference from Simeon's *Letter*. But it is quite clear from the evidence of the same *Letter* that Abraham did intercede on behalf of the Monophysites of Persia before February A.D. 524 and this could very well have been at this earlier Conference at Ḥira in 523. Shilas might have attended this Conference in Ḥira both as the Catholicus of the Nestorians and the opponent of the Persian Monophysites. Ḥajjāj and Zayd may be added to the list. This Conference at Ḥira could have been attended by all the participants listed in the *Martyrium* and the *Book*.

The *Letter* refers also to an ambassador dispatched to Ḥira by the *Christian King* of South Arabia,<sup>24</sup> just before Masrūq gained the upper hand, and who definitely was at Ḥira in A.D. 523–24. This reference raises speculation as to what was behind this embassy. It is possible that the ambassador was on a political mission for improving relations between the new Christian ruler and the Lakhmid Mundhir, since the last recorded encounter between the Lakhmids and the Ḥimyarites had been a bloody one a few years before.<sup>25</sup> It is also possible that the object of the

---

*Chronicle* involves Justin in the expulsion of the Monophysites from Mundhir's realm: *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, 142–45. The partisan character of the Nestorian account is obvious, although it is possible that Justin might on some occasion have exercised his influence with Mundhir against the Monophysites. However, as far as the events of A.D. 523–24 are concerned, an examination of the contemporary sources reveals that, far from intriguing against the Monophysites, the Byzantine embassy, represented by Abraham, did the contrary and actually interceded on their behalf. Vasiliev is aware of the difficulty of accepting literally the accounts of that *Chronicle*; nevertheless, he thought that the Byzantine embassy did negotiate with Mundhir against the Monophysites; he says: "The expulsion of the Monophysites from al-Mundhir's kingdom must have been source of satisfaction to Justin's ambassador Abraham and to Justin himself"; further, he says of Justin's envoys: "They were very much pleased with the expulsion of monophysite refugees from the kingdom of al-Mundhir"; Vasiliev, *Justin I*, pp. 282, 283.

The assistance rendered by Abraham to the Monophysite cause in Persia requires an explanation, since the reign of Justin I witnessed an anti-Monophysite persecution, and Abraham was Justin's ambassador. It is possible that Abraham acted unofficially, as a pious Christian, and he might have had Monophysite leanings himself. His efforts on behalf of the Monophysites also accord well with the view that Justin adopted a more lenient attitude towards them after the assassination of Vitalian; see Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–25. More probably, Abraham reacted as an imperial diplomat, thoroughly familiar with the interaction and interrelation of political and religious factors in the Arabian Peninsula, and thus he could see the political value of supporting the Monophysites of Persia. The presence of the ambassador of the Monophysite ruler of South Arabia at Ḥira (see note 24) might have drawn his attention to the necessity of supporting the Monophysites in the interests of amicable relations between Byzantium and the important Ethiopic-Ḥimyaritic world. The course of events which followed the Conference in quick succession certainly justified his support of Simeon's party; Byzantium was understandably anxious over the change of rulers and religions in South Arabia, and the restoration of that country to a ruler and a religion favorable to Byzantium could best be achieved through the Monophysites of Egypt and Ethiopia.

<sup>24</sup> Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 210; this Christian king is referred to twice, although anonymously, in the *Letter*, pp. 205, 210. It is not clear whether he was a native Ḥimyarite or an Ethiopian set up by the Negus. The reference to this Christian king of South Arabia is most important for a discussion of the vexed question of the first Ethiopic invasion.

<sup>25</sup> For the inscription which commemorated the campaign of the South Arabian King Ma'd-Karib Ya'fur, see *Le Muséon*, LXVI, 307–10. The establishment of the correct date of this inscription must await the solution of the problem of the Ḥimyaritic Era.

mission was a solution of the Monophysite problem in Mundhir's realm, and the reference in the *Letter* (Jeffrey, p. 210) to "certain Himyarite believers" as having accompanied the Christian South Arabian ambassador is certainly significant. The Monophysites of Persia were living under difficult conditions, as is clear from Simeon's *Letter*. It would have been natural for the newly established Monophysite ruler of South Arabia to intercede on behalf of the Monophysites of Persia, particularly as relations between Ḥīra and Najrān had always been close. If this had been the object of his mission, then the South Arabian ambassador could have taken part in the negotiations at Ḥīra, in which Simeon and Abraham were involved.

Another question arises as to why negotiations with Mundhir had to pass through two stages, first at Ḥīra, then at Ramla.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the ambassadors arrived in Ḥīra at a time when Mundhir was absent, so that he might have been only represented at that Conference. It is also likely that he broke off the Conference for some military necessity which arose in the South, or for diplomatic reasons in order to extract more favorable terms from the Byzantine ambassadors, particularly as a ransom for the two dukes was in question.

<sup>26</sup> Ramla is said by Simeon to have been at a distance of ten days' journey to the southeast of Ḥīra. It could not, then, have been in the Syrian desert, as is stated by Moberg (*Book*, p. xxxiv) and Vasiliev (*Justin I*, p. 280). Musil came nearer the truth when he made an attempt to identify a locality called al-Ḥēla, with Ramla, which he states is ten marches from Ḥīra. But it is much more likely that the vicinity of al-Ḥēla which according to him is called Ramla is the place mentioned in the *Letter*. Simeon, writing in Syriac, gave ḥāla or ḥīla ("sand") as the Syriac equivalent of Arabic Ramla in order to describe to those of his readers who did not know Arabic the meaning of the term Ramla; ḥāla, therefore, is exegetical not denominative, and is not a place name. Al-Ḥēla referred to by Musil must be a homophone of Syriac ḥīla; see A. Musil, *Northern Negd* (New York, 1928), p. 71.

### *Ramla, A.D. 524*

The identification of the various personages who took part in the Conference makes possible their classification into groups which will reveal the complex nature of this Byzantine Embassy to Mundhir.

1. The Lakhmid Group: apart from Mundhir himself, there were Ḥajjāj (Aggaïos) son of Qays, his companion, and Zayd, son of Ayyūb, the commander in charge of the military encampments.

2. The Byzantine Group was represented by two principal figures: Abraham and Sergius. Abraham was the main diplomat whose assignment was the conclusion of peace with Mundhir and the liberation of the two dukes, Timostratus and John,<sup>27</sup> an assignment which was successfully carried out.<sup>28</sup> Sergius was the ecclesiastical figure who accompanied Abraham; his

<sup>27</sup> Timostratus is a well-known figure for whom see Pauly's *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, VI A, cols. 1322-23; Vasiliev suggested the identification of John, son of Lucas, with the *dux* of Mesopotamia, who took part in the second Persian war of Justinian's reign; Vasiliev, *Justin I*, p. 278. There is, however, a better candidate for the identification, who is nearer in time to the events of A.D. 524, namely, John, the *dux* of Euphratensis mentioned by Malalas (*Chronographia*, p. 435), who took part in the punitive Roman expedition against Mundhir himself in A.D. 528.

<sup>28</sup> The various versions of the *Martyrium* give other assignments to Abraham; see Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 5; according to *Cod. Paris. Graec. 1537*, Abraham was to conclude peace between Mundhir and the Roman Arabs; according to the Metaphrastic version, he was to conclude peace between Mundhir and the Arabs who were tributary to the Romans; according to *Cod. Paris. Graec. 1454*, the peace was to be concluded between Mundhir and the Christians in his realm. None of these versions states the real purpose of Abraham's mission, i.e., the liberation of the two dukes on which Nonnosus, Abraham's son, clearly informs. That Abraham interceded on behalf of the Christians is clear from the *Letter* of Simeon. What is not so clear is the reference to the "Roman Arabs"; the Metaphrastic version is more specific than *Cod. Paris. Graec. 1537* in that it describes the Roman Arabs as tributary, ὑπόφοροι, and it is possible that Mundhir had molested these tributary Roman Arabs. Whoever these Arabs were, they could not have been the Ghassānids, who were not ὑπόφοροι, "tributaries," but σύμμαχοι, "allies." See also page 129.

assignment was probably to intercede with Mundhir on behalf of the Diophysites of Persia who had been persecuted or molested, and to help Abraham towards the fulfilment of the embassy's main objective.<sup>29</sup>

3. The Persian Group: their presence at the conference of Ramla is undoubted, although who the representatives of the Persian King were is not clear.<sup>30</sup> Their dispatch was understandable, since the Persian king could not remain indifferent to a diplomatic conference which involved his neighbors the Byzantines and his vassals the Lakhmids.

4. The rest were ecclesiastics in Persia who were hoping for Byzantine intercession on their behalf: Isaac, Simeon, and John Mandinos. Isaac was the Diophysite ecclesiastic on whose behalf Abraham and Sergius interceded. John Mandinos was most probably his subdeacon. Simeon represented the Monophysites of Persia. Although it has been argued that the Nestorian Catholicus Shilas could not have attended the Conference of Ramla, there is no doubt that the Nestorians must have been represented at the Conference.

## II

The *Martyrium* states briefly that Masrūq<sup>31</sup> dispatched letters to Kawad

and to Mundhir, announcing the massacre of the Christians in South Arabia, reminding the Persian king that his god "the father of the sun" was also the God of the Hebrews, and offering the Lakhmid king three thousand *denarii* as an inducement for persecuting the Christians.<sup>32</sup> The Martyrologist piously adds that Divine Providence intervened very opportunely, inspiring Justin to send Abraham at that juncture, and that his timely dispatch to negotiate with Mundhir saved the Persian Christians from a fate similar to that of the South Arabians.

The accounts of this diplomatic transaction, which was to have such far-reaching consequences on Arab-Byzantine relations, are distressingly brief and undoubtedly selective. They receive little direct illumination from the South Arabian sources, since this decade or so of South Arabian history which preceded the massacres of Najrān is still shrouded in obscurity.<sup>33</sup> Such being the state of the sources, the only course open is the exploration of the various possible solutions through a re-interpretation of the already known evidence and the utilization of a newly recovered source which sheds light on the antecedents of Masrūq's letters.<sup>34</sup>

The problems which Masrūq's letters raise may be stated as follows:

A. How is Masrūq's request to be interpreted? His proposal for the massacre of

<sup>29</sup> It is possible that his dispatch to Mundhir was inspired by the fact that Sergiopolis, his see, was revered by the Arabs, among whom St. Sergius was the favorite saint. As bishop of this important metropolis, his intercession could carry weight with Mundhir, particularly as the latter had a Christian contingent in his army. The dispatch of the bishop of Sergiopolis might also argue that John, the captured *dux*, was indeed the *dux* of Euphretensis mentioned in Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 435; the bishop of the same province was sent to intercede for the release of its *dux* and possibly to pay or contribute towards the payment of the ransom. Another bishop of Sergiopolis, Candidus, acted in a similar capacity in negotiating with Chosroes during the Second Persian War in A.D. 540; see Procopius, *History*, II, v. 28-33.

<sup>30</sup> Boissonade, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39; *καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἀποσταλέτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν*.

<sup>31</sup> Masrūq is the name which the *Book of the*

*Himyarites* gives for the Jewish king of South Arabia, who has been favored with a multiplicity of names in the various sources, literary and epigraphic. I hope to discuss the problem of his name in a future publication.

<sup>32</sup> Boissonade, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38; see also notes 39, 43, and 44.

<sup>33</sup> For these events see, J. Ryckmans, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle* (Istanbul, 1956).

<sup>34</sup> For a description of this unpublished Karshūni manuscript and the collection of hagiographic texts of which it is a part, see G. Graf, *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., III (1913), 311-12, 323-24. As this manuscript is still unpublished, reference to it will not cite page and line; see also note 1.

the Christians has been understood to be an expression of religious fanaticism, but the proposal may admit of other explanations. The reference to the sun from a ruler who professed the Jewish faith is curious; a close examination of this reference to the sun could lead to a better understanding of the nature of Masrūq's proposal.

B. It is unlikely that the contents of the letters were limited to what the *Martyrium* relates. If so, what other proposals did the letters contain and what is the place of this diplomatic episode in the history of Ḥimyaritic-Lakhmid-Sasanid relations in the early part of the sixth century?

#### *Masrūq, Mundhir, and Kawad*

A. Masrūq's proposal to Mundhir concerning the fate of the Christians in the latter's realm has to be related to what he himself had done to the Christians of South Arabia. A correct interpretation of the massacres at Najrān should throw light on his proposal to Mundhir.

The motive may have been personal and the attribution of a personal motive depends partly on whether Masrūq was a Jew or a Judaizing Ḥimyarite. The *Nestorian Chronicle*<sup>35</sup> states that his mother was a captive Jewess from Nisibis bought by one of the Ḥimyaritic kings and that she instructed him in the Jewish faith. The Karshūni manuscript also has some relevant information, namely, that Masrūq had almost suffered death at the hands of the Ethiopians when they invaded South Arabia shortly before A.D. 524 and that his life was saved by a merchant from the tribe

of Nu'mān, who swore on his behalf that he was not Jewish but Christian. These two statements could support the view that the massacres of Najrān were inspired by some personal rancor on the part of Masrūq.

The *Letter* of Simeon contains some evidence which makes it possible to detect a non-personal motive behind Masrūq's action and which endows these massacres with a greater significance, involving not only South Arabia but also the Christian Roman Empire to the North. The *Letter* testifies to the presence of Jewish "priests" (rabbis) from Tiberias who are associated with Masrūq. Although their presence may be accepted as historical, the interpretation of the role they played in these events is not easy. A statement in the history of Malalas that Masrūq executed Byzantine merchants in his realm because Byzantium had oppressed its Jews affords a clue to the relation of the rabbis of Tiberias to the massacres.<sup>36</sup> Such information on the state of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire could have come from these rabbis who were familiar with the difficult conditions under which the Jews of the Empire were living. Consequently it could be argued that Masrūq's action against the Christian

<sup>35</sup> Histoire Nestorienne, *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, 331. Such biographical details are equally difficult to accept or reject. However, the fate which is alleged to have befallen Masrūq's mother can certainly be paralleled; after the destruction of Nehardea by Odenathus, the daughters of Samuel, the Amora of Nehardea, were captured and offered for ransom at Sephoris in Palestine.

<sup>36</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia* (Bonn), p. 433; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by Boor, p. 223; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1901), II, 183. According to Malalas the name of the Ethiopic king who avenged the massacre of the Roman merchants was Andas; this could suggest that Malalas might have made a chronological mistake and assigned to the sixth century events which had taken place much earlier; but history could have easily repeated itself as far as the imprisonment and massacre of Roman merchants by the consistently hostile Ḥimyarites are concerned. However, the ill-treatment of the Jews in the Roman Empire can be externally attested. Although the sources are silent on any ill-treatment immediately before A.D. 523-24, the year 507 witnessed an outbreak of violence against the Jews in Antioch and the burning of the synagogue at Daphne; see G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 505-506; Simeon's recommendations in his *Letter* as to what Justin should do to the Jews of the Empire could suggest that such fate might have actually befallen them late in the reign of Anastasius; see Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 215.



was taken for the sake of alleviating the plight of the Jews who were living in Byzantine territory, and that these massacres were both retaliatory and deterrent.

It is possible that Masrūq's action was inspired by either or both of these two motives. But there is room for a third which could be divined amidst the confusion and tendentiousness of all these sources. South Arabia had been the battleground of Judaism and Christianity for centuries, and its allocation to one or the other of these two religions could decide its political orientation in the history of the Near East with its two contending parties, Byzantium and Iran. Of the two faiths, Christianity happened to be the state religion of South Arabia's two traditional enemies, Byzantium and Ethiopia. Its steady advance in the Arabian Peninsula as well as the memories of a recent invasion of South Arabia by the Christian Negus of Ethiopia must have convinced Masrūq of the necessity of a definitive settlement of South Arabia's religious affiliation by the adoption of Judaism as the state religion and its establishment on a firm foundation. But the Christian communities in South Arabia could easily frustrate his plans. The Christians of Najrān posed the greatest threat, partly because their community was the best established and the strongest in South Arabia and partly because Najrān was strategically situated on the northern border of the Ḥimyaritic state, the focus of many routes which ran in all directions across the Peninsula.<sup>37</sup> The liquidation of the potentially dangerous community of Najrān became a political necessity. The massacres of Najrān could, consequently, be regarded

not as religious persecutions but as political executions; the sources do not omit to mention that on a number of occasions Masrūq ordered them only after the Najrānites had rejected his overtures and refused to apostasize.

The exploration of the various possible motives which could have impelled Masrūq to massacre the Christians of Najrān will now be drawn upon to elucidate the problems posed by his proposal that Mundhir should do likewise to his Christians.

The Karshūni manuscript provides some background material. It states that after Masrūq had gained the upper hand in South Arabia, he remembered his debt to the merchant from the tribe of Nu'mān<sup>38</sup> who had saved his life, and so he dispatched a letter to his former benefactor and his tribe together with a part of the spoils of Najrān. The three thousand *denarii* mentioned in the *Martyrium* could very well have been from the spoils of Najrān,<sup>39</sup> while Masrūq's friendship with the merchant could serve as a contact with the Lakhmid Mundhir and with the group

<sup>38</sup> The phrase "tribe of Nu'mān" occurs three times in the Karshūni manuscript to describe the tribal affiliations of three personages involved in the massacres of Najrān. There is no doubt that Nu'mān is none other than the famous Lakhmid king of Ḥira, Mundhir's father; although he died in A.D. 502, he survived in the consciousness of his people, who continued for some time to be known as the "tribe of Nu'mān," just as his capital Ḥira continued to be known as "the Ḥira of Nu'mān." One of the three personages mentioned in the Karshūni manuscript is ʿIliyā (Elijah), a martyred priest of Najrān who is described as belonging to the "tribe of Nu'mān"; the reference to him in *The Book of the Ḥimyarites*, p. cix, as the presbyter from the "Ḥira of Nu'mān," clinches the argument that the phrase in the Karshūni manuscript, "tribe of Nu'mān," is definitely a reference to the Lakhmid Arabs of Ḥira. On the appellation "House of Nu'mān" see the present writer in "Ḡhassan and Byzantium, a new *terminus a quo*," in *Der Islam*, XXXIII, Heft 3, p. 254.

<sup>39</sup> The three thousand *denarii* mentioned in the *Martyrium* may answer to the "Jewish gold" referred to in the *Letter* of Simeon; see Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 215. The offer of these *denarii* could certainly cater to Mundhir's rapacious and predatory instincts which must have been well known to Masrūq.

<sup>37</sup> Najrān also separated Masrūq from Yathrib, the important center of Judaism in Ḥijāz. On Najrān, see the recent study by Madame N. Pigulevskaja in *JESHO*, Vol. II, Part 2, and Vol. IV, Part 1, pp. 113-30, 1-14.

to whom the merchant belonged. The statement in the *Nestorian Chronicle* that Masrūq's mother was a Jewess from Nisibis who had been captured and sold as a slave is not irrelevant in this context. It is possible that some Christians in Mesopotamia might have been involved in her capture. Interesting as this information is, it leaves Masrūq's letter and his proposal inspired by personal motives of gratitude and revenge.

Masrūq, probably, was concerned more about Judaism and the safety of the Jewish communities in Persia than about exterminating the Christians. During the reign of Kawad (A.D. 488–531) the Jews in Persia were living under a cloud. As recently as 520 their exilarch Mar Zuṭra II was executed and his body was suspended from a cross on the bridge of Maḥoza after he had led an unsuccessful armed rising. Masrūq would have known of these events through the Jews of Tiberias, since immediately after the execution of Mar Zuṭra his family fled to Palestine with his infant son, who became later the head of Sanhedrin.<sup>40</sup> That Masrūq was concerned for the Jews of Mesopotamia is clearly attested in the *Letter*; he calls on Mundhir to help the Jews in his dominions and promises him rewards.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the Christian king of South Arabia whom Masrūq had just supplanted had already sent an ambassador to Mundhir and it is quite likely that among other things this ambassador might have sought from

Mundhir action against the Jews in concert with the action that had just been taken by the Christian Ethiopians against the Jews in South Arabia. Masrūq's proposal was intended to stop such an action on the part of Mundhir and to go further by turning the tables on the Christians in Mundhir's realm.<sup>42</sup>

It remains to examine a third possibility. Although the massacres in South Arabia had apparently been committed with enough thoroughness to ensure the relative stability of the new religious and political system established by Masrūq, South Arabia was by no means safe from renewed efforts aiming at the restoration of Christianity. Ḥira was a base from which the Nestorians and later the Monophysites had penetrated the Arabian Peninsula and reached Najrān and Ḥaḍramawt. The elimination of this potentially dangerous Christian community was essential for the permanency of the newly established Judaism in South Arabia and for the survival of the new Jewish state. Viewed against this interpretation, Masrūq's proposal ceases to represent the revengefulness of a bloodthirsty religious fanatic such as the *Martyrium* and the *Letter* portray, but reflects the concern of a capable ruler who was alive to potential dangers and who was providing against all eventualities with great circumspection.

B. It has already been indicated that Masrūq's letter must have contained other proposals than the massacre of the Christians and this view could be supported by the following observations:

1. The only extant sources for this letter are ecclesiastical and they have, quite

<sup>40</sup> On Mar Zutra II, see S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (Berlin, 1926), III, 293–94. Critical opinion is divided on the chronology of Mar Zutra's exilarchate, which some assign to A.D. 512–20, others to the early part of Kawad's reign; Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 294, n. 1. See also two more recent discussions: O. Klima, "Mazdak und die Juden," *Archiv Orientalní*, XXIV (1956), 420–31; Geo. Widengren, "The Status of the Jews in the Sassanian Empire", *Iranica Antiqua*, I, 143–46; I am grateful to my friend and colleague, Professor Henry A. Fischel of Indiana University, for drawing my attention to these two articles.

<sup>41</sup> Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 209.

<sup>42</sup> Mundhir's barbaric outbursts such as the sacrifice of captured Christians to his goddess al-'Uzzā (Venus) are attested in the sources, although they took place later than A.D. 524; for a recent study of the significance of human sacrifice among the pre-Islamic Arabs, which includes a reference to Mundhir, see J. Henninger, "Meschenopfer bei den Arabern," *Anthropos* (1958), pp. 734–38.

understandably, a narrowly focused point of view. An argument from analogy with reference to one of them, the *Martyrium*, may be adduced to fortify the suspicion that they are in fact selective in what they have chosen to include in their accounts. The main objective of Abraham's embassy is well known from the secular sources—the liberation of the two dukes, Timostratus and John; and yet the *Martyrium* has omitted reference to it. The *Martyrium*, then, could very well have been also selective in its narration of the contents of Masrūq's letter and thus it included only what was consonant with its character as a Martyrology.

2. The other proposals included in the letter can without much difficulty be inferred from a statement in the *Martyrium* itself, namely, the reference to the sun as a link between Judaism and Zoroastrianism.<sup>43</sup> Although the reference to the sun must be dismissed as propagandism on the part of Masrūq, since that orb or his progenitor has no place in the Jewish religious system,<sup>44</sup> the statement has great

value because of what it implies. Masrūq was trying to convince Kawad that their respective religious systems were alike and that both parties belonged to the same camp. Such a specious argument could not have deceived Kawad, who knew as well as Masrūq did that if they were in the same camp it was not so much because of a fictitious identity or similarity between Zoroastrianism and Judaism but because of their common opposition to another religion—Christianity—and what is more to the Empire which had adopted it as its state religion. That part of the letter left out by the Martyrologist could have been a proposal for an alliance against Byzantium.

3. That such might very well have been

identify the Iranian Ahura Mazda with the Hebrew Yahweh.

The worship of the sun was always considered a horror and an abomination from the point of view of Orthodox Judaism and was associated with the introduction of foreign cults; e.g., II Kings, 23:5; Jer. 7:18; Ezek. 8:16. So much is also clear from another part of Masrūq's letter itself where it is stated that he did not ask the Christians of Najran to deny God or to worship the sun or other heavenly bodies but only to deny Christ, Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 205. But there are in the Old Testament complementary references to the sun, even a comparison of Yahweh Himself to the sun, Ps. 84:11.

Masrūq was careful, however, not to say that the sun was the Hebrew God; but the sun performed his function in the argument by enabling Masrūq to effect a transition from the sun to its correlative, the father of the sun, whom he could identify with Yahweh. The further identification of Yahweh with Ahura-Mazda through their respective relations to the sun and Mithras was not too difficult to make. The concept of Yahweh as Father (not the New Testament concept) is known to the Mishna and is used frequently in the Liturgy, and this could correspond, however superficially, to the Indo-Iranian Dyaus Pitar (Zeus Pater). It is, however, in the sense of Creator that "Father" must have been used by Masrūq; Yahweh was the Creator, and in Ps. 136:8, He is described as the Creator of the sun; so was Ahura Mazda. And if the institution of *Yotzer* is really due to the contact of Judaism with Mazdaism, then Masrūq's argument would have been particularly apposite.

Masrūq was not a theologian; the reasoning behind his simple statement must have been that of the learned rabbis from Tiberias. He merely presented the finished result in simple and significant terms which could appeal to a Persian king like Kawad, who toyed with Mazdaism and whose enemies were the Christian Romans, inimical since the fourth century to *Sol Invictus*.

<sup>43</sup> The reference to the sun and the "father of the sun" comes in the Masrūq's letter after he had appealed to Kawad to massacre the Christians. In *Cod. Paris. Graec.* 1537, it is thus expressed: εἰπὼν ἔχει τὸν ἥλιον εὐμενῇ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ ἡλίου, ὃν ἔφασκεν θεὸν εἶναι τῶν Ἑβραίων, "saying that he (Masrūq) holds the Sun well-disposed and (also) the Father of the Sun, who, he said, is the God of the Hebrews." Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 37. The Metaphrastic version makes the Persian king the subject of the verb ἔχειν, expressing the clause in the optative: εἴγε τὸν ἥλιον εὐμενῇ, ᾗσιν, βούλοιο ἔχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα, ὡς ἐκέinois ἀπεφλυᾷ τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων θεόν, "if the (Kawad) would have the Sun well disposed and (also) the Father of the Sun who, he prated, is the God of the Hebrews." Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 1. Perhaps the Metaphrastic version yields slightly better sense in that it makes the conditional clause express the reason which should induce Kawad to accede to Masrūq's request and massacre the Christians, namely, he would make his own god happy. Both versions, however, are agreed on Masrūq's reference to the "Father of the Sun" as the God of the Hebrews and the Persians.

<sup>44</sup> It is necessary, however, to examine Masrūq's curious statement in order to discover how he was able, even for the sake of diplomatic convenience, to

the purport of the letter could be inferred from a statement in Malalas,<sup>45</sup> namely that Masrūq started hostilities against Byzantium by his execution of its merchants in retaliation to Byzantine hostility towards the Jews. Masrūq's anti-Byzantine position is, thus, *testimonially* attested, and, after taking the initiative against Byzantium, it would have been natural for him to turn to the traditional enemies of Byzantium in the northeast—the Lakhmids and the Persians.

4. That Byzantium must have been involved in the calculations of the new ruler of South Arabia can also be inferred from the reaction of Abraham and Justin. The tidings from Arabia Felix of the Monophysite martyrdoms at Najrān would have touched the religious sympathies of Chalcedonian Justin, but it was the realization that a major imperial interest was in jeopardy that must have moved him to take action and contribute to the downfall of Masrūq.

Perhaps the foregoing analysis will have shown that Masrūq's letter represented a major diplomatic offensive which involved more important issues than the Martyrologist has chosen to relate. In spite of his victory in South Arabia, Masrūq was isolated politically and was surrounded by enemies on all sides. In addition to the two traditional enemies, Christian Ethiopia and Byzantium, there was Mundhir the Lakhmid against whom the South Arabian King Ma'd-Karib Ya'fur had campaigned only a few years before. But Mundhir was not implacable since no religious issue separated him from Masrūq, and hostility to Byzantium and Christianity presented a common ground upon which Masrūq, Mundhir, and his overlord the Persian king, Kawad, could meet. From Masrūq's point of view an alliance with Mundhir

and Kawad would afford protection to his co-religionists in Mesopotamia, would eliminate the danger of possible missionary activities from that region if its Christian communities were liquidated, and would consolidate his position militarily in the Arabian Peninsula. The proposed alliance would have been beneficial to both Mundhir and Kawad. Masrūq could hold Ethiopia, Byzantium's ally, at bay, and, what is more important, he could frustrate Byzantine and Ethiopic economic and trade policies which had been consistently directed towards the establishment of relations with India without the mediation of South Arabia or Persia. The sources attest<sup>46</sup> that Masrūq was aware of how detrimental to Byzantine economic interests he could be, and there is no doubt that the larger economic issues involving the restoration of the flow of trade to South Arabia were floating in his mind.<sup>47</sup>

Although Masrūq's proposals could easily commend themselves to Mundhir, the latter was in no position to respond. His initial reaction was favorable, but it soon became clear to him that an alliance which entailed the persecution of the Christians was impractical and could compromise his own position. Part of his army was Christian, and Ḥīra, his capital, had a large Christian community, the 'Ibād. A taste of what could happen if he acceded to Masrūq's request was provided by the rebellious Christian chief in his army after Masrūq's letter had been read. Moreover, the prospect of concluding a peace with Byzantium involving a very high ransom for the two Roman dukes

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> See also Rubin, *ZJ*, p. 310 and the references in his notes (pp. 505–506) to the researches of Madame N. Pigulevskaia and Dr. W. Caskell in particular. That Masrūq was in touch with the Jewish community of Yathrib in Ḥijāz is a very attractive and persuasive hypothesis.

<sup>45</sup> See note 36.

must have made Masrūq's offer seem remote and hypothetical.

The reaction of Kawad to Masrūq's offer can only be guessed. It is possible that Masrūq's diplomatic offer took place at that period of Byzantine-Sasanid relations which followed the affair of the Hunnic chief Zilbig, when Kawad was in a friendly mood towards Byzantium, and so much so that he actually asked Justin to adopt his son Chosroes.<sup>48</sup>

*Simeon, Abraham, and Justin*

Whatever political thinking there was behind the Byzantine decision to contribute to the Ethiopic expedition against South Arabia must have begun at Ramla by the two ecclesiastics, Simeon and Abraham.

Simeon's reaction was primarily that of an ecclesiastic concerned and grieved for the fate of his co-religionists in South Arabia. This is reflected in the measures he recommends and in his hopes that other ecclesiastics in the Christian world would remember the martyrs and write about them. But it is also possible that more was involved in Simeon's concern than commiseration for the Monophysites of South Arabia. Just as the Jews were looking towards the Arabian Peninsula and particularly to the Kingdom of the South as a refuge from the persecutions and the disabilities imposed on them by Persia and Byzantium, so were the Monophysites. Immediately after his accession, Justin reversed the ecclesiastical policy of his predecessor, Anastasius, disestablished Monophysitism, and expelled the Monophysite bishops from their sees. In Persia, too, the Monophysites had to face the hostility of the Nestorians who did not welcome the flight of the Monophysites from Byzantium into Persia and tried to

eject them from Persian territory. For these two reasons, South Arabia with its strong Monophysitic stronghold, Najrān, was of vital importance. The recent Ethiopic conquest of South Arabia had established not only a Christian ruler in that country but also a Monophysitic one; South Arabia became a new Monophysite state to which those persecuted in Byzantium and Persia could emigrate, as in fact many of them did; hence Simeon's anxiety that South Arabia should be restored to the fold.

Simeon's recommendations in his *Letter* are the best validation of this view and are the most telling indication that the issues were of a significance which transcended avenging the martyrdoms of Najrān and which involved Byzantium, Ethiopia, and the Arabian Peninsula. His recommendations reveal an ecclesiastical mind endowed with a rare political sense. Although a Monophysite, he was able to involve Chalcedonian Justin in his plans for the reclamation of South Arabia to Monophysitism, while the ecclesiastical strategy which he recommended to his fellow Monophysites finally influenced the course of events in Egypt, Ethiopia, and South Arabia:

1. As the Jews of Tiberias were living in Byzantine territory, Justin was in a very good position to contribute to the Christian cause in South Arabia; he could coerce them to bring pressure to bear on Masrūq and so to halt the persecutions; if they refused he could burn their synagogues and expel them from Palestine.

2. As for the Monophysite ecclesiastics in the Orient, they should write to Timotheus the Patriarch of Alexandria who in turn should ask the Negus of Ethiopia to invade South Arabia.<sup>49</sup>

In making such recommendations,

<sup>48</sup> For this affair, see Vasiliev, *Justin I*, pp. 264-68; the chronology of the sequel to the exchange of letters between Kawad and Justin concerning the Hunnic chief is not clear.

<sup>49</sup> Jeffrey, *Letter*, p. 215.

Simeon could draw on past experience. When the Monophysites of Persia were experiencing difficult times, he called on the Emperor Anastasius to use his good offices with the Persian King Kawad, and on another occasion he invoked the aid of the Ethiopic Negus.<sup>50</sup>

Abraham's reaction was similar but more complex. As a Christian presbyter he was no doubt concerned for the fate of the Najrānites, but as a specialist on Arabian affairs he was perturbed by the new developments in Arabia whose implications for Byzantium he quickly grasped. His father Euphrasius had struck a peace treaty with Kinda and had, thus, secured for Anastasius Inner Arabia and the other side of the Palestinian *limes*.<sup>51</sup> But the fall of South Arabia to Judaism under a ruler hostile to Byzantium changed the balance of power in the Peninsula and created a situation actually and potentially dangerous for Byzantium.

The decision of Chalcedonian Justin to support a Monophysitic expedition against South Arabia now becomes intelligible. Abraham's analysis of the unfavorable developments in Arabia must have convinced the Emperor that action was necessary to restore the *status quo*. Chalcedonian Justin did not stint his support but extended it more substantially and effectively than Simeon had hoped or expected. This must have been done on the advice of Abraham, who saw the political gain Byzantium could score by actively participating in the war against Masrūq instead of a nominal and negative contribution such as Simeon had recommended in his *Letter*. Although Justin promised to send troops from the Blemyes and the Nobadae to swell the army of

the Negus, the Byzantine contribution was eventually limited to a fleet which transported the Ethiopic expeditionary force across the Red Sea to South Arabia.<sup>52</sup> The *Martyrium* has preserved a valuable list—the catalogue of the ships which constituted the fleet and this catalogue gives an accurate measure of the nature and extent of the Byzantine contribution: fifteen from Ayla, twenty from Clysmā, seven from Iotabe, two from Berenice, seven from Pharsan, nine from Indica, in all, sixty ships.<sup>53</sup>

In this joint Ethiopic-Byzantine amphibious operation, the Arab allies of Byzantium were conspicuous by their absence. Instead of calling on the Ghassānids to concert action with the Negus by a drive

<sup>52</sup> The Arabic sources confirm the accounts of the *Martyrium* that the Byzantine contribution to the expedition consisted of a fleet; these sources have been analyzed by Nöldeke in *Die Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 188. Bury doubts the exchange of letters referred to in the *Martyrium* which involved Justin, the Patriarch Timotheus, and the Negus, but his scepticism is unjustified. A statement in an independent source, Malalas, namely, that the Negus after his victory over Masrūq informed Justin of the outcome through Licinius, the Augustalis of Alexandria, cannot but imply that the two monarchs had been in correspondence; Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 434; see also Vasiliev, *Justin I*, p. 299, n. 75.

<sup>53</sup> According to the *Martyrium*, the ships which transported the Ethiopic army belonged to Roman, Ethiopic, and Persian merchants. Most of the ships were undoubtedly Roman, as the ports from which they sailed clearly indicate. Those which sailed from Pharsan and Indica probably account for the reference in the *Martyrium* to Ethiopic and Persian merchantmen which may have been hired by Justin for the occasion; for the list see, Boissonade, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45. The Negus had ten more ships built which brought the number of the transports to seventy; the *Martyrium* refers to a strategic plan according to which a force was to be landed at a point on the southern coast of Arabia, somewhere in Hadramawt whence it was to attack Masrūq from the east while the Negus was to attack from the West; Boissonade, *op. cit.*, p. 45. For such a bold plan a fleet was obviously indispensable, but the plan was not carried out. However, for a successful disembarkation the Ethiopians had to land in force to overcome the resistance of a determined and desperate enemy, and for this a large number of transports was obviously essential; hence the value of the Byzantine contribution; cp. Rubin's views, *ZJ*, p. 307. For a discussion of the chronological problems of the Ethiopic invasion, see J. Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–21.

<sup>50</sup> Life of Simeon the Bishop, *Patrologia Orientalis*, xvii, pp. 143, 153.

<sup>51</sup> On Euphrasius see note 4, and "Ghassan and Byzantium, a new *terminus a quo*," *Der Islam*, XXXIII, Heft, 3, pp. 235–38.

from Palestina Tertia to Najrān, Justin was forced to think of the distant Blemyes and the Nobadae. The nonparticipation of the Ghassānids in the South Arabian crusade is the best indirect evidence that, as good Monophysites, they had withdrawn from the service of Byzantium after the inauguration of a new religious policy by the House of Justin.

### III

Perhaps the foregoing analysis has revealed with tolerable clarity the various phases of the complex diplomatic transaction which was centered at Ramla. It remains to measure its ramification and mark its significance.

For Mundhir, the Conference was the summit of a political career and the highlight of a remarkable reign which spanned the first half of the sixth century. He had inflicted an ignominious defeat on Byzantium by the capture of the two dukes, Timostratus and John, thus repeating on a smaller scale the humiliation to which Rome had been subjected in the third century when Valerian was captured by Shāpūr. Not only the Christian Roman Empire thought fit to court his friendship but also the rest of the Near Eastern States—Sasanid Persia, Ethiopia, and South Arabia. As this unusual diplomatic concourse reflected the importance of the Lakhmid king in the calculations of the neighboring powers, so did it reflect the central position of his capital Ḥira in the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, the confluence of many religious and political currents, and the focus of diplomatic pressures and intrigues. The trans-Arabian route which connected Ḥira with Najrān, less known than the more famous *via odorifera* of Western Arabia, reveals itself not only as a caravan route for cameleers to tread, but as an historic axis which connected the Ethiopic-Ḥimyaritic world with that of the

Lakhmids and the Sasanids, and around which revolved the history of political alignments, religious movements, military undertakings, and cultural interpenetrations.

For Abraham, the Conference of Ramla represented the major triumph of his diplomatic career in the service of Byzantium. By the liberation of the two dukes and the solutions of the difficulties which faced the various Christian groups in Mundhir's realm, he successfully accomplished the object of his mission. He was also able to prevent Mundhir from allying himself with the newly established dynasty of South Arabia, and thus left Masrūq isolated in the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. On his return to Constantinople he succeeded in persuading Justin to accept his analysis of potential developments in Arabia which could prejudice Byzantine imperial interest in the Red Sea area and the Arabian Peninsula. Byzantine participation in the Ethiopic amphibious operation against South Arabia owes much to Abraham's political grasp. Without his timely recommendations Byzantium might not have participated as it did, and the course of events in South Arabia could have taken a different direction. A few years later he was to render another service to Byzantium, when Kinda, strategically situated in the Arabian Peninsula, suddenly became restive and threatened the system of alliances which had secured for Byzantium its southern flank. After making two journeys into Inner Arabia, he finally succeeded in dissolving the anger of the Kindite Qays and effected a satisfactory settlement which restored the status quo.

The Conference of Ramla presents a clear picture of the working of ecclesiastical diplomacy just as the success of this diplomacy is the best measure of its efficacy. The main figures at Ramla were ecclesiastics, Abraham, Sergius, and Sime-



on, and ecclesiastics they remained when Imperial diplomacy later encompassed Egypt and Ethiopia and enlisted the services of Timotheus, the Patriarch of Alexandria. This ecclesiastical style in diplomacy reflects two significant facts: (1) since the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, religion has become the determining factor in the evolution of Near Eastern history, and it was only natural that its ministers should have been chosen as diplomatic representatives; (2) the interrelation of political and religious factors is established. The conversion of South Arabia to Christianity, desirable from the point of view of a pious Negus endowed with missionary zeal, was also essential for the stability of the new Ethiopic régime in that country, while the support rendered the Monophysites of Ethiopia by Chalcedonian Justin was principally due to the weight of Imperial interests which were at stake in that area of vital importance for Byzantine trade.

As the scene of diplomatic activity moved away from the center where it started to the wider periphery which encompassed Ctesiphon, Constantinople, Alexandria, Axum, and Najrân, the whole of the Near East became involved in the issues which had first been raised at the obscure Arabian locality of Ramla: (1) for the Christian Roman Empire, the fall of South Arabia to the Ethiopians signified the fulfilment of a missionary goal to convert that country to Christianity and the consummation of an imperial desire of long standing for the drawing of South Arabia into the Roman sphere of influence. Roman interests, economic and other, required for their well-being a friendly South Arabia, but what neither Augustus nor Constantius was able to achieve was finally accomplished by the ruler of Axum. (2) For the Ethiopians, the

conquest of South Arabia was a major military undertaking which successfully climaxed a series of expansionist attempts, aiming at the annexation of the Semitic homeland whence they had emigrated centuries before, and going back to the times of the Ethiopic king who ordered the inscription of the famous *Monumentum Adulitanum*. It was to the reign of Kaleb the first crusader and conqueror of South Arabia in A.D. 525 that the *Kebra Nagast* traces the division of the *oikoumenê* between Byzantium and Ethiopia. (3) In the history of the Jews between the rise of Christianity and the rise of Islam, the reign of Masrûq marks the last attempt on the part of the Jews of Talmudic times to establish a state of their own outside Palestine. The Ethiopic-Himyaritic War presented the unique spectacle of an armed conflict between two *states* representing the two Biblical faiths of the Old and the New Testaments. Judaism lost to Christianity, and the latter, well established in South Arabia and steadily reinforced by three extra-peninsular currents from Hîra, Axum, and Ghassânland, was able to give a stronger Christian tinge to the religious complexion of the Arabian Peninsula which was to last for over a century. (4) Neither the Ethiopians nor the Byzantines but the Arabs were those who were ultimately advantaged by the fall of Himyar. For them the Ethiopic victory meant the elimination of the one powerful state in Arabia which had frustrated their military, economic, and political self-expression, and it was this Ethiopic rhythm introduced into the structure of Arabian history in the sixth century that deranged the hitherto familiar pattern of its evolution and created conditions which favored the elevation of Makka to that position of dominance which set the stage for the mission of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam.

# DUMBARTON OAKS

---

The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE in the Mediterranean Sources

Author(s): Antti Arjava

Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 59 (2005), pp. 73-94

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128751>

Accessed: 03/04/2013 07:26

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE  
in the Mediterranean Sources

*Antti Arjava*

**I**N 1983 TWO RESEARCHERS at the Goddard Institute for Space Studies, NASA, Richard Stothers and Michael Rampino, published a list of all ancient volcanic eruptions known from Mediterranean historical sources.<sup>1</sup> Their list included a persistent dust veil or dry fog that darkened the sky for about a year in 536–37 CE, bringing about cold, drought, and food shortages in the Mediterranean area or, as it has since been claimed, over all the northern hemisphere. Several ancient writers, such as Cassiodorus, Prokopios, John Lydos, and some Syriac chroniclers, refer to the dark cloud. Somewhat surprisingly, these sources had been overlooked by classical scholars for a long time. The excellent geophysical journal in which Stothers and Rampino's results were published does not seem to have been regularly read by classicists, so it took more than a decade before the event of 536 attracted any significant attention within classical studies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Volcanic Eruptions in the Mediterranean before AD 630 from Written and Archaeological Sources," *Journal of Geophysical Research* 88 (1983): 6357–71. For their survey, Stothers, an astronomer with a background in the classics, read through all of classical literature. See also R. B. Stothers, "Mystery Cloud of AD 536," *Nature* 307 (26 Jan 1984): 344–45; M. R. Rampino, S. Self, and R. B. Stothers, "Volcanic Winters," *Annual Review of Earth and Planetary Sciences* 16 (1988): 73–99, esp. 87–88.

<sup>2</sup> Prokopios's report was already briefly discussed by, e.g., V. Seibel, *Die grosse Pest zur Zeit Justinians I. und die ihr voraus und zur Seite gehenden ungewöhnlichen Natur-Ereignisse: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. 6.*

*Jh. christl. Zeitrechnung*, Programmschrift Dillingen (Dillingen, 1857), 19–20. More than a century later, E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris, 1977), 76, mentioned the Syriac accounts. After 1983 the articles by these natural scientists were first cited in P. Farquharson, "Byzantium, Planet Earth and the Solar System," in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* ed. P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Brisbane, 1996), 263–69; J. Koder, "Climatic Change in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries?" in the same volume, 270–83, esp. 276–77. But note, for an earlier event, P. Y. Forsyth, "In the Wake of Etna, 44 BC," *Classical Antiquity* 7 (1988): 49–57.

During the last few years, the event has finally become better known, especially following two popular books devoted to it.<sup>3</sup> The dust veil has been declared the worst climatic disaster in recorded times. In the most wide-ranging scenarios, the year 536 is seen as a milestone in history, a watershed moment between the ancient and modern worlds.<sup>4</sup> In many academic disciplines, scholars are now trying to trace the catastrophe in their own source material, from China to the British Isles, and from Arabia to North and Central America.<sup>5</sup> The potential traces include economic decline, population movements, political unrest, and dynastic change. This search is problematic, especially in cultures with little written history. In cases where archaeological material can be dated to an accuracy of only a century or two, as among the Stone Age populations of North America, there is a clear danger of hastily dating all suitable cultural and economic change precisely to the middle of the sixth century. Scholars who study even better-documented historical periods with a predetermined crisis point are prone to the same errors.

For classical scholars, this debate is on the edge of fairly large issues: did a dark cloud cause the collapse of ancient civilization and the transition to the Middle Ages? Most readers of this journal would probably be extremely suspicious toward such a claim, and the results of the following analysis are not likely to diminish their skepticism. In fact, many would probably not even consider the issue worth a lengthy article. However, between the two extremes of opinion—a sweeping global change or no historical effects whatsoever—the dust veil might have affected human life in many different ways. This gray area has been neglected when both popular interest and academic criticism have concentrated on the assertion of global catastrophe.<sup>6</sup> My purpose is to chart the more or less serious, direct consequences of the cloud, using all available sources from the Mediterranean world. The ultimate assessment of the manifold evidence depends upon perhaps an even more profound question: how far and in what ways are various natural and historical phenomena likely to be reflected in the source material? Here my survey also relates to the recent discussion on the effect of pandemics in the ancient world, such as the Antonine and Justinianic plagues.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, after a short introductory section on the wider historical context, this study focuses on the immediate effects of the mysterious cloud. I first briefly present the evidence that natural scientists have so far produced on the events around 536, then review the evidence derived from Mediterranean literary sources. Some sources have been cited in such summary fashion that vital information has been neglected, information that may directly relate to the nature and causes of the whole phenomenon. I further present the evidence from other contemporary sources, such as inscriptions, laws, and papyri. The inevitable conclusion from all this material is that the impact of the cloud must have been extremely limited; but some assumptions that have hitherto been taken for granted should be reexamined.

### *Climate and the End of the Ancient World*

The natural sciences today produce increasing amounts of palaeoclimatic data to reconstruct climate variation in the past. The best known of such climatic changes in historical times is the so-called Little Ice Age around the seventeenth century. The reasons behind warmer and cooler periods are not clear. Despite various theories, including the cyclical variation in solar irradiance, the whole of climatic history before the last millennium remains a moot question.<sup>8</sup> Whatever the causes of climate variation, the interest in its effects on human

3 M. Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur: Catastrophic Encounters with Comets* (London, 1999), esp. 65–68. D. Keys, *Catastrophe: An Investigation into the Origins of the Modern World* (London, 1999).

4 Keys, a science journalist, is prone to include even relatively distant historical events among the effects of that fateful year. In addition to the birth of Islam, the expansion of the British Empire and the rise of the United States as the leading world power may be noted (p. 123). For a critical review of his work, see E. James, “Did Medieval History Begin with Catastrophe?” *Medieval Life* 12 (2000): 3–6.

5 See esp. J. D. Gunn, ed., *The Years without Summer: Tracing AD 536 and Its Aftermath*, BAR International Series 872 (Oxford, 2000); and M. Axboe, “Amulet Pendants and a Darkened Sun: On the Function of the Gold Bracteates and a Possible Motivation for the Large Gold Hoards,” in *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. B. Magnus (Stockholm, 2001), 119–36.

6 It is also fair to say that Keys himself does not directly trace the collapse of Byzantine power back to climatic effects, but indirectly, to the plague and hostile invasions that were triggered by a sudden climatic downturn.

7 For the Justinianic plague, see below, esp. n. 17; for the Antonine plague, R. Duncan-Jones, “The Impact of the Antonine Plague,” *JRA* 9 (1996): 108–36; W. Scheidel, “A Model of Demographic and Economic Change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine Plague,” *JRA* 15 (2002): 97–114; R. S. Bagnall, “The Effects of Plague: Model and Evidence,” *JRA* 15 (2002): 114–20; J. Greenberg, “Plagued by Doubt: Reconsidering the Impact of a Mortality Crisis in the 2nd c. AD,” *JRA* 16 (2003): 413–25; C. Bruun, “The Antonine Plague in Rome and Ostia,” *JRA* 16 (2003): 426–34.

culture has also increased.<sup>9</sup> In this vein, not only sudden catastrophes, such as the dark cloud of 536, but also wider climatic phenomena, have been used to account for the historical development of ancient civilizations. According to one theory, the beginning of our era was characterized by favorable climatic conditions, the “Roman optimum.” According to the same view, a long-term global cooling began about 200 CE, culminating in the “Vandal minimum” during the Early Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup> Another reconstruction extends the warm period up to around 400 CE; moreover, not only warm and cool periods alternate but also dry and wet.<sup>11</sup>

Such reconstructions (even if they were consistent) have, in the last decades, not been appealing to historians as explanations for the economic difficulties of the Roman Empire. Paradoxically, the rejected reconstructions are not inherently irreconcilable with recent trends in scholarship. On the contrary, an important strain in late-antique studies has, perhaps implicitly rather than explicitly, downplayed structural weaknesses in the later Roman Empire (the traditional endogenous reasons for its decline), stressing instead exogenous problems, that is, growing pressure from enemies and sudden military catastrophes. Theoretically, unfavorable climate would be consistent with an emphasis on exogenous problems. However, the problem with this approach lies elsewhere.

There is an ongoing debate as to whether the concept of decline is appropriate for the late Roman Empire or for late antiquity in general.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of terminological preferences, evidence suggests that, between the fifth and seventh centuries, the Mediterranean area “displayed a significant loss of established level of sociopolitical complexity,” which, according to this definition, means either “collapse” or “decline,” depending on the pace of the developments.<sup>13</sup> Few scholars would deny that both the economy and population were reduced during the transitional centuries and that, after this

10 Gunn, *Years without Summer*, 11–12 (n. 5 above). Even if the “Vandal minimum” were proved to be a real historical phenomenon, other terms for it might have been coined with equal justification—it is probably one of those things for which we could not blame the Vandals anyway.

11 Lamb, *Climate*, 156–70 (n. 8 above); but cf., e.g., K. Randsborg, *The First Millennium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean: An Archaeological Essay* (Cambridge, 1991), 23–29; MacDonald, “Paleoclimate,” 376; D. Stathakopoulos, “Reconstructing the Climate of the Byzantine World: State of the Problem and Case Studies,” in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. Lascovskey and P. Szabo (Budapest, 2003), 250; and Mann and Jones, “Global Surface Temperatures,” for further models. The important book of I. Telelis, *Μετεωρολογικά φαινόμενα και κλίμα στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 2004), had not yet appeared when this article was finished (summer 2004). It discusses the historical climate of the eastern Mediterranean and

the Near East between 300 and 1500 CE. However, Ioannis Telelis has kindly read my text and supplied me with a number of useful suggestions.

12 The rehabilitation of the concept of decline after a lengthy period of rejection is defended by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, “The Uses and Abuses of the Concept of ‘Decline’ in Later Roman History, or, Was Gibbon Politically Incorrect?” in *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, ed. L. Lavan, *JRA Suppl.* 42 (Portsmouth, R.I., 2001), 233–38, with responses from Av. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, M. Whittow, and L. Lavan, in the same volume, 238–45; see also, in more detail, J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001).

13 J. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 4, 19–20, 193. The collapse (or decline) entails such phenomena as less economic and occupational specialization, less centralized control, less investment in art and architecture, less flow of information, less trading, less overall coordination, etc.

8 From the rapidly growing amount of literature, see, e.g., C. Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys: Geological Changes in Historical Times* (Cambridge, 1969); T. Landscheidt, “Long-Range Forecasts of Solar Cycles and Climate Change,” in *Climate: History, Periodicity, and Predictability*, ed. M. R. Rampino et al. (New York, 1987), 421–45; H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World*, 2d rev. ed. (London, 1995); I. Telelis and E. Chrysos, “The Byzantine Sources as Documentary Evidence for the Reconstruction of Historical Climate,” in *European Climate Reconstructed from Documentary Data: Methods And Results*, ed. B. Frenzel, *Paläoklimaforschung / Palaeoclimatic Research* 7 (Stuttgart, 1992), 17–31; I. Telelis, “Medieval Warm Period and the Beginning of the Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean: An Approach of Physical and Anthropogenic Evidence,” in *Byzanz als Raum: Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, ed. K. Belke et al., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB 7 (Vienna, 2000), 223–43; J. D. Haigh, “Climate Variability and the Influence of the Sun,” *Science* 294 (7 Dec. 2001): 2109–11; J. Esper, E. R. Crook, and F. H. Schweingruber, “Low-Frequency Signals in Long Tree-Ring Chronologies for Reconstructing Past Temperature Variability,” *Science* 295 (22 March 2002): 2250–53; K. R. Briffa and T. J. Osborn, “Blowing Hot and Cold,” *Science* 295 (22 March 2002): 2227–28; M. E. Mann and P. D. Jones, “Global Surface Temperatures over the Past Two Millennia,” *Geophysical Research Letters* 30 (2003): 15, 1820/CLM–5, 1–4.

9 E.g., *Climate and History: Studies in Past Climates and Their Impact on Man*, ed. T. M. L. Wigley, M. J. Ingram, and G. Farmer (Cambridge, 1981); H. Weiss and R. S. Bradley, “What Drives Societal Collapse?” *Science* 291 (26 Jan. 2001): 609–10; P. B. deMenocal, “Cultural Responses to Climate Change during the Late Holocene,” *Science* 292 (27 April 2001): 667–73; B. MacDonald, “Relation between Paleoclimate and the Settlement of Southern Jordan during the Nabatean, Roman and Byzantine Periods,” *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan VII* (Amman, 2001), 373–78.

transformation, societies in both the East and the West were in many ways simpler than a few centuries before.<sup>14</sup> However, there is no agreement on when exactly and why that happened and if the reasons were the same everywhere. It is becoming evident that the growth and decline in prosperity occurred in different regions of the empire at different times. Possibly the demand for the main exports of a particular province, its economic vitality, and population growth were linked in ways as yet unidentified. At any rate, although the reasons are still debatable, population and prosperity seem to have peaked in different western provinces at various times well before the fifth century, perhaps in the late fourth century in Africa. The Aegean area flourished from the fourth to the sixth century, despite hostile incursions, and the Near East especially in the sixth. To explain these nonsimultaneous fluctuations with climatic factors is difficult, and to link decline in the West with any sudden event in 536, impossible.<sup>15</sup>

There is more room for speculation in Asia Minor and the Near East because of disagreement as to when economic decline began. Some scholars place it in the seventh century, others already in the mid-sixth, and the chronology may indeed have varied: present scholarly interest focuses on the years around and after 550.<sup>16</sup> A critical factor here is the plague that ravaged the Mediterranean area in the 540s and recurred periodically thereafter. Although the demographic, economic, and political impact of the plague has been questioned, it is still generally believed that the epidemic took a heavy toll on the population, killing perhaps as much as one third of it, and may have been a severe blow to the eastern empire, which was struggling with many enemies.<sup>17</sup> Thus, both the general economic development in the latter half of the sixth century and the exact effects of the plague have not been determined. The dark year of 536 is a further unknown variable.

Food shortages sometimes make populations more vulnerable to epidemics. But apart from this, the economic consequences of unfavorable climate and a plague can differ in the long run. Whereas the former causes economic distress by diminishing crops, an epidemic acts like a neutron bomb: it kills people and leaves the property intact. Had there been surplus population, the survivors would have fared better after the epidemic, with more buildings, better farmland, and possibly a higher standard of living. Such happened in Britain in the fourteenth century. Not that the situation was similar in the Roman Empire: its economy and taxation system differed, and it faced special pressures of attacks from outside.<sup>18</sup>

In sum, this study treats neither long-term changes, nor the beginning of the Middle Ages. Instead, it scrutinizes a few decades in the middle of the sixth century. It is not precluded that a sudden exogenous factor might have

14 For the symptoms, see previous note.

15 For a fine general account, see the essays of B. Ward-Perkins, "Land, Labour and Settlement," and "Specialized Production and Exchange," in *CAH*, 2d rev. ed. (2000), 14:315–91, esp. 381–91.

16 See M. Whittow, "Recent Research on the Late-Antique City in Asia Minor: The Second Half of the 6th c. Revisited," in *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, ed. L. Lavan, *JRA Suppl.* 42 (Portsmouth, R.I., 2001), 137–53; see further below, pp. 96–97.

17 A recent overview of the debate is given by D. Sathakopoulos, "The Justinianic Plague Revisited," *BMGS* 24 (2000): 256–76; and Sathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 9 (Aldershot, 2004), 110–54. For other general accounts of the plague, see, e.g., Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 85–91 (n. 2 above); P. Allen, "The 'Justinianic' Plague," *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 5–20; and cf. J. Durliat, "La peste du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Pour un nouvel examen des sources byzantines," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1989), 1:107–19, with a response by J.-N. Biraben, 121–25; R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1991), 263–71; M. Whitby, "Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 3, *States, Resources and Armies*, ed. Av. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1 (Princeton, N.J. 1995), 92–103; L. I. Conrad, "Die Pest und ihr soziales Umfeld im Nahen Osten des frühen Mittelalters," *Der Islam* 73 (1996): 81–112; M. Meier, "Das Ende des Konsulats im Jahr 541/42 und seine Gründe: Kritische Anmerkungen zur Vorstellung eines 'Zeitalters Justinians,'" *ZPapEpig* 138 (2002): 290–99; P. Sarris, "The Justinianic Plague: Origins and Effects," *Continuity and Change* 17 (2002): 169–82. The proceedings of a conference on the Justinianic plague held at the American Academy in Rome in December 2001 (not available to me at the time of writing) will provide new evidence and interpretations.

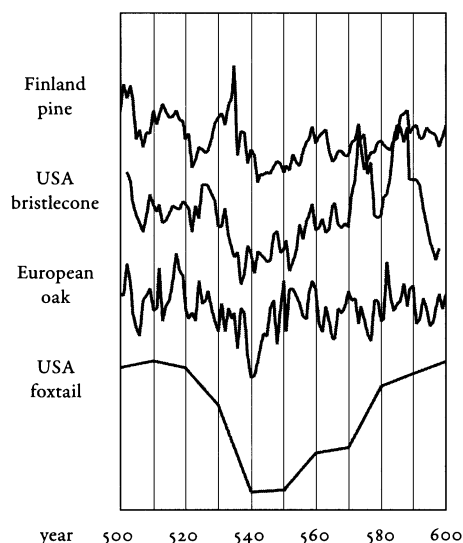
18 R. A. Griffiths, "The Later Middle Ages (1290–1485)," in *The Oxford History of Britain*, ed. K. O. Morgan (Oxford-New York, 1984), 212–16. Cf. Prokopios, *Secret History* 23.19–22; Conrad, "Pest," 107–9; Whitby, "Recruitment," 95–96; R. S. Bagnall, "P. Oxy. 4527 and the Antonine Plague in Egypt: Death or Flight?" *JRA* 13 (2000): 288–92, esp. 290; Whittow, "Recent Research," 149–52 (n. 16 above); Scheidel, "Model of Change," esp. 100–101 (n. 7 above); Sarris, "Justinianic Plague," 177–78.

depleted the economy and society of the eastern Mediterranean at that time, be it the plague or the dark year of 536, or both. In fact the two phenomena are connected in a “Theory of Absolutely Everything,” tracing the epidemic’s origin to a plague-carrying rodent population in eastern Africa, which was affected by the climatic turmoil of 536.<sup>19</sup> The proof of that hypothesis is beyond the scope of this study, and probably beyond the means of any branch of scholarship. But while I examine the direct effects of the mysterious cloud, I must also touch upon the effects of the plague.

## Physical Evidence

After the initial research by Stothers and Rampino, based almost entirely on written sources,<sup>20</sup> physical evidence for the 536 event has emerged from dendrochronological research. The tree rings show that 536 and the following ten years marked a period of very slow growth for Scandinavian pines, north European oaks, and several North American species (fig. 1). All the information derived from study of European oak is from an area stretching from Ireland to Poland: no securely dated tree-ring series from the Mediterranean during the Roman Empire have been published.<sup>21</sup> Similar results have been recently reported from dendrochronological evidence in Mongolia and northern Siberia.<sup>22</sup> Note that Scandinavian pine growth is determined by July temperatures, whereas oak and other species’ growth may more easily be affected by other factors. Moreover, the preceding year, 535, was the best growing season in the last 7,600 years for Finnish pines—a phenomenon that is not recorded in any of the other published chronologies.<sup>23</sup>

The initial hypothesis for the cause of the cloud—the eruption of an unknown volcano—has since been questioned. Historical eruptions are usually attested as acid layers in Greenland ice (although sometimes prevailing winds may reduce the acid signal). In the previously published studies, all the relevant sections of the Greenland ice cores for the mid-sixth century have been either missing, flawed, or poorly dated. Recently, Danish scholars have reported, based on several ice cores, that a major eruption can be dated to the early spring of 528.<sup>24</sup> However, these latest results have not yet been published, and it is unclear whether the whole sequence of ice layers might be redated by a few years, matching the newly attested eruption with the 536 event. Any conclusions



19 Keys, *Catastrophe*, 17–24 (n. 3 above); see also R. B. Stothers, “Volcanic Dry Fogs: Climate Cooling, and Plague Pandemics in Europe and the Middle East,” *Climatic Change* 42 (1999): 713–23; and Stathakopoulos, “Justinianic Plague,” 275–76 (n. 17 above).

20 See n. 1.

21 Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur*, esp. 65–68 (n. 3 above); see also M. Baillie, “Dendrochronology Raises Questions about the Nature of the AD 536 Dust-Veil Event,” *The Holocene* 4 (1994): 212–17; idem, *A Slice through Time: Dendrochronology and Precision Dating* (London, 1995), 94–107; F. Serre-Bachet, “Tree-Rings in the Mediterranean Area,” in *Evaluation of Climate Proxy Data in Relation to the European Holocene*, ed. B. Frenzel, Paläoklimaforschung / Palaeoclimatic Research 6 (Stuttgart, 1991), 133–47. The latest information on the Mediterranean chronologies is accessible at the website of Peter Kuniholm’s project, at <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/pikbib.html>.

22 R. D’Arrigo et al., “Spatial Response to Major Volcanic Events in or about AD 536, 934 and 1258: Frost Rings and Other Dendrochronological Evidence from Mongolia and Northern Siberia,” *Climatic Change* 49 (2001): 239–46.

23 Pentti Zetterberg, personal communication; see M. Eronen et al., “The Supra-long Scots Pine Tree-Ring Record for Finnish Lapland: Part 1, Chronology, Construction and Initial Inferences,” *The Holocene* 12 (2002): 673–80; S. Helama et al., “The Supra-Long Scots Pine Tree-Ring Record for Finnish Lapland: Part 2, Interannual to Centennial Variability in Summer Temperatures for 7500 Years,” *The Holocene* 12 (2002): 681–87.

24 I owe this information to Lars Berg Larsen, who states in addition that nothing of interest can be found in the ice layers between 531 and 550.

**Fig. 1** Tree ring chronologies from Europe and North America in the sixth century. Reproduced from M. G. L. Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur: Catastrophic Encounters with Comets* (London, 1999), 67; see below, n. 26.



therefore must remain tentative, but so far no acid layer sufficient to attest to a major volcanic eruption has been confirmed around 536. Instead the cloud has been attributed to the impact of a comet—another hypothesis unconfirmed by any direct evidence.<sup>25</sup> The question is by no means settled, and other reasons remain possible.

The contours of a sudden catastrophe cannot be directly read from the tree-ring evidence. Individual chronologies show regional variation, but in many series the drop in 536 is followed by a recovery in 537–38 and then again by an even more serious plunge. In most cases, the worst years are around 540, and 543 in Siberia. In southern Chile, the trough is in 540, whereas in Argentina there was dramatic growth reduction only after 540, with a minimum in 548. In Tasmania the tree growth declined between 546 and 552.<sup>26</sup> The curves thus point to problems at slightly different times. The effects of a particularly good or bad year on tree rings may be smoothed out or deferred by a process called autocorrelation, based on the trees' ability to store nutriment, though it cannot explain very long time lags. Moreover, modern eruptions indicate that, after an initial drop in temperature, a second period of cooling may follow, typically after two or three years but sometimes even later. There is considerable seasonal and regional variation, so that temperature, for example, in Europe and the Near East, may behave differently. Not all volcanic eruptions have affected tree growth in a dramatic fashion.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, although the year 536 was certainly a bad growing season in many parts of the world, it was part of a decade-long downturn in the climate of the northern hemisphere and was separated from the really worst seasons by three to seven years. The somewhat strange shape of the dendrochronological curves after 536 may not be totally incompatible with a volcanic explanation. But perhaps more seriously, in the Scandinavian pines, as in the oaks and North American trees, it is possible to see a long-term growth decline during the early part of the sixth century, which is matched by an equally slow rise in the average growth during the second half of the century. The years around 540 would thus be the lowest point in a slow climatic cycle. Although all this does not disprove a climatic anomaly in 536, it nevertheless suggests that the link between the dark cloud and tree growth is not so straightforward. The dendrochronological maxim "trees do not lie" may be true, but neither do they seem to provide unequivocal answers to the questions historians would like to pose to them. The climatic conditions of a particular year and region are clearly the result of various critical factors.

### Literary Evidence

Although physical evidence is ambiguous, the written evidence from the Mediterranean region remains the clearest proof that something extraordinary happened precisely in 536–37.<sup>28</sup> For example, Michael the Syrian, a bishop writing in the twelfth century but probably quoting faithfully from John of Ephesos, an ecclesiastical historian of the sixth century, describes the event as follows:

*In the year 848 [536/37 CE] there was a sign in the sun the like of which had never been seen and reported before in the world. If we had not found it recorded in the majority of proved and credible writings and confirmed by trustworthy people, we would not have recorded it; for it is difficult to conceive. So it is said that the sun became dark and its darkness lasted for one and a half years, that is, eighteen months. Each day it shone for about four hours, and still this light was only a feeble*

25 Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur*, 85–88 (n. 3 above); and cf. S. V. M. Clube and W. M. Napier, "Catastrophism Now," *Astronomy Now* 5 [8] (1991): 46–49; G. A. Zielinski, "Stratospheric Loading and Optical Depth Estimates of Explosive Volcanism over the Last 2100 Years Derived from the Greenland Ice Sheet Project 2 Ice Core," *Journal of Geophysical Research* 100 (1995): 20949; H. B. Clausen et al., "A Comparison of the Volcanic Records over the Past 4000 Years from the Greenland Ice Core Project and Dye 3 Greenland Ice Cores," *Journal of Geophysical Research* 102 (1997): 26707–23; Gunn, *Years without Summer*, 13 (n. 5 above); D'Arrigo et al., "Spatial Response," 239–40 (n. 22 above).

26 See Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur*, 65–68; Keys, *Catastrophe*, 284–92 (n. 3 above); D'Arrigo et al., "Spatial Response," 241–42. Note that in his figure on p. 67 (reproduced here as fig. 1), Baillie presents the bristlecone-pine chronology as a moving average, which does not reflect accurately the values of individual years. A more faithful curve can be found in Keys, *Catastrophe*, 292.

27 Baillie, *Slice through Time*, 105–6 (n. 21 above); P. D. Jones, K. R. Briffa, and F. H. Schweingruber, "Tree-Ring Evidence of the Widespread Effects of Explosive Volcanic Eruptions," *Geophysical Research Letters* 22 (1995): 1333–36; A. Robock and J. Mao, "The Volcanic Signal in Surface Temperature Observations," *Journal of Climate* 8 (1995): 1086–1103; K. R. Briffa et al., "Influence of Volcanic Eruptions on Northern Hemisphere Summer Temperature over the Past 600 Years," *Nature* 393 (4 June 1998): 450–55; R. B. Stothers, "Climatic and Demographic Consequences of the Massive Volcanic Eruption of 1258," *Climatic Change* 45 (2000): 361–74, at 364–65; D'Arrigo et al., "Spatial Response," 241–44; A. Robock, "The Climatic Aftermath," *Science* 295 (15 Feb. 2002): 1242–44; C. Oppenheimer, "Ice Core and Palaeoclimatic Evidence for the Great Volcanic Eruption of 1257," *International Journal of Climatology* 23 (2003): 417–26.

shadow. Everyone declared that the sun would never recover its original light. The fruits did not ripen, and the wine tasted like sour grapes.<sup>29</sup>

Essentially the same version, deriving from John of Ephesos, also appears in the chronicle of an anonymous Syrian monk writing in the eighth century, the so-called pseudo-Dionysios of Tel Mahre.<sup>30</sup> It dates the event erroneously (530/31), which is not unusual in this writer's work. No further details are added by the tenth-century Arabic *Universal History* of Agaprios of Menbidj, though here the year is given as 846 [534/35].<sup>31</sup> Fortunately, an entirely independent report is presented by the historian Prokopios, who was in Africa and Italy at that time:

*And it came about during this year that a most dread portent took place. For the sun gave forth its light without brightness, like the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed exceedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it shed were not clear nor such as it is accustomed to shed. And from the time when this thing happened men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor any other thing leading to death. And it was the time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his reign [536/37].<sup>32</sup>*

Another Syriac chronicler, writing probably in the sixth century, also connected the portent with human affairs.

*And [Pope Agapetus] came with them to Constantinople in the month of March in the year fourteen [536]; and Severus was there and Anthemius was chief priest. And the whole city was disturbed at the arrival of Agapetus; and the earth with all that is upon it quaked; and the sun began to be darkened by day and the moon by night, while ocean was tumultuous with spray (?), from the 24th of March in this year till the 24th of June in the following year fifteen [537]. And Agapetus, when he appeared before the king, had a splendid reception from him.<sup>33</sup>*

The exact meaning of the phrase rendered by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks as "tumultuous with spray" is not clear. The Syriac words *'arir rattibuta* could be translated "clouded by moisture" or "confused by wet clouds," but the idea of a storm is not excluded. Humidity was definitely somehow involved. The quaking of the earth may well refer (truthfully or not) to an earthquake but possibly also to civil disturbances ("the whole land was agitated").<sup>34</sup> Portents in the sun, moon, and roaring sea are listed together by Luke among those that precede Jesus's second coming. The biblical passage might thus have influenced the chronicler's wording.<sup>35</sup> Descriptions of natural portents have their own rhetoric in the ancient world. Though this is no reason for discarding such descriptions, caution is needed when interpreting unusual phenomena associated with historical events.

Later the same chronicler asserts that the winter of the year fifteen (536/37) was very severe in Mesopotamia, "so much so that from the large and unwonted quantity of snow the birds perished and...there was distress...among men...from the evil things."<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, the continuator of Marcellinus Comes reports that fifteen thousand Saracens were driven from Persia to the province of Euphratensis by drought in 536.<sup>37</sup>

Cassiodorus, who was the praetorian prefect of Italy at the time, described the phenomenon in terms similar to those of the writers quoted above. After lamenting that the eclipse of the sun had been going on almost an entire year, he asserts, "So we have had a winter without storms, spring without mildness,

28 The literary evidence has recently been cited and briefly discussed also by M. Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians: Kontingenzerfahrung und Kontingenzbewältigung im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Hypomnemata 147 (Göttingen, 2003), 359–65; Stathakopoulos, "Reconstructing the Climate," 251–55 (n. 11 above), and *Famine and Pestilence*, 265–69 (n. 17 above).

29 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 9.26.296, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166–1199* (Paris, 1899–1910), 2:220–21. The same account is in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicle* 79–80, trans. E. A. W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj 1225–1286* (London, 1932, repr. Amsterdam, 1976), 1:74–75.

30 Trans. W. Witakowski, *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, pt. 3, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre*, Translated Texts for Historians 22 (Liverpool, 1996), 65.

31 Ed. and trans. A. Vasiliev, PO 8:429.

32 *History of the Wars* 4.14.5–6 (trans. H. B. Dewing, *Procopius* [London, 1914–40]). This account was later repeated almost word for word by Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* AM 6026, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 202.

33 *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899, repr. New York, 1979), 9.19.

34 I owe all remarks on Syriac to the expertise of Tapani Harviainen.

35 Luke 21:25; cf. also earthquakes in Luke 21:10–11. The chronicler refers to a biblical parallel in a later report (*Syriac Chronicle* 12.5) of a strange natural phenomenon in 556.

36 *Syriac Chronicle* 10.1. The missing words are indistinct in the Syriac ms.

37 Marcellinus Comes, MGH *AA* 11:1105; also in *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, trans. B. Croke, *Byzantina Australiensia* 7 (Sydney, 1995).

summer without heat.” It is not clear if he was writing in the autumn of 536 or 537: if the cloud appeared in the spring of 536, neither fits his description perfectly. Autumn of 536 seems more likely because he incidentally notes that the previous year’s harvest had been plentiful.<sup>38</sup> His collection also includes a letter of King Theodahad, ordering grain to be distributed from state granaries in the famine-stricken north Italian provinces of Liguria and Venetia.<sup>39</sup> This must have been in 536 because Theodahad was killed late that year. Cassiodorus’s report is supported by the *Liber pontificalis*, which mentions a devastating famine in the whole world (*per universum mundum*) in the same year that the Goths besieged Rome (537). In Liguria it caused mothers to eat their children, a detail based on a report of Datius, bishop of Milan. Unfortunately, the writer does not specify whether the famine was due to the war, or to the climate, or to both.<sup>40</sup> Cassiodorus also complains of high prices for grain, but these letters cannot be dated to a precise year.<sup>41</sup> The crops, however, did not fail everywhere: further letters of Cassiodorus during the first indiction year (537/38) instruct officials to supply Ravenna from stocks in Histria across the Adriatic, where the previous harvest (presumably of 537) had been much better.<sup>42</sup>

### *The Evidence of John Lydos and the Cloud’s Extent*

The last account of the episode is given by John Lydos in his treatise *On Portents*, written in Constantinople probably somewhere around the 540s. Since this passage is both crucial and ambiguous, and has so far been cited only in a misleadingly truncated version by those who have used it as evidence, it should be studied in full. I have underlined those parts that have been repeated by scholars since the original translations of Stothers and Rampino.<sup>43</sup>

*If the sun becomes dim because the air is dense from rising moisture—as happened in the course of the recently passed fourteenth indiction [535/36] for nearly a whole year, when Belisarios held the consular office (τὴν ὑπατον ἔχοντος Βελισαρίου τιμῆν), so that the produce (καρπούς) was destroyed because of the bad time—it predicts heavy trouble in Europe. And this we have seen from the events themselves, when many wars broke out in the west and that tyranny was dissolved, while India, and the Persian realm, and whatever dry land lies toward the rising sun, were not troubled at all. And it was not even likely that those regions would be affected by the calamity because it was in Europe that the moisture in question (τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὑγρότητος) evaporated and gathered into clouds dimming the light of the sun so that it did not come into our sight or pierce this dense substance.*<sup>44</sup>

Belisarios’s consular year was 535, but since there were no consuls in 536–37, Lydos may have meant his first postconsulate in 536. A simple blunder is also possible, although Lydos seems to have written his treatise not very long after the event. Note also that the Greek word καρπούς (translated literally and as such correctly as “fruits” by Stothers and Rampino) may refer to any produce and often to the grain harvest, while the Syriac word used in the passage of Michael cited earlier (“The fruits did not ripen”) does not cover grain.

But the other details of Lydos’s account are even more remarkable. He attributes the darkness to moisture (ἀνάδοσις ὑγρότητος) and claims that the phenomenon was restricted to Europe. Of course we cannot be sure that Lydos knew accurately the cloud’s physical origin: he may have just invented the best explanation he could. A volcanic eruption can spew material into both the troposphere (the lowest region of the atmosphere, below ca. 10 km) and the

38 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 12.25.

39 Ibid., 10.27, 12.27–28.

40 *Liber pontificalis*, *Vita Silverii* 100, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le liber pontificalis* (Paris, 1955), 1:291. This account is repeated by Paulus Diaconus, 16.18, MGH *AA* 2:222.

41 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 10.28, 11.11–12.

42 Ibid., 12.22–24.

43 Cf. Stothers and Rampino, “Volcanic Eruptions,” 6362; Stothers, “Mystery Cloud,” 344 (both n. 1 above); Baillie, *Exodus to Arthur*, 85; Keys, *Catastrophe*, 282 (both n. 3 above); B. K. Young, “Climate and Crisis in Sixth-Century Italy and Gaul,” in *Years without Summer*, 35–42, at 37 (n. 5 above). This translation is mine: I am not aware of any translation of the work into another language. The most recent edition is by C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber de Ostentis et Calendaria Graeca omnia* (Leipzig, 1897).

44 John Lydos, *On Portents* 9c (p. 25 Wachsmuth ed.). Ioannis Telelis has suggested to me that τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὑγρότητος should rather be translated “the moisture lying underneath,” which is certainly possible and would render the account slightly more specific; however, I have adopted the more neutral alternative.

stratosphere (the upper region of the atmosphere). All the known volcanogenic fogs have been remarkably dry, composed of sulfuric acid aerosols. If the fog was tropospheric, even an antiquarian writer could have discerned a water fog from a dry fog of volcanic origin. An intense tropospheric fog lasting for more than a year, though not impossible, would be an exceptional event. It would require an equally long-lived eruption, or some unknown source.

If the sun was dimmed by a dense stratospheric fog, which might well linger in the atmosphere for one or two years, ancient observers could not possibly have distinguished its composition from ordinary high cloudiness (like high cirrus). In that case, they might only conjecture on its origins. Of the other reports quoted above, the sixth-century Syriac chronicle explicitly mentioned moisture above/from the ocean. This may give some support to the theory that Lydos also accurately described a moist fog above sea and land. On the other hand, Cassiodorus complained not only of north winds but also of a lack of rain.<sup>45</sup> He also mentioned that the sun appeared bluish (*venetum*). This would better suit a dry fog, with its very different particle size and optical thickness, which makes the color of the sun change, whereas a wet fog renders the sun only grayish. Thus the Syriac chronicler, alternatively, may have referred to strong winds that continually whipped up spray from the ocean. In sum, all the sources are in some way ambiguous because we cannot distinguish real observation from speculative reasoning. A reliable scientific description of the phenomenon is lacking, and its immediate effects may have varied regionally.<sup>46</sup>

Again, it is not certain how familiar Lydos was with the situation farther east. His knowledge of weather conditions or political developments need not have extended to India. On the other hand, there is nothing strange if it did: when people in the Mediterranean area were distressed by a darkness lasting for months, they were likely to be curious about similar phenomena in neighboring regions, and rumors of the cloud must have circulated widely, from the Atlantic to the Middle East and even beyond.

It might be claimed that Lydos had before him a preexisting theory concerning a special portent and was trying (perhaps unconsciously rather than consciously) to force historical details to fit into that pattern. It would be useful to know how much he followed an earlier source in this passage.<sup>47</sup> However, practically all the established theories that Lydos discussed in his work and that have a geographical dimension, predicting different fates in different regions, also presuppose some corresponding difference in the portentous sign itself. For example, a comet coming from the east has different consequences than a comet coming from the west, or the sun symbolizes Asia and the moon, Europe.<sup>48</sup> In this short passage, Lydos three times explicitly stresses that he is speaking only of Europe. It is difficult to see why he would have invented such a special feature of the cloud. If he had believed that the sky was darkened in the eastern empires as well, he would have needed only to say that there was probably political trouble in India, too, and none could have questioned his theory. On the other hand, if he did not know the cloud's eastern extension, he did not need to say anything about it. Thus, even if Lydos was connecting the contemporary phenomenon with a sufficiently close, older theory (which would probably not have had a geographical dimension at all), he had no obvious need to distort the facts. But it appears at least as likely that he presents his own ad hoc hypothesis concocted from actual observations and their imagined relationship.

It is, in fact, remarkable that no literary source mentions the dark cloud outside Europe: even the sixth-century Syriac chronicler states that the events he described took place in Constantinople. John of Ephesos, the probable

45 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 12.25.3.

46 I owe much information here to Richard Stothers. See also R. B. Stothers, "Cloudy and Clear Stratospheres before AD 1000 inferred from written sources," *Journal of Geophysical Research* 107 (2002): D23, 4718/AAC-17, 1-10.

47 The editor's suggestion (Wachsmuth, p. xxxiii n. 43), that Lydos had taken the whole passage from a much earlier work of Campestris, mentioned some 20 lines earlier, is not substantiated in any way and is actually untenable: the simple fact that Lydos describes events taking place in 536 shows that most of the text must be from his own pen. Furthermore precisely this passage is missing from all but one manuscript, unlike the immediately preceding text, which is more or less directly cited from Campestris. A few pages later (Wachsmuth, p. 38, lines 1-8) the editor concedes that Lydos had inserted his own text into another lengthy passage taken from Campestris.

48 E.g., Lydos, *On Portents* 9-9a, 15, cf. Hephaestion and Avienus at pp. 167-71.

source for Michael the Syrian, lived mainly in northern Mesopotamia until the late 530s, but he both traveled widely and recorded events he had not witnessed, so his report does not prove with certainty that the cloud was sighted east of the Mediterranean.

Cold and drought are attested in other parts of the world but not the persistent fog. Chinese sources record that the star Canopus was not seen at the spring and fall equinoxes in 536.<sup>49</sup> Although this might be taken to refer to reduced atmospheric transparency (as many scholars have assumed), it seems an understated way to describe a darkness that continued for a year. It is especially odd if it was the factor that caused summer frosts, drought, and widespread famine, duly recorded in Chinese historical works between 535 (sic) and 538.<sup>50</sup> At least two possibilities emerge: either the Chinese did not mention the fog because opaque skies are not unusual in northern China due to the frequent desert storms there,<sup>51</sup> or the fog was tropospheric and localized in the Mediterranean area. Although zonal winds would have spread a stratospheric fog over the northern latitudes within a few weeks or months, a tropospheric fog (volcanic or not) might well have attenuated before reaching China. The problem remains that no tropospheric fog of such duration has been observed in historical times.

However, if we accept the possibility that the fog may have been seen in northern China though it was not clearly recorded, it might also be possible to explain Lydos's account in a different way. All those areas for which the fog is securely attested (Italy, Constantinople) lie above 35 degrees of northern latitude, perhaps even above 40 degrees, depending on how we interpret Prokopios's report.<sup>52</sup> The same is true of northern Mesopotamia (ca. 37° N). In contrast, those areas farther east that Lydos claims did not witness the fog (Persia, India) all lie below 40 or even 35 degrees northern latitude, and this also applies to most of China (fig. 2). Thus, instead of a west/east divide we might actually have a cloud that could be seen only at latitudes north of the Mediterranean and in

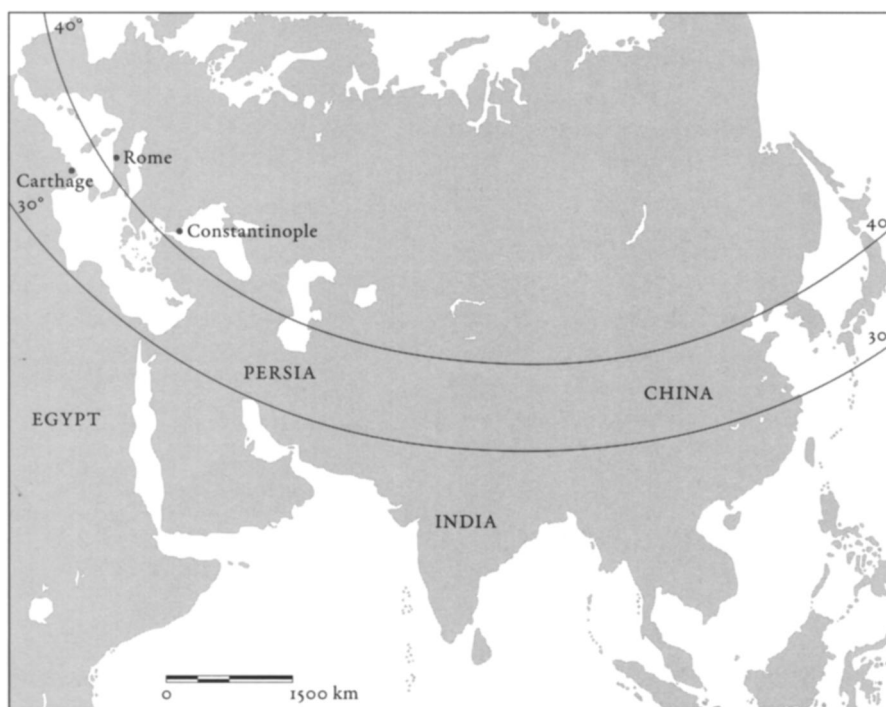
49 M. S. Houston, "Chinese Climate, History, and State Stability in AD 536," in *Years without Summer*, 71–77, at 73 (n. 5 above); the Chinese sources were originally detected by K. D. Pang and H.-H. Chou.

50 Cf. also Keys, *Catastrophe*, 149–60, 283 (n. 3 above).

51 See W. Qian, L. Quan, and Sh. Shi, "Variations of the Dust Storm in China and its Climatic Record," *Journal of Climate* 15 (2002): 1216–29.

52 Prokopios does not indicate where precisely the eclipsed sun could be seen. He was in Carthage at Easter 536 but soon moved to Sicily and Italy and was with Belisarios in Rome during 537; see *Wars* 4.14.7, 4.14.39–41, 6.4.1–4. If the event had been restricted, say, only to northern Italy, Prokopios would probably have specified it. Thus the cloud most likely extended at least to southern Italy, i.e., below 40 degrees.

**Fig. 2** Map of Eurasia in the sixth century, showing the 30 and 40 degrees of northern latitude (map by V. Vahtikari and www.archeographics.com)



the very north of China. Such an abrupt and globally uniform cutoff latitude falling between 30 and 40 degrees has been observed for stratospheric aerosol veils stemming from large eruptions of northern volcanoes, notably Lakagigar (Iceland, 1783), Ksudach (Kamchatka, 1907), and Katmai (Alaska, 1912). For example, the dust cloud from Katmai was seen and measured at Bassour, Algeria (36° N), at Simla, India (31° N), and at two U.S. observatories (34–36° N), but not at Helwan, Egypt (30° N).<sup>53</sup>

If we interpret Lydos's text in this manner, disregarding his report of the moist fog and assuming that the missing or misdated acid layers in the ice cores can be explained somehow, we would add a new dimension to the volcano hypothesis, supporting Richard Stothers's suggestion that the mystery cloud derived from a far northern volcano, and not from a tropical one such as Rabaul (New Guinea), Krakatau (Indonesia), or El Chichón (Mexico), which have been earlier suspects.<sup>54</sup> The observed decline of tree growth in South America in the 540s might seem to be at odds with this. However, it has not yet been established whether a high-latitude eruption could have global climatic effects. The issue is currently debated.

### *The Duration of the Fog*

Clearly the Mediterranean sources do not completely agree on the length of the darkness. The reports range from less than a year to eighteen months. It is possible that the fog did not appear at the same time in all regions—the difference depending more on latitude than on longitude. But it is equally possible that when the fog gradually started to clear, the observers determined the end point differently depending on personal interpretation. Cassiodorus and the *Liber pontificalis* seem to attest continuing problems with the harvest in 537, which is not at all surprising if the fog persisted until the summer. Immediate effects of the event are not reported thereafter. Prokopios (perhaps preoccupied with his narrative of the siege of Rome) does not mention the crop failures of 536/37. He says that outside the besieged city the Goths were also starving, but he seems to credit it to a successful Byzantine naval blockade.<sup>55</sup> In contrast the historian describes at great length a terrible famine in Italy in 539. However, he states explicitly that the fields had been left uncultivated because of the war.<sup>56</sup> A little later he returns to the subject of food shortages among the Goths, again insinuating that the lack of supplies was a logistical problem.<sup>57</sup> He does not give a hint that climatic conditions might have been blamed for continual bad harvests.

Though these sources state clearly that a mysterious fog was seen in an area that extended from at least Italy to Asia Minor and caused bad harvests there for one or two years, they all seem to treat it as a temporary bad omen, not as the beginning of a long period of unfavorable climatic conditions. Of course the writers might not have noted a slight drop in average temperatures, and might perhaps not have cared to record a change in prevailing winds or precipitation. However, if the direct consequences of such underlying factors for agriculture had been grave enough to undermine the economic well-being of the empire, we would probably expect that contemporary writers would devote more attention to them.

Indeed many chroniclers and historians of the sixth century had a different focus, concentrating on either political or ecclesiastical history.<sup>58</sup> Thus Isidorus and Jordanes register only political events. Gregory of Tours does not record any climatic events around 536, though he mentions an exceptionally severe winter in 548; Victor Tonnennensis and Evagrius Scholastikos report only the

53 R. B. Stothers, "Major Optical Depth Perturbations to the Stratosphere from Volcanic Eruptions: Pyrheliometric Period 1881–1960," *Journal of Geophysical Research* 101 (1996): 3901–20; idem, "The Great Dry Fog of 1783," *Climatic Change* 32 (1996): 79–89; G. R. Demarée, A. E. J. Ogilvie, and D. Zhang, "Further Documentary Evidence of Northern Hemispheric Coverage of the Great Dry Fog of 1783," *Climatic Change* 39 (1998): 727–30. The ratio of tropospheric to stratospheric sulfur output from Lakagigar is under debate with some scholars assuming a predominantly tropospheric fog. I am indebted here, too, to Richard Stothers for valuable help and suggestions.

54 Stothers, "Volcanic Dry Fogs," 717 (n. 19 above). 55 Prokopios, *Wars* 6.6.1–3, 6.7.17.

55 Prokopios, *Wars* 6.6.1–3, 6.7.17.

56 Ibid., 6.20.15–33; see Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, 272–74 (n. 17 above); for the other famines of this period, mostly caused by sieges and warfare, see *ibid.*, 270–77.

57 Prokopios, *Wars* 6.24.13–15.

58 M. Kouroumali, "Catastrophe and Conspiracy: The Evidence of the Sixth Century Byzantine Sources for the AD 536 Environmental Event," *Medieval Life* 16 (Winter 2001/2): 2–5. Without going into details, she refutes Baillie's suggestion that the event of 536 caused a break in historical documentation.

plague.<sup>59</sup> John, bishop of Nikiu in Egypt, cites several natural catastrophes and phenomena in the fifth and sixth centuries, including earthquakes, a plague, a comet, and a short solar eclipse, but not the mystery cloud of 536.<sup>60</sup> The fog is also not listed among the calamities cited in the *Chronicle of Edessa*.<sup>61</sup> According to Prokopios, Justinian's reign was severely afflicted by several disastrous floods and earthquakes and by the plague.<sup>62</sup> The continuation of John Malalas is for some reason almost silent concerning any events during the period 533–39, and following him, the *Chronicon Paschale* as well. Malalas mentions the plague in 542 and a shortage of wine in 543. Although Malalas's *Chronicon* could be taken as an indication that there had been no particular dearth of wine (or other products) immediately before, arguments *ex silentio* are not particularly weighty from texts like Malalas's.<sup>63</sup> In general the omission from these sources does not disprove the cloud's existence or show that the writers were unaware of it, but evidently, even if the dark cloud was seen all around the Mediterranean (which is by no means certain), it was not remembered as the most important event in the recent history of that era.<sup>64</sup>

More allusions to the climatic conditions of the late 530s might emerge from a careful reading of all Western and Eastern hagiographical sources. A Merovingian Life mentions that while Queen Clothilde was building a monastery, an exceptionally bad year for wine occurred in Gaul.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately the year could be any time between 511 and her death in 544. From the other end of the Mediterranean world, the *Life of Symeon the Stylite the Younger* preserves the memory of both the plague and the Persian incursions into Syria, but not the fog and cold a few years earlier. Similarly the *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* by Cyril of Skythopolis and the *Life of Nicholas of Sion* (in Lycia) allude to the plague but not to any contemporary climatic disasters.

### *Inscriptional and Archaeological Evidence*

Among other sources for the history of the sixth century, inscriptions might be considered potentially relevant. However, grave inscriptions, even when dated, are of little use for a study of the dark cloud. I have not read through all mid-sixth-century inscriptions from the Mediterranean area but, as far as I can see, both Latin and Greek epitaphs of this period tend to follow perfectly traditional, laconic formulas. Statistics on mortality are notoriously unreliable, because the practice of putting up epitaphs is sensitive to many possible factors. More especially, at the time of the fog, Italy was in the midst of a bloody war, which must have affected both mortality and the epigraphic habit. In Palestine there seems to be a greater number of dated tombstones between 541 and 544 than in the immediately preceding and following periods. Although their absolute number is not very high (less than twenty), the Palestinian tombs have been connected with the plague.<sup>66</sup> I am not aware of similar groups of grave inscriptions there or elsewhere in the 530s.

Building inscriptions are a more promising source. Richard Duncan-Jones purported to show that building activity, at least in Italy, declined during the second-century Antonine plague. Some of his figures suggest this, though the number of relevant dated inscriptions even in the second century is not very high.<sup>67</sup> Of course the Italian material in the 530s is again useless for our

59 Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 3.37, MGH *ScriptRerMerov* 1.1:132; Victor Tonnennensis, *Chronicle* 130 (CCSL 173A:43); Evagrius Scholasticos, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.29, trans. M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Translated Texts for Historians 33 (Liverpool, 2000), 229–32.

60 *Chronicle* 87.38–41, 90.5, 90.24–29, 90.81–83, 94.18; trans. R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 AD), Coptic Bishop of Nikiu: Being a History of Egypt before and during the Arab Conquest* (London, 1916; repr. Amsterdam, n.d.).

61 Ed. I. Guidi et al., *Chronica Minora* CSCO 1–2 (Leipzig, 1903).

62 *Secret History* 18.36–45.

63 Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.80–86, 18.90–92, and 18.95; trans. E. Jeffreys et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 4 (Sydney, 1986). For the variations in the coverage of events in 532–65 by the continuation of Malalas, see, e.g., M. Whitby, “Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarius and the Date of Procopius' *de Aedificiis*,” *JHS* 105 (1985): 138–39.

64 On the variety of factors causing food shortages and human suffering in the Byzantine Empire, see, e.g., Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 74–92 (n. 2 above); M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle: Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 10 (Paris, 1992), 446–64; Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence* (n. 17 above).

65 *Vita Clothildae* 12, MGH *ScriptRerMerov* 2:341–48.

66 See Y. E. Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions*, Meletemata 17 (Athens, 1992), 129–30, 236–38; Durliat, “Peste,” 108–9; Conrad, “Pest,” 95; Stathakopoulos, “Justinianic Plague,” 270 n. 31; Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, 278–80 (all n. 17 above). A few mass inhumations in the Spanish cities of Valencia and Cartagena, with no inscriptions, have been dated to the early or mid-6th century and attributed to the plague; see M. Kulikowski, “Plague in Spanish Late Antiquity,” forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference on the Justinianic plague (n. 17 above).

67 “Antonine Plague,” 125–30; but see the criticism of Greenberg, “Plagued by Doubt,” 416–19, and Bruun, “Antonine Plague in Rome” (all n. 7 above).



purposes because of the ravages of the war, but another problem affects the inscriptions from the eastern Mediterranean as well. To arrive at statistically meaningful samples, Duncan-Jones had to include inscriptions dated only by reign. This worked in the second century because the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the plague were sufficiently contemporaneous, and there were no other (perceived) complicating factors. However, the reign of Justinian is too long to provide a useful dating criterion. Moreover the Persian onslaught on Syria in 540 and the outbreak of the plague in 541 are so close to the hypothetic climatic downturn beginning in 536 that their effects cannot be separated. There remains only an extremely short time gap in the late 530s, when we might detect phenomena connected with crop failures and food shortages. A sample of relevant inscriptions reveals that building activity was by no means halted in the years following 536, since churches and other buildings were constructed or repaired in 536–40 in Asia Minor, in the Near East, and in reconquered Africa.<sup>68</sup> In the north-Syrian limestone massif, building inscriptions stop in 540 and reappear only after a decade; a connection with the Persian raid has been postulated.<sup>69</sup>

Archaeological research faces the same difficulty as epigraphy, the results of which it often uses to date material remains. Settlement patterns and normal construction activity were certainly affected by war in Italy, in the Balkans, and in Africa.<sup>70</sup> In the Near East, it is generally believed that the cities and countryside were experiencing a long boom that continued until at least the mid-sixth century and much later in some areas. A similar apparent boom is evident in Asia Minor, where the Carian city of Aphrodisias abounds in public and private inscriptions between the mid-fifth and early sixth centuries.<sup>71</sup> Due to the lack of inscriptions and proper archaeological excavations, the late Roman chronology of most other sites in Asia Minor is uncertain. The decline of the Greco-Roman epigraphic habit does not automatically mean that there was a decline in civic life in general. There are signs of continuing prosperity in the sixth century, but also some signs of a contracting economy and population. In that these cannot be precisely dated, the economic development of the region after the mid-sixth century remains obscure. Whatever happened in the latter half of the sixth century, Asia Minor suffered much damage during the Persian invasions of the early seventh century.<sup>72</sup>

In Syria the prosperous period was disrupted in Antioch by two severe earthquakes in the 520s and by the Persian sack in 540. In the surrounding area, a period of economic stagnation seems to have set in around the middle of the sixth century. It has been attributed to the plague, or to the ravages of the Persians, which probably affected village economy, even if the countryside was not devastated to the same extent as the principal cities. Significantly, farther south, in the regions of Epiphaneia and Bostra and in Palestine, there is less or no trace of decline during the sixth century.<sup>73</sup> If it is true that the rural settlements in the Syrian limestone massif retained their large population but

68 Asia: C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 88 n. 88; Caria: H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie mineure* (Paris, 1922), 219; Cilicia: G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 4 (Paris, 1987), 105 (late 536); Syria: *IGLSyr* 2:456, 462, 571, 786; 4:1344; 6:2945; Arabia: *IGLSyr* 13:9128–31; Africa: *ILCV* 805, cf. 791, 794, 797, 804, 806; J. Durlat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 49 (1981). For the reconstruction of Antioch after the Persian sack of 540, see Prokopios, *On the Buildings of Emperor Justinian* 2.10.

69 F. R. Trombley, "War and Society in Rural Syria c. 502–613 AD: Observations on the Epigraphy," *BMGS* 21 (1997): 166, 176–80.

70 For the Balkans, see, e.g., *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin: Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome* (Rome, 1984); M. Whitby, "The Balkans and Greece 420–602," in *CAH*, 2nd rev. ed. (2000), 14:701–30.

71 C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, JRS Monographs 5 (London, 1989), xxv–xxvii.

72 See now esp. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, 30–54 (n. 12 above); Whitton, "Recent Research" (n. 16 above); further C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor*, Collected Studies Series 315 (Aldershot, 1990); idem, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, Collected Studies Series 538 (Aldershot, 1996); C. Roueché, "Asia Minor and Cyprus," in *CAH*, 2d rev. ed. (2000), 14:570–87; and cf. M. Whitton, "Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City: A Continuous History," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 3–29.

73 C. Foss, "Syria in Transition, AD 550–750: An Archaeological Approach," *DOP* 51 (1997): 189–271; H. Kennedy, "Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia," in *CAH*, 2d rev. ed. (2000), 14:588–611; Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, 54–63; see also Whitton, "Ruling the City," 13–20; C. Strube, *Die "Toten Städte": Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike* (Mainz, 1996) 76–

89; Trombley, "War and Society"; and cf. Z. T. Fiema, "Late-Antique Petra and Its Hinterland: Recent Research and New Interpretations," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA Suppl.* 49 (Portsmouth, R.I., 2002), 3:191–252.

in declining economic conditions well into the early Islamic period, that might indicate explanations other than the plague. However, this interpretation is so far derived mainly from just one excavated village (Dehes).<sup>74</sup>

The dating of settlement changes remains controversial, as does linking them with assumed climatic changes. Even in the intensively studied Near Eastern area, given the chronological proximity of the dark cloud, plague, and foreign incursions, a secure analysis of their respective consequences appears practically impossible. Short-term effects would not figure in archaeological, palaeogeographical, or palaeobotanical material.<sup>75</sup> To distinguish the impact of the cloud from other factors, we would need sources that can be dated more accurately, to the year, month, and day, such as laws and papyri.

### *Legal Evidence*

The second edition of the Justinian Code was published in 534. In the following years, Justinian continued his legislative activity with a steady flow of new laws, *Novellae*, which discuss administrative, economic, and social problems in the smallest detail and are reasonably well preserved. Thus there are thirty-five constitutions from the year 535, sixteen constitutions from 536, and twenty-one from 537, followed by thirteen from 538 and twenty-six from 539. Thereafter, the number of laws diminishes, varying between zero and ten per year.<sup>76</sup> This amounts to around five hundred edition pages of text for the late 530s alone. Among this vast mass, only one group of laws might refer to the climatic conditions in and after 536. These laws address financial problems caused by a crop failure in Thrace and Illyricum. They are dated to June 535 in most manuscripts, but because there often seems to be confusion between Belisarios's consulate and postconsulate, it would be possible to emend the date to 536.<sup>77</sup> All the other constitutions from these years avoid any mention of agricultural difficulties. A series of laws beginning in 535 discusses the administrative organization of individual provinces and the duties of their governors. One of them, dated to June 536, deals with the province of Arabia. According to the preamble, the emperor had been induced to examine why such a flourishing region produced so little revenue. Having listened to a number of explanations, he concluded that the problem was weak administration. Not a word is said about climatic anomalies. A similar case appears in a long constitution on the administration of Egypt, probably to be dated to 538/39. It regulates the collection and transport of crops in a manner that reveals no concern other than about technical matters.<sup>78</sup>

Indeed the emperor was wise to concentrate his legislation on issues that he could influence. It would have been futile to enact laws against climate. But the laws do seem to refer a few times to the plague. One constitution improves the position of bankers in the face of problems that had, at least partly, been caused by suddenly increased mortality. The calamity did not need further description because it had, in the emperor's words, been felt "everywhere" by "everyone." The text is dated to 1 March 542. That appears somewhat too early for the Great Plague to have reached "everywhere," even allowing for rhetorical exaggeration. In fact the manuscript dating is again open to doubt, in that Justinian's sixteenth year is easily confused with his fifteenth year.<sup>79</sup> An emended date of 1 March 543 would perfectly fit the plague's spread. Another law in 543 discusses at length the rules of intestate succession, a topic that may well have become a burning question during an epidemic, although there is no direct reference in the text to the plague. In the following year, tradesmen, agricultural workers, and sailors are blamed for a two- or threefold price and wage rise.<sup>80</sup> Fifteen years later, in

74 Foss, "Syria in Transition," 202–4.

75 Cf. R. Rubin, "The Debate over Climatic Changes in the Negev, Fourth–Seventh Centuries CE," *PEQ* 121 (1989): 71–78; S. Bottema, "Pollen Proxy Data from Southeastern Europe and the Near East," in *Climate Proxy Data*, 63–79 (n. 21 above); C. Foss, "The Near Eastern Countryside in Late Antiquity: A Review Article," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA* Suppl. 14 (Portsmouth, R.I., 1995), 213–34; Y. Tsafir, "Some Notes on the Settlement and Demography of Palestine in the Byzantine Period: The Archaeological Evidence," in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*, ed. J. D. Seger (Winona Lake, Ind., 1996), 269–83; Koder, "Climatic Change" (n. 2 above); MacDonald, "Paleoclimate" (n. 9 above).

76 The reason for this decline in volume is not immediately clear. The numbers drop in 540, so there cannot be any connection with the plague or the death of Tribonian in 542. Cf., e.g., the tables in T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London, 1978), 133, 135.

77 *CIC*, *Nov.* 32–34. Cf. the ms. dates in *Nov.* 35–40. Admittedly, an error is less likely when we are speaking of three laws; two of them are dated actually to 536 in the *Epitome* of Theodoros, which itself dates from around 575. 78 *CIC*, *Nov.* 102 (Arabia); *Nov. Ed.* 13.4.2 (Egypt).

78 *CIC*, *Nov.* 102 (Arabia); *Nov. Ed.* 13.4.2 (Egypt).

79 *CIC*, *Nov. Ed.* 7.pr; cf. Prokopios, *Wars* 2.22–23. See *CIC*, *Nov.* 116–20, esp. 117, where the principal ms. (M) has "dn. iust. aug. ann. XV" although the correct number was certainly XVI.

80 *CIC*, *Nov.* 118 (543); *Nov.* 122 (544).

March 559, Justinian enacted a law against homosexuality. He suggested that the sins of humanity had aroused God's current wrath. Although this wrath is not specified, it coincides with another outbreak of the plague in 558.<sup>81</sup> The next epidemic was felt in Constantinople in 573–74, and this may have been, together with the Persian incursions of 573, the “continuous and manifold mortality” that induced Emperor Tiberius to grant a considerable tax exemption to landlords in 575.<sup>82</sup>

In all, the legislation does not display an active interest in natural catastrophes, but the plagues receive slightly more attention than the 536 event. The numismatic evidence does not offer anything more conclusive. In the reign of Justinian some rearrangements of the coinage system have been tentatively dated to around 538/39. The weight of the copper follis was raised from 18 g to 22 g, and it was retariffed against the gold solidus. After this there appears alongside the normal solidus weighing 24 siliquae a spasmodic series of so-called lightweight solidi weighing only 20–22 siliquae. The purpose of these lighter coins is not known, but their issue continued until the late seventh century.<sup>83</sup> The poor state of public finances, whether due to the war or to other reasons, remains one possible explanation for their introduction.

### *Papyrological Evidence*

Prokopios records an excessive flood, a poor harvest, and even food shortages in Egypt in 545/46 and 548,<sup>84</sup> while he does not mention any comparable calamities there in the 530s. In view of his selective report on Italian famines, this may be only an accidental omission. I next explore the papyrological evidence to determine whether anything anomalous was recorded in Egypt during the late 530s. In the Nile valley, the implications of a dark cloud are especially difficult to assess. At those latitudes, less heat may have caused no harm, although local vegetation is naturally adapted to a certain temperature and amount of sunlight, and frost would certainly have harmed the crops. In the arid regions of the southwestern United States, it has been observed that trees benefited from a cool period.<sup>85</sup> As we have seen, cold and drought were mentioned in contemporary sources as the main negative effect of the dark cloud. However, moisture in Egypt is not based on rain but on the Nile. The level of the flood varies naturally and depends on monsoon rains far to the south.<sup>86</sup> It is possible that a global climatic cooling might affect the monsoon rains. We know that the flood and crops failed in Egypt for two years in the late 40s BCE. It was also a time of severely cold weather in Greece and China. This may have been connected with the eruption of Etna in 44 BCE and the subsequent portentous darkness after the Ides of March (its timing was a historical coincidence that did not escape contemporary observers).<sup>87</sup> However, it is impossible to create a model of the rains' behavior from our imperfect information. The natural sciences cannot tell us what happened in Egypt in those years.

I have gone through all the papyrus documents datable between 521 and 560. My aim was to look not only at the immediate aftermath of 536 but also at more general trends before and after that point, finding perhaps a rise in the price of wheat or wine, increasing tax arrears, unpaid rents, or different clauses in lease contracts. However, as I surveyed only datable documents, it is theoretically possible that I have omitted some piece of evidence in a papyrus dated vaguely to the sixth century or to the Byzantine period.

Should we expect any variation in the number of surviving papyri from a period of crisis? When people have to struggle to survive, they might have less time to record their smallest transactions in writing, and even the official

81 *CIC*, Nov. 141; Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.127; Agathias, *Histories* 5.10. There had also been a devastating earthquake in Constantinople in December 557 (Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.124), and attacks by the Cotrigurs; see Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, 304–6 (n. 17 above).

82 *CIC*, Nov. 163. For the plague, see John of Biclarum, *Chronicle*, 33, CCSL 173A:66; Agapios, *Universal History*, PO 8:437; and for the Persian war, Trombley, “War and Society,” 175–80 (n. 69 above).

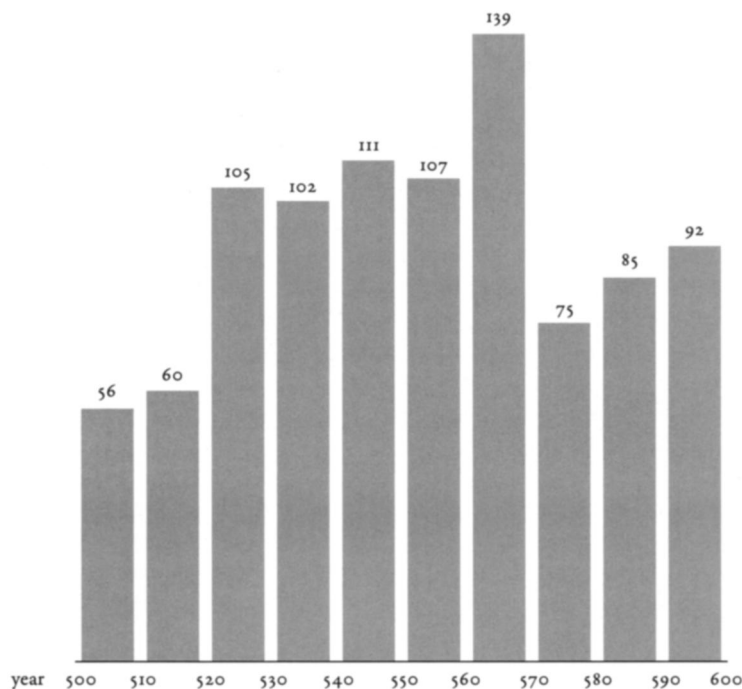
83 M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 476–78, 492–93. Cf. also Parlagean, *Pauvreté*, 409–21 (n. 2 above); Durliat, “Peste,” 110–11; Sarris, “Justinianic Plague,” 175–77 (both n. 17 above).

84 *Secret History* 22.14–19; *Wars* 7.29.6–8.

85 Gunn, *Years without Summer*, 12–13 (n. 5 above).

86 See F. A. Hassan and B. R. Stucki, “Nile Floods and Climatic Change,” in *Climate*, ed. Rampino et al., 37–46 (n. 8 above).

87 Forsyth, “Wake of Etna” (n. 2 above), citing primary sources, e.g., Plutarch, *Caes.* 69.3–4. See also Stothers and Rampino, “Volcanic Eruptions,” 6358–60 (n. 1 above); Stothers, “Volcanic Dry Fogs,” 717–18 (n. 19 above); P. Bicknell, “Blue Suns, the Son of Heaven, and the Chronology of the Volcanic Veil of the 40s BC,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 7 (1993): 2–11. For the situation in Egypt in 43–42 BCE, see Appian, *Civil War* 4.61, 4.63, 4.108; Seneca, *Nat. Quest.* 4A 2.16; *SEG* 24:1217. For the general situation between 44 and 36 BCE, see also P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge, 1988), 202.



**Fig. 3** Datable papyrus documents from Egypt in the sixth century by decade (graph by K. Arjava and M. Reynolds)

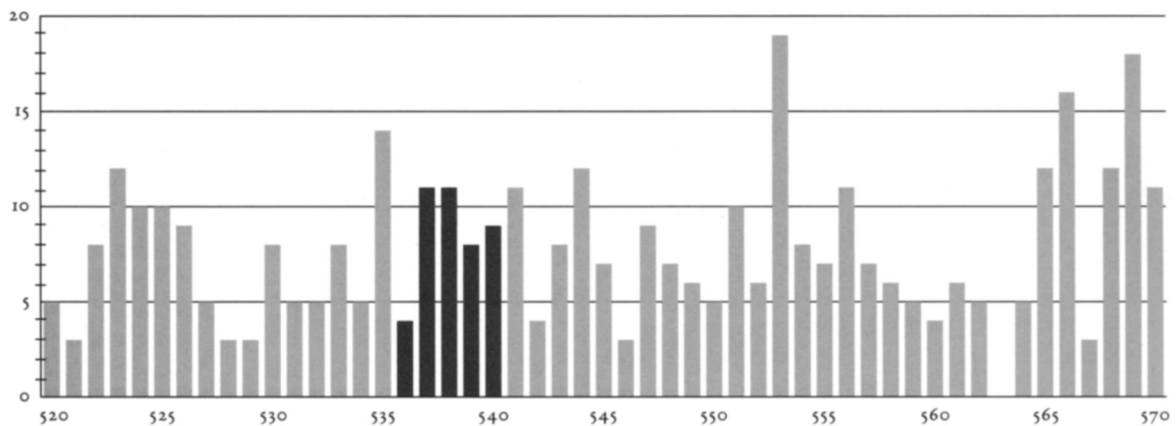
administration may be in a state of chaos. This was assumed by Duncan-Jones in his study on the effects of the Antonine plague in the second century, although the claim is not supported by comparative evidence.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, failing crops and economic distress may create more documents than normal. Tax arrears and overdue loans may be recorded, new loans taken, special contracts made, and the conditions of old long-term contracts may be modified. Instead of one ten-year lease, people may prefer ten one-year leases. It has been suspected that, because of a low flood, there was an unusually large number of leases in the years 45–46 in the Tebtynis *grapheion*.<sup>89</sup> As evidenced by the graphs, however, the number of papyri surviving from the sixth century remains fairly constant in the middle of the century (fig. 3). Naturally, the distribution year by year varies more. The drop in 536 seemed conspicuous at first sight, especially as the next “bad year” in 542 might be connected with the plague (fig. 4), but it soon transpired that there were similar troughs elsewhere in a haphazard manner. This approach clearly does not lead us anywhere, so we can safely omit the discussion of pure numbers.<sup>90</sup>

88 “Antonine Plague,” 108, 124–25; Greenberg, “Plagued by Doubt,” 415–16 (both n. 7 above), points out that no such trend can be seen in British documents in the time of the Black Death.

89 Cf. J. Rowlandson, “Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt,” in *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, ed. A. K. Bowman and E. Rogan, Proceedings of the British Academy 96 (Oxford, 1999), 149.

90 The graphs in figs. 3 and 4 are based on the Heidelberg Database (*Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*, online at <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/gvz.html>, accessed September 2006). Later versions and recent papyrological publications have been consulted for relevant information, but the new papyri and improved datings would have affected the graphs only marginally. Such cases, a small percentage of the ca. 380 documents dated with sufficient precision to 521–60, have been taken into account in the discussion and in tables 1–2. The papyri are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, ed. J. F. Oates et al., *BASP* Suppl. 9 (Oakville, Conn., 2001), <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>, accessed May 2004.

**Fig. 4** Datable papyrus documents from Egypt in the sixth century by year (graph by K. Arjava and M. Reynolds)



Unfortunately, there is very little else to report. Even if the material amounts to about four hundred documents, the sample is too small to reveal any reliable statistics.<sup>91</sup> We cannot compare the price level, or wage level, over these decades, nor does the level of rents give any better results. As a rule, the lease contracts stipulate the amount of rent, though it is not always preserved in the surviving part of the document. However, the area of land leased was left unspecified in many contracts. This vital information consequently survives in a still smaller number of documents, thus making comparisons between the terms of different agreements difficult. In 537 we happen to have two contracts with the relevant facts: in the first one, the rent is only two *artabae* per *aroura*, a very low rent that would hardly even cover the taxes, while in the second one it is more than twice as much, five *artabae* per *aroura*, a fairly normal rent.<sup>92</sup> The variation in the quality of land and other circumstances is clearly enough to conceal any possible changes in the average rents over the course of time.

The length of leases merits some attention. Duncan-Jones found that, after the Antonine plague, the shortest leases (one to three years) disappeared from the record for two decades.<sup>93</sup> In 536 there is no change like this: everything from one to five years and more appears both before and after that date (table 1). However, if we divide the material in 541/42, to take account of the Justinianic plague, a different picture emerges (fig. 5). After twenty short-term leases between 521 and 541, there is not a single securely dated one between 542 and 550, before there are again five between 551 and 560.<sup>94</sup> This might suggest that the plague had some effect on either recording practice or the organization of agriculture. However, the connection must be considered tentative at best, especially as there are many leases of unknown length from those years. In the 520s, the majority of leases derive from the well-known archive of Dioskoros from the village of Aphrodito, while the Aphrodito leases constitute around one-

91 Cf. Scheidel, "Model of Change," with Bagnall, "Effects of Plague," for the Antonine plague (both n. 7 above).

92 P. Ross. *Georg.* III 36; P. *Grenf.* I 56, cf. *Berichtigungsliste* I 83. Both leases are for five years; in the first lease, the rent is the same for all years irrespective of the height of the flood, whereas in the second one, the rent is halved for individual years if the flood does not reach the fields in question. Stipulations for lower rents if the plot remains uninundated (*ἀβροχός*) emerge just before 536: P. *Michael.* 43 (526), P. *Strasb.* V 472 (533), P. *Lond.* V 1841 (536), P. *Grenf.* 56 (537), P. *Strasb.* VI 598 (541), V 482 (542), SB XIV 12052 (545), P. *Lond.* V 1770 (547), PSI IV 283 (550), SB XIV 12131 (553), XVIII 13587 (555). One possible earlier case, P. *Münch.* III 91, has been dated to the 5th century on the basis of parallels of its document type (*ὑπόμνημα*); but there is nothing in the contents or handwriting to exclude a dating to the 6th century (see intro. to P. *Münch.* 91, confirmed by Dieter Hagedorn in an e-mail). On the other hand, an opposite clause, to agree explicitly on a fixed rent, without regard to the flood, already appears in lease contracts in the 5th century.

93 "Antonine Plague," 122–23, criticized by Greenberg, "Plagued by Doubt," 419–21 (both n. 7 above), for failure to notice similar "deviant" periods at other times. Cf. J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford, 1996), 252–59; and for the 6th century, J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford, 2001), 206; Sarris, "Justinianic Plague," 178.

94 P. *Cair. Masp.* II 67235 is dated 544/45 in the Heidelberg Database, but there do not appear any strong reasons for preferring that date to 529/30 of the previous indiction cycle; cf. H. Comfort, "Prolegomena to a Study of Late Byzantine Land-Leases," *Aegyptus* 13 (1933): 598–99 n. 2; D. Bonneau, "L'administration de l'irrigation dans les grands domaines en Égypte au VI siècle de n.è.," *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, American Studies in Papyrology 7 (Toronto, 1970), 49 n. 34. From 547 to 549 four documents have been drafted as liabilities to pay the rent for a land lease, P. *Cair. Masp.*

I 67116, II 67128, 67129, 67251; see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 41 (Munich, 1958), 138. Although they concern only one year's rents, the precise arrangements of the leases are unclear: they are classed in table 1 and fig. 5 as leases of unknown length. The landlord in all of them is Dioskoros of Aphrodito, and two of them are flax leases; cf. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 256.

**Table 1** Leases of Arable Land 521–60 CE, by Duration

	521–25	526–30	531–35	536–40	541–45	546–50	551–55	556–60
leases of 1–3 years	7	3	5	4	1	—	4	1
leases of 4–10 years	1	4	1	2	2	3	2	1
leases of undetermined length	—	1	1	1	—	3	3	—
leases of unknown length	4	2	1	1	3	7	2	1
Total	12	10	8	8	6	13	11	3



**Table 2** Document Types 521–60 CE

	521–35	536–48	549–60
all datable papyri	135	136	106
documents connected with loans	19	18	14
receipts for agricultural rents	2	11	3
tax receipts	10	2	7

half of the surviving material in the following two decades; in the 550s, however, most leases come from the Hermopolite nome. There is no corresponding trend in the provenance of all papyri during this period, but even if the distribution of leases is not purely accidental, it does not seem to explain the above statistics in any significant way.

The number of documents connected with loans remains fairly constant during the same period (table 2). There are more receipts for agricultural rents from 536 to 548 than before or after that period, and fewer receipts for taxes. The reasons behind these shifts are not obvious, nor can a connection with some aberrant financial circumstances be excluded. However, I would not put too much weight on any of these statistics. Of the eleven receipts for rents between 536 and 548, no less than eight derive from the village of Aphrodito, most of them from the family of Dioskoros. Of the tax receipts, seven come from 523 to 529, none from 530 to 534, three from 535, none from 536 to 543 and two from 544. This suggests sporadic occurrence but no particular change around 536. Of course, developments in documentary practice would have been inevitable over the course of time anyway, for various reasons that we cannot hope ever to recover. It is also clear that, if we did not have independent information that something happened around this time, the changes would attract little attention. An alternative division of the material at the time of the plague in 541/42 does not seem to produce any more convincing results.

One individual, potentially significant case is a document from 538 in which a seller agrees to compensate the buyer for loss because the wine from the recent harvest had been sour.<sup>95</sup> This brings to mind the Syriac chronicler's report that, during the darkness, grapes had tasted sour—perhaps just a coincidence, perhaps not.

Documentary evidence from outside Egypt is, of course, sparse. As it happens, the carbonized papyrus archive from Petra in Palestine includes several documents from the crucial years. There can be no doubt that a dark cloud and drought would be detrimental to agriculture in Palestine and Arabia. Among the many documents that cast light on late Roman taxation in Palestine, the Petra papyri contain three requests for transfer of taxation, so-called *ἐπιστάλματα τοῦ σωματισμοῦ*, from the year 538.<sup>96</sup> It seems that one person, Patrikios, is taking on the tax burden of another, Panolbios, for the latter's lifetime. After Panolbios's death, the land and the tax burden were to return to his heirs. Most details in these arrangements remain unknown, but it is tempting to assume that Panolbios wanted to get rid of his estates because he could not cope with his taxes. Indeed it turns out that he had not paid his taxes for several years—namely the 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 1st indiction years. He had, however, already paid them for the 13th and 14th years. That would point to the 15th indiction as the first year of trouble after two better years. Whether it means the harvest of 536 or 537 is not certain because we do not know when and in what kind of installments the taxes had to be paid in Palestine. If grain taxes were paid in kind right after the harvest at the end of the indiction year,

95 *P. Oxy.* XVI 1974.

96 J. Frösén, A. Arjava, and M. Lehtinen, eds., *The Petra Papyri I*, American Center of Oriental Research Publications 4 (Amman, 2002), documents 3–5.

**Fig. 5** The duration of Egyptian arable leases, 521–60 CE. A = Antaiopolites (mainly Aphrodito), F = Fayum, H = Hermopolites, O = Oxyrhynchos, X = other areas (graph by V. Vahtikari and M. Reynolds)



the most natural assumption, then the first problem year for this taxpayer was only 537. But, as the same document reveals, tax arrears existed in Petra before that date, and other documents attest them also several decades later.<sup>97</sup> Thus, rather than supporting the view of an exceptional crisis after 536, this evidence suggests that difficulty of meeting tax payments was a recurring phenomenon. Note that no overdue taxes appear in the Egyptian material between 521–60.

97 E.g., *P. Petra* I 7–10.

## Conclusions

Archaeological and inscriptional evidence does not help us assess the consequences of possible crop failures around 536. Recent archaeological work stresses the need for a regional approach: economic and demographic developments may differ in neighboring regions. An up-to-date synthesis is lacking for many areas. The Persian devastations in northern Syria, combined with recurrent earthquakes and epidemics, would probably explain any economic decline in that region. However, there is no way to rule out a contemporaneous climatic downturn.

Papyrological evidence is more precisely dated, permitting us to follow developments by year and month. There is a remote possibility that some observations in the papyri might be linked with the events of 536/37, but the traces are so faint that we would be justified in denying any mark of the mystery cloud in our documentation. The situation does not change much if we accept the evidence from tree rings (not confirmed by any literary source), that the coldest years occurred actually around 540. Still the papyri cannot prove that the dark cloud had only minor effects in the Byzantine empire (though it is possible). Another possibility is that Egypt was not affected by the event, while other areas were, either because the cloud did not spread below 35 degrees northern latitude or for some other reason. If the flood did not fail, then the breadbasket of the empire would have been saved from the problems that appeared in more arid regions of the Mediterranean. A third alternative is that Egypt indeed was affected but not disastrously. That is, the everlasting instability of the Nile had accustomed people to a situation where good and bad harvests alternated, and they had developed buffer mechanisms. This was, of course, to a great extent typical of the whole ancient world.<sup>98</sup> Moderate insecurity may create stronger societies.

Finally, and perhaps most important, even major calamities can pass unnoticed in the papyrological record. That is shown by the Justinianic plague, which is amply attested in other written sources but has left little trace in the papyri.<sup>99</sup> This fact alone should caution us against putting too much faith in a negative result. Moreover, the same caution is appropriate when assessing individual pieces of literary evidence. Even the most exhaustive source for the period, Prokopios, does not record the north Italian famine of 537, which is described by Cassiodorus and the *Liber pontificalis*, although he reports another famine just two years later. Any conclusions must be based on the cumulative evidence of all relevant authors.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to state the results of this inquiry with relative certainty. Not only is there nothing in our evidence to suggest that the year 536 was a watershed moment between antiquity and the Middle Ages, a conclusion that must have appeared obvious from the very beginning, but it is also evident that, although the cloud occasioned confusion and crop failure at the time of its appearance, its effects did not last long after it had dissipated. Compared with almost all other contemporary civilizations around the world, the circumstances in the Mediterranean area are extremely well documented.

98 See, e.g., Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply* (n. 87 above); T. W. Gallant, *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy* (Stanford, 1991).

99 The lack of any explicit reference to the Justinianic plague in the papyri was noted by G. Casanova, "Epidemie e fame nella documentazione greca d'Egitto," *Aegyptus* 64 (1984): 167–68, 177, and this is confirmed by the present study. The disappearance of short-term leases from the papyri is a possible exception. It may be noted that Byzantine authors have left few accounts of the Black Death in the 14th century, although it is known to have ravaged the country; see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1993) 216–18; M.-H. Congourdeau, "Pour une étude de la peste noire à Byzance," in *ΕΥΡΥΧΙΑ: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 16 (Paris, 1998), 149–63. I owe this insight to Alice-Mary Talbot.

The literary sources that record the darkness of 536/37 all seem to consider it a temporary misfortune. Among the innumerable earthquakes, droughts, plagues, swarms of locusts, and slaughters that are listed by the historians of this time, the dark cloud was not considered a particularly severe catastrophe. Shortage of food was recurrent in the ancient world, and people were used to it, however intense the short-term suffering might be. Even if the eruption of Etna really caused a food crisis in Egypt and perhaps elsewhere in the Mediterranean after 44 BCE, no one would claim that Egyptian society or the Roman Empire suffered any long-term harm from it—possible short-term political implications aside. The murder of Caesar had been planned before the eruption, but if the Roman sources were as inaccurate as they are for most regions and historical periods, someone would certainly be tempted to connect the natural phenomenon with political change.

Thus the combined force of the available evidence irresistibly shows that, whatever happened around 536, its historical implications remained limited, at least in the Mediterranean area. On the other hand, the sources clearly show that a mysterious fog dimmed the sun for more than a year. Although the haze has been called a dry fog or dust veil ever since 1984, the hitherto-neglected passage from John Lydos rather suggests that the fog was damp. This is not in itself decisive because it can be reasonably claimed that Lydos may not have been able to observe its actual composition, and the ancient sources are contradictory or ambiguous about this matter. However, he also asserts that the fog was seen only in Europe, and it is more difficult to discredit this report, which contradicts the common scholarly assumption that the cloud was global or at least hemispherical. Remarkably all the other literary sources attest the fog only for an area around Italy and Asia Minor.

We cannot check the scientific accuracy of Lydos's reports. They may mislead us, but at the very least they invite us to reexamine the scientific evidence for the event. It remains true that the Greenland ice cores have so far produced little proof of volcanic activity around 536, and that the tree rings are surprisingly ambiguous about climatic variation in different parts of the world between 535 and 552. Two main alternatives emerge. The dark cloud may have originated from a northern volcano, being visible only at latitudes north of the Mediterranean, a phenomenon that Lydos erroneously interpreted as a west/east difference, or the fog may have been locally more restricted, perhaps damp, originating from a totally unknown source. Because a tropospheric fog of such duration would be exceptional, the first alternative seems at present more likely. Further ice cores may prove or disprove it in the future. However, for those who are not yet convinced by the volcano hypothesis, the second alternative might appear worth serious consideration. In sum, although I hope to have provided some insight into the historical impact of the fog, I am afraid the veil of mystery around its physical nature has not yet dissipated.

—*University of Helsinki*

My special gratitude is due to Zbigniew Fiema, whose relentless criticism and wise counsel have made this a much better (and longer) paper, and to Richard Stothers, who generously supplied me with vulcanological information as well as acute remarks on ancient authors and numerous suggestions for better interpretations. Matti Eronen and Pentti Zetterberg advised me on questions of dendrochronology, and Tapani Harviainen, on Syriac texts. I have also received valuable help from many others, among them Roger Bagnall, Joel Gunn, Samuli

Helama, Maria Kouroumali, Michael Kulikowski, Lars Berg Larsen, Clive Oppenheimer, Benny Peiser, Ioannis Telelis, Heimo Vesala, Margot Stout Whiting, and the anonymous referees. The remaining shortcomings are all mine. The work has been funded by the Academy of Finland.

## Medieval Academy of America

---

The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies

Author(s): John L. Teall

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Speculum*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 294-322

Published by: [Medieval Academy of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2855560>

Accessed: 26/01/2013 22:58

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Medieval Academy of America is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Speculum*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# THE BARBARIANS IN JUSTINIAN'S ARMIES

By JOHN L. TEALL

PRECISELY what peoples fought in the expeditionary armies under Justinian and won the victories associated with the names of the incredibly brilliant team of generals that served him: Belisarius, Germanus, Narses, Mundus, and the rest? A simple question, but to it neither the general surveys nor the more specialized monographs have provided an answer beyond challenge. Not many years ago Louis Bréhier revived a point of view that Charles Diehl had popularized in his *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine* and Ernst Stein had adopted into the work of his youth on the origin of the themes. The armies of Justinian, according to Bréhier and his forerunners, "... ont ... un caractère international et toutes les races de barbares y sont représentées." In 1912 Jean Maspero was the first to dissent with effect from a generally received doctrine when he suggested that the East Roman armies of the sixth century were by no means barbarian but national, native, or Roman in composition. Conclusions derived from those of Maspero may be found in Grosse's standard survey of late Roman military institutions and, not unexpectedly, in the current writings of those who reject, root and branch, Stein's explanation of the origin of the themes. Recent studies seeking to account for the survival of the imperial structure in the East have emphasized the "national" character of its armies, contrasting them with the "barbarized" hordes upon which desperate Roman emperors in the West had to depend in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The armies of Belisarius and Narses were "predominantly Roman, mainly raised by voluntary enlistment from the sturdy mountaineers of the Balkans and Eastern Asia Minor"; so A. H. M. Jones. To summarize briefly the point at issue between the two schools: were the imperial armies of Justinian native-born in composition or were they formed from peoples who were not born subjects of the emperor and were, in that sense alone, "barbarians"?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), p. 337, and A. H. M. Jones, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," *History*, XL (1955), 223. See also Ch. Diehl *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine*, 2 vols. (New York, reprinted s.d.), I, 146; E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 123: "Niemand leugnet dass noch unter Justinien in den Expeditionsheeren das barbarische (föderierte) Element dominiert ..."; Jean Maspero, "Στρατιῶται" dans l'armée byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1912), 97-104, esp. 104, n. 4, and *id.*, *Organisation militaire dans l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1912), esp. p. 50, n. 1: "à partir du VI<sup>e</sup> on ne peut citer aucun texte établissant la présence régulière et habituelle de barbares dans les corps de stratiotai"; R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 276 ff., 279: "Diese Ansicht [eg., Stein's] ist unrichtig, wenn wir die Angehörigen der Armee zählen, denn Romäer bildeten die Mehrzahl der Truppen." E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I (Paris, 1959), 237: "... la grande majorité de l'armée ... se compose aux V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles de sujets autochtones de l'empereur" and 238: "jusqu'au début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle ce sont ces Barbares qui joueront le rôle le plus important dans les grandes guerres. ... " Quotations from J. Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich, 1959), below, n. 70; R. Remondon, "Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou," in *Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Recherches de papyrologie: Recherches*, I (Paris, 1961),

The historiography of the problem, essentially a question of ethnic composition, has been summarized in detail to demonstrate that it impinges upon issues broader than itself. Not all of these implications can be discussed here, but it is well to bear them in mind, for, otherwise, debates about ethnic composition can degenerate into sterile haggling over questions poorly posed in the first place. The primary implication of the present problem is simply this. The composition and size of the army together constitute the only long-term index, however unsatisfactory it may be, of demographic trends in the sixth century. Only if that index has been accurately traced is it possible to determine the relation between such trends and one of the century's traumas: the Great Plague of 541-543. A second implication can be discussed without straining the limits of the present study. If the army became in fact a congeries of peoples, how could its commanders maintain imperial loyalties, the belief that all must defend a common, imperial Roman, frontier even though it was divorced from direct connections with immediate folk and territory? This was an old problem; circumstances were to bequeath it in different formulations to Justinian's successors and, for that matter, to their Carolingian and Abbasid contemporaries as well. How well did Justinian's contemporaries solve it?

To return from the implications to the fundamental debate between the two schools of thought on ethnic composition: both are correct, but only if their conclusions are confined to specific places or specific phases of Justinian's wars. Unfortunately, preceding studies have failed to limit their findings in such a fashion. The generalizations summarized above, while depending in most instances upon evidence drawn from one province or from one year's fighting, have been applied indifferently to all the operations conducted between Justinian's accession and his death. This, without doubt, explains the conflicting statements noted above as well as the failure to recognize a transformation that becomes manifest once the wars are studied chronologically and synchronously rather than—as is the usual practice—compartmentally by frontiers.<sup>2</sup>

---

41-93, who corrects Maspero on a number of points and notes (p. 46) that barbarian *foederati* were in the majority in the expeditionary forces, using as evidence the 4:9 proportion of *numeri militum ex catalogis* to the *numeri* of the *foederati* on the Vandal expedition of 533; Karayannopulos, *op. cit.*, p. 40, uses an enumeration of the officers on the same expedition to support his argument that "der Mannschaftsbedarf des frühbyzantinischen Heeres aus der einheimischen Bevölkerung gedeckt wurde." P. Charanis, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire," *Byzantinoslavica*, xxii (1961), 200, and "Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 31, accents the role of the barbarian. All in all, it is difficult to agree with Karayannopulos, *loc. cit.*, when he states that to believe that the army was predominantly barbarian is "eine folgeschwerer Fehler, um so mehr, als die Sprache der Quellen keinen Zweifel darüber lässt, wo die Wahrheit liegt."

<sup>2</sup> The compartmental approach in Diehl, *Justinien*, J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1923); if Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II (Paris and Brussels, 1949), departs somewhat from it, the magnificent work of B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, I (Berlin, 1960) in progress, seems to be returning to it. Why the compartmental approach should be so prevalent is a fascinating historiographical problem which has to be explained, I think, by something more than the precedent of Procopius. It has led to one unfortunate result: a failure to appreciate the impact of war on East Roman society and institutions beyond the most superficial, and not entirely correct, aspect of "financial exhaustion."

Between 527 and the campaigns of 554, primarily native-born or Roman armies became to a large degree "barbarian." This the following study will seek to demonstrate by examining the two major phases of Justinian's wars: the period of promise and success between 527 and about 540; another of initial crisis and subsequent recovery extending from about 540 to 554. Each in turn may be divided into two sub-periods. Within the first, the expedition to Africa of 533 constitutes an obvious dividing point, while the year 549 marks a distinct upturn in imperial fortunes during the latter. Given the chronological framework it will be easier to identify and evaluate the opportunities and necessities responsible for the transformation: on the one hand, increased supply of barbarian recruits owing largely to expansionist wars; on the other, a desperate need for manpower stemming in part from simultaneous demand on several fronts, in part from short-term effects of the Great Plague.

The reader hardly needs to be warned that the chronological approach has its own disadvantages. In the pages that follow he will necessarily find more drum and trumpet narrative, more record of the comings and goings of armies, than it is either fashionable or easy to compose in an age of analytical history writing. In the absence of statistical documents there is, unfortunately, no other way of eliminating old misconceptions or of presenting the evidence for demographic trends during a period when two generations of warfare profoundly altered the armies and the society that engaged in it.

The terms the sources force us to use present their own problems. The word "barbarian" for example, was freighted with complexities and meant many things to men of the sixth century. Here, lest confusion be compounded, it will be used as the studies enumerated above have used it, and it will mean, quite simply, men who were not born subjects of the East Roman emperor. Their counterparts, individuals born subjects of the emperor, called themselves what we shall call them: Romans.<sup>3</sup>

Corresponding to this distinction in theory — although less in fact as the wars progressed — were the components of the expeditionary army or the mobile field forces, the *comitatenses* with which we are chiefly concerned. To the Romans enrolled therein by voluntary agreement, by compulsion, or by inheritance, Procopius and the legal sources as well apply the terms *stratiotai* or *catalogoi*. Of the three methods of recruitment, only the first has left any clear trace in the sources; thus the *stratiotai* may be considered in theory native-born Roman volunteers. In addition to the *stratiotai*, there were two other components within the expeditionary armies: (1) *foederati* of mixed Roman and barbarian composition enrolled by virtue of individual agreement; (2) allies or *symmachoi* who fought as ethnic units under their own leaders on the strength of compacts with the Roman emperors. So much Maspero established many years ago; unfortunately his conclusions have become part of the general stock of information only when shorn of the doubts he himself expressed as he sought to explain the practical distinction between *stratiotai* and *foederati*. It is indeed difficult to find distinguishing criteria,

<sup>3</sup> I use it in this fashion unwillingly and only to avoid further confusion; see K. Lechner, "Byzanz und die Barbaren," *Saeculum* vi (1955), 292-306, for some of the nuances.

however tenaciously imperial constitutions maintain the separate terms throughout the period.<sup>4</sup> Along with the others, that of ethnic difference seems to have grown dull with time. "Formerly barbarians alone were enrolled in the *foederati*," writes Procopius at the middle of the century. "But now there is nothing to hinder anybody (*ἅπανσι*) from taking on this name."<sup>5</sup> Failure to give full weight to this observation, and to the instances of barbarians enrolled among the *stratiotai*, invalidates those previous estimates of the proportion of barbarian to Roman based upon the assumption that all *foederati* were the former, all *stratiotai* the latter.<sup>6</sup> In the following survey, no such assumption is made.

Since the ethnic composition cannot be considered apart from the size of the armies, it is essential to note the reliability of the statistics to be found in the major source, Procopius. Recent investigations suggest that his sins in this respect are those of omission rather than those of commission.<sup>7</sup> He likes to omit figures for the enemy when the Romans met defeat, and in the first books on the Gothic Wars he tries to impart an exaggerated notion of the size of the enemy Belisarius faced. Yet, when he gives specific figures for the Romans, or "betrays himself" by giving sensible ones for the Goths, they prove to be consistent among themselves even though widely dispersed through several passages.<sup>8</sup> No one could have maintained so neat a fabrication over so extended a narrative. On the whole, Procopius provides tolerably reliable figures of common sense proportions in the light of which wilder guesses of less accurate historians assume their proper dimensions. Fortunately, he is available as a guide throughout most of the wars to be reviewed, wars that began shortly before Justinian's accession to full power in 527.

During the period extending from that year to 533 Justinian found a supply of manpower, largely native Roman in origin, that enabled him to engage simultaneously, and generally successfully, a variety of enemies along widely dispersed frontiers. Among these frontiers tradition dictated that the chroniclers award pride of place in the narrative to the conflict with Persia. "Conflicts" might be a better term, for the frontier burst into activity about 526 all along a line stretching from Lazica on the Black Sea south to the desert west of Palestina III, in the latter instance by virtue of the mediation of Arab tribes and client chiefs allied with East Rome and Persia. Already before the death of Justin I, the *magister militum vacans*, Peter, led Huns on two expeditions to Lazica. Concurrently, the

<sup>4</sup> Maspero, *Organisation militaire*, pp. 43 ff., esp. 45; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 77; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 85-89. Maspero also stressed that the *stratiotai* would be stationed at fixed points within specific provinces while the *foederati* constituted a mobile field force, sent where the occasion demanded. For many of the *stratiotai*, this distinction, too, would break down as the wars of the reconquest called for their services everywhere. For example, note the composition of the African army of 533, see below, n. 32. Maspero, "Stratiotai," pp. 108-109.

<sup>5</sup> Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum*, I xi 3; references to Procopius hereafter, *B(ellum) V(andalicum)*, *B(ellum) P(ersicum)*, *B(ellum) G(othicum)*; *Anecdota*.

<sup>6</sup> As in Stein, *Studien*, p. 12; see below, n. 32.

<sup>7</sup> G. Downey, "The Persian Campaign in Syria in AD 540," *SPECULUM*, XXVIII (1953), 340-348, esp. 343 f.; K. Hannestad, "Les forces militaires d'après la guerre gothique de Procope," *Classica et Medievalia*, XXI (1961), 136-183; in general, B. Rubin, *Prokopios v. Kaisereia* (Stuttgart, 1954).

<sup>8</sup> Hannestad, "Forces militaires," *passim*, esp. p. 146.



able Armenian general Sittas bested the Tzani located on the Colchis frontier, introducing them by means of Christianity and military service with Rome to the benefits of civilization and thus making them, if not quite Roman, not quite barbarian either. Then, in association with the young Belisarius, the same Sittas undertook in 527 two *razzias* into Persarmenia, the first successfully, the second with unhappy results. In the same year, too, the Thracian Libelarius, *magister militum per Orientem*, launched an unsuccessful attack upon the Persian stronghold of Nisibis.<sup>9</sup> The accession of Justinian in August 527 brought only a momentary pause in an outburst of warfare that ended twenty years of peace in the East, for the year 528 witnessed a major engagement near Dara ending in a Roman defeat, an expedition into Hira in which the *limitanei* of Palestine participated, further Roman operations in Lazica, and — finally — a general strengthening of the eastern frontier and the formation of a large army under the command of Pompeius.<sup>10</sup> Nor did the tempo of operations subside in the succeeding three years; to the raid of the Lakhmid al-Mundhir upon Syria I in 529 the Romans responded with a counteroffensive undertaken by Phrygian troops.<sup>11</sup> In 530 Belisarius won a major victory at Dara with an army of 25,000 men, considered by Procopius to be of respectable size, while Sittas continued upon a brilliant career marked by victories at Theodosiopolis and near Satala, and by the submission of the fortresses of Pharangium and Bolum. The surrender of the latter fortress brought East Rome an additional reward in the person of the Armenian general Isaac Kamsarakan, who joined his elder brothers Narses and Aratius and the eunuch Narses, also Persarmenian by birth, in the imperial service.<sup>12</sup> Associated with Sittas in his campaigns had been the general Dorotheus; elevating himself to the post of *magister militum per Armeniam* when Sittas assumed general command of the forces in the East, Dorotheus and the Thracian-born Ostrogoth, Bessas, helped during 531, by a series of victories in Arzanene, to avenge the defeat suffered by Belisarius and the sixteen or twenty thousand men under his command at Callinicus.<sup>13</sup> In that same year, with the death of Khawad and the accession of Chosroes in Persia, envoys undertook the negotiations that would issue, in 532, in the "Endless Peace." The results of six years of war were by no

<sup>9</sup> General survey with bibliography in Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 245–297; Peter's expedition: *BP* I xii 9.14; Sittas and the Tzani: *BP* I xv 24, cf. Nov. J. I pr. (ed. Schoell-Kroll, p. 1); raids of Sittas and Belisarius and the expeditions of Libelarius and Timostratus: *BP* I xii 20–23, Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 423 (Bonn), Zacharias Rhetor ix 1. 6 (ed. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle . . . of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London, 1899), pp. 222, 227–229).

<sup>10</sup> Dara: *BP* I xiii 2–8, Zacharias Rhetor ix 2 (Hamilton and Brooks, pp. 222–224), Malalas, p. 441 f. (Bonn); Hira: Malalas, p. 434; reconstruction of the frontier in the East: Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 289 f., Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 265 f.; Pompeius' army: Malalas, p. 442 (Bonn).

<sup>11</sup> Malalas, p. 445 (Bonn).

<sup>12</sup> Dara: *BP* I xiii 12–xvi 51, Malalas, pp. 452 f. (Bonn); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6022 (ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–1885), I, 180), Zacharias Rhetor ix 3 (Hamilton and Brooks, pp. 224 f.); Sittas in Persarmenia: *BP* I xv 1–18, 26–33, Malalas, p. 465 (Bonn).

<sup>13</sup> Callinicus: *BP* I xvii 29–40, xviii 1–50, Malalas, pp. 461–465 (Bonn), Zacharias Rhetor ix 4 (Hamilton and Brooks, pp. 225 f.); I. Kavar, "Procopius and Arethas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, L (1957), 39–67; campaigns of Dorotheus: *BP* I xxi 4–16, 23–28, Malalas, pp. 468–470, 472 (Bonn).

means unsatisfactory. East Rome had won sufficient victories to negotiate from a position of strength when the time of reckoning arrived.

The dimensions of the achievement become more impressive when they are placed within the context of operations simultaneously conducted elsewhere along the East Roman frontier. During the critical year 528, an expeditionary army in which Goths participated sailed under John, the son of Rufinus, against the Huns of the Crimea, and to aid it in attaining its objective, Justinian dispatched another force by land from Odessa under the command of Baduarius.<sup>14</sup> Hardly had the latter returned from his successful operations when an incursion of Bulgars forced him to join with Justin, *dux* of Moesia Secunda, to protect the Balkan frontier. In this theatre his efforts were far less successful and, in the event, defeat was the lot of the succeeding commanders, Constantiolus and the Bulgar Ascum.<sup>15</sup> After 529, matters improved in the Balkans. A series of generals endowed with great military talents and, in two instances, fortunate in their personal connections with the barbarian peoples opposing them, brought a degree of security to the sorely tried provinces. After defecting from his fellow Gepids in 529, the prince Mundus protected Illyricum by combined military and diplomatic skill until his death in 536. In Thrace, the Slav Chilbudius achieved similar success against Bulgars, Sclaveni, and Antae by expeditions across the Danube. He even achieved one of the notes of the truly great man: after his death an imposter gave himself out to be the true Chilbudius. Finally, the Armenian Sittas added to laurels won elsewhere by successes in Moesia Secunda.<sup>16</sup>

Simply from a rehearsal of the names cited above, it is obvious that Justinian's state and society no longer preserved the prejudices of the fifth century against barbarians in positions of high command.<sup>17</sup> Amidst the "first generation" of military talent that won the victories of Justinian's early years, four names are pre-eminent: Sittas, Mundus, Chilbudius, and Belisarius. Of these four, only one was a Roman in the sense defined above. During the wars of the Reconquest after 533 a "second generation" was to succeed them; this generation of commanders, too, was to be of mixed Roman and barbarian composition, with Armenians playing a conspicuous role therein. The expansion of the frontiers, the chance to make one's fortune in successful warfare, obviously enticed a host of individuals brilliant in their talents and diverse in their origins to seek service with the emperor. The Armenian, the Slav, the Gepid, the Bulgar — all found a warm welcome at Constantinople.

Justinian was no less hospitable to groups than he was to individuals. Anastasius had awarded lands to the Heruli as early as 512; in the first years of his reign Justinian seems to have enlarged and improved the gift with better lands near

<sup>14</sup> Malalas, pp. 432 f. (Bonn); Theophanes, A.M. 6020 (176 de Boor).

<sup>15</sup> Malalas, pp. 437 f. (Bonn); Theophanes, A.M. 6031 (217 f. de Boor).

<sup>16</sup> Mundus: Malalas, pp. 450 f. (Bonn); Theophanes, A.M. 6032 (218 f. de Boor); Chilbudius: *BG* III xiv 1-6; Sittas: Marcellinus comes *s.a.* 535, 3 (ed. Th. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auctt. Antt.*, xi [1894], 104). Bulgars captured by Mundus were placed in the regular troops in Lazica and Armenia (219 de Boor).

<sup>17</sup> E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain* (Paris, 1951), pp. 239 ff., 515 ff.

Singidunum; certainly he did so later and certainly he stood sponsor in 528 when a Herul king became Christian. Some of the Heruli, then, enjoyed the status of *symmachoi* or allies, while others became *foederati*. If he had similar designs upon some of the Huns of the Crimea when he sponsored in like fashion the baptism of their king Grod (528), then his plans collapsed as Grod's subjects revolted, refusing to follow the leader. With a certain Queen Boa of the Sabiri, Justinian had better luck, and the troops following her against two other clans of the Sabiri are called *symmachoi* in one source. Like the Arab tribes under the leadership of Harith, these peoples seemed to have enjoyed the status of allies; others, including the Heruli, certain Huns, Slavic peoples, and many Tzani as well, were drawn more closely into the Roman military structure, becoming *foederati* or even — in the last-named instance — *catalogoi*. It should be noted in passing how wonderfully efficient baptism was as an initial step away from barbarism and towards *Romanitas*. For an emperor needing many men to fight many wars, it was a quicker device by far than education and the cultivation of the gentler or the civilized virtues, a process that seems ordinarily to have demanded a generation to complete.<sup>18</sup>

Yet pre-eminence in quality did not mean predominance in quantity. Most of those who gave orders, as well as those who followed them, were native-born Roman subjects. Sources for the period in question (526–532) mention the names of some twenty-eight identifiable generals and other officers of high standing who actively participated in field operations; of these, nineteen may be considered Roman — or even twenty, if the Thracian-born Ostrogoth, Bessas, be added to the number. In general, the larger the force, the higher the percentage of Romans. Thus the army placed under the command of Pompeius during the campaigning season of 529 consisted of Illyrians, Thracians, Scythians, and Isaurians. At Dara, Belisarius commanded 300 Heruli and possibly 1,200 Huns; there is no indication in the text of Procopius, generally careful in recording the presence of ethnic groups, that other distinct peoples were represented among the 25,000.<sup>19</sup> At Callinicus, neither Malalas nor Procopius mentions peoples other than the 5,000 Arabs from a total of 16,000 or 20,000 men.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, between 528 and 532, the Eastern Roman Empire met concurrent and serious threats on a variety of fronts by virtue of massive recruitment among its own people, supplementing their numbers with barbarian *foederati* and *symmachoi* in smaller quantity. In major expeditionary forces and on extensive raids as well, even the *limitanei* played their part. Justinian's need for manpower was far less

<sup>18</sup> Heruli: Marcellinus comes *s. a.* 512, 11 (Mommsen 98), *BG* II xiv 28. 33; Baptism of Grepes or Gretes: Malalas, p. 427 (Bonn), Theophanes, A.M. 6020 (174 de Boor); Harith: *BP* I xvii 47 and the studies of Kavar, below, n. 46; the Tzani: see above, n. 9; Zacharias Rhetaor IX 3 (Hamilton and Brooks, p. 224) mentions Sunica, the Hun, who had taken refuge with the Romans and had been baptized. Convenient lists of *symmachoi* in Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, pp. 292 ff., and A. Müller, "Das Heer Justinians," *Philologus*, LXXXI (1912), 111 f.; on the treatment of various peoples in the sixth century and later, see P. Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, III (1961), 140 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Above, n. 12 (esp. *BP* I xiii 19–23).

<sup>20</sup> *BP* I xviii 5; Malalas, pp. 461–464 (Bonn).

desperate than that of his successors forty years later. While he welcomed and even encouraged barbarians to seek service in the imperial armies, he approved the terms of the Endless Peace of 532 which permitted refugee Iberians to follow their own inclinations and return to their homes if they wished. About fifty years later Tiberius and Maurice were to make peace in a very different spirit, regarding the control of men as an objective sometimes more critical than the possession of forts or land.<sup>21</sup>

Freed by the Endless Peace from his commitments on the Persian frontier — or frontiers, Justinian turned to the reconquest of the West. At the outset, he hoped to win victories on the cheap, using in conjunction with diplomatic manoeuvre armies small in comparison with those that had taken the field in the East.<sup>22</sup> Thus Belisarius defeated the Vandals in Africa with only 16,000 men, and he undertook his "military promenade" through Sicily in 535 at the head of less than 10,000.<sup>23</sup>

Thanks to a variety of pressures, these small initial investments proved unequal to the demands made of them. Aside from having to maintain at least a minimum force in the Balkans and Illyricum, Justinian had to garrison Africa with twelve or thirteen thousand while Belisarius pursued new conquests to the north.<sup>24</sup> When the African garrison proved disloyal and the Moors opponents difficult to crush, additional contingents had to be dispatched (536, 539) to the newly-won province even though the Vandal kingdom itself had dissolved with Belisarius' victories of 533.<sup>25</sup>

In Italy, too, events failed to follow as planned. Under Witiges the Goths mounted a force superior in size to that of the Romans they opposed, if not by the margin Procopius implies. To supplement those he had collected by a general levy throughout his kingdom, Witiges obtained additional men by negotiation with his Frankish neighbors to the north. If the latter insisted that they must abide by the letter of a treaty with East Rome and refused to march to aid the Goths, they nonetheless permitted Burgundians subject to them to do so. At the

<sup>21</sup> Notices of the "Endless Peace" which was agreed upon in September 532, and went into effect in the summer of 533: *BP* I xxii 16; Malalas, p. 477 (Bonn); Marcellinus comes, *s.a.* 533 (103 Mommsen); Zacharias Rhetor ix 7 (Hamilton and Brooks 230 f.). Its terms may be contrasted with the negotiations of 579: Menander, frg. 19 (ed. C. de Boor, *et al.*, *Excerpta historica*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1903–1906), I, 1: *Excerpta de legationibus romanorum*, p. 217) and P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I (Paris, 1951), 78.

<sup>22</sup> Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 126 f.

<sup>23</sup> Expedition to Africa: *BV* I xi 2–21; later Procopius makes Gelimer comment on its small size, xxv 14. Expedition to Sicily: *BG* I v 2–6; since we do not know the exact number of Belisarius' retainers who accompanied it, its total size is a matter of speculation. Hannestad's estimate, "Forces militaires," pp. 139 f., of 9,000 seems as well-reasoned as any. In the course of his narrative, Procopius repeatedly stresses its small size: *BG* I xvii 2.5–6, xxiv 2.3.8, xxvi 19, xxvii 11.14.

<sup>24</sup> Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), p. 67, estimated that Solomon may have had 18,000 in the garrison, but this seems large. During the mutiny of 536, the rebels numbered 8,000 imperial soldiers and 1,000 Vandals: *BV* II xv 2–3. Later Germanus found that the rebels comprised two thirds of the force: *BV* II xvi 3. This would be congruent with the 2,000 *loyal* troops found in Carthage alone (II xv 11) for there were loyal troops in other cities, II xv 50.

<sup>25</sup> Reinforcements noted, but no figures given: *BV* II xvi 1, xix 1

same time, the Franks themselves remained quiet while Witiges withdrew portions of his garrison from the Cottian Alps and committed them to action against the Romans.<sup>26</sup> Considering the resources he had contrived to tap, Witiges may well have commanded 25,000 men when he sought, in 537-538, to capture Rome from Belisarius and his force of perhaps 5,000.<sup>27</sup>

With so great a disproportion between his own troops and those of the enemy, it is not surprising that Belisarius appealed for help to Constantinople, discovering, in the event, that Justinian had already sent an army under Valerian to his aid.<sup>28</sup> Here is a striking characteristic of the first phase of the Gothic Wars: the readiness with which the emperor answered the appeals of his general for more men. In addition to the 1,600 under Valerian who had arrived so fortuitously in 537, 5,100 more came in the same year, while in 538 Narses appeared at the head of a massive army of 7,000.<sup>29</sup> During the final stages of the campaign 21,000 seems a just estimate of the total forces commanded by Belisarius in Italy against Witiges. Of this number, somewhat less than 10,000 had been committed to garrison duty in the conquered cities.<sup>30</sup> The achievement is all the more impressive in that the Italian operations were only one prong of the offensive against the Goths. Simultaneously with the early phases of Belisarius' campaign Mundus had advanced through Dalmatia, lacking (to his misfortune) an historian like Procopius to record his success.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout these seven years of warfare (533-540) the imperial armies probably remained predominantly Roman, although the availability of barbarians and the sharper need for their services may have increased their proportion in the ranks. Particularly striking is the contrast between the original forces dispatched to Africa or Italy and the reinforcements that subsequently arrived in both areas. In 533 Belisarius had sailed to Carthage with but 1,000 individuals clearly identified as barbarians: 400 Heruli and 600 *symmachoi*, for the most part Bulgars. Out of nineteen generals, only one (Aïgan the Hun) was a barbarian.

<sup>26</sup> Negotiations discussed in Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II 179 and Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II 348. Burgundians came in 538/9: *BG* XII 38 f.; there were still some Goths in garrison in the Cottian Alps in 539/40 (II xxviii 29), but some had been present at the siege of Rome, *BG* I xix 12.

<sup>27</sup> Belisarius' garrison at Rome: *BG* I xxiv 2. Although Procopius makes Belisarius assert that 150,000 opposed him, this is clearly exaggerated. Hannestad's estimate, "Forces militaires," 155-164, esp. 162, of twenty to twenty-five thousand Goths participating in the siege is derived from the one set of circumstantial figures, *BG* II xi 1 ff. As these represent the disposition of the troops at the time of Witiges' surrender, they may be the only precise figures to which Procopius had access. The entire Gothic army may have comprised 30,000.

<sup>28</sup> Belisarius' letter: *BG* I xxiv 1-17; Valerian and Martinus had already been dispatched, were wintering in Greece, and were ordered by Justinian to move on with full speed as another army was prepared: xxiv 18; Valerian's arrival: xxvii 1.

<sup>29</sup> Of the 5,100 men 4,800 were actually sent from Constantinople. In addition, 500 were collected from Campanian garrisons: *BG* II v 1.2. The army under Narses: *BG* II xiii 16-18.

<sup>30</sup> Hannestad, "Forces militaires," 141 ff.; garrison duty: *BG* II xviii 8.9, cf. I viii 1, xiv 1 f., xv 2, xvii 1-6.

<sup>31</sup> After the fall of Auximum in October or November 539, an army from Dalmatia came to Belisarius' aid: *BG* II xxviii 2. Mundus in Dalmatia: I v 2.11; reconquest of Salona by Constantianus: vii 26-37.

The native character of this army Procopius later stressed when he made Germanus remind the mutineers of 537 that the emperor "took you as you came from the fields with your wallets and one small frock apiece and brought you together in Byzantium."<sup>32</sup> Participating in the invasion of Sicily were 4,000 *catalogoi* and *foederati*, 3,000 Isaurians listed separately after Procopius' usual practice, and 500 identified barbarians (200 Huns and 300 Berbers). Later reinforcements seem to have had quite different ethnic backgrounds, although there is no way of knowing how many *foederati* in the initial forces may have had barbarian origins. The 1,600 arriving with Valerian in 537 were Bulgars, Slavs, and Antae. If the other contingent dispatched in that year was exclusively Roman, Narses' army of 538 contained 2,000 Heruli compared to 5,000 regulars.

As successful wars brought new peoples into the East Roman armies, it became difficult if not impossible to maintain old distinctions between *stratiotai* (or *catalogoi*) and *foederati*. Vandals were enrolled ἐς καταλόγους ἰππικούς,<sup>33</sup> the Tzani, subjects now of the emperor were enrolled ἐς καταλόγους Ῥωμαϊκούς.<sup>34</sup> Concerning twenty-two who deserted while Rome was under siege, Procopius notes that they were βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι.<sup>35</sup> It is a telling phrase. The process of war had brought about profound changes in the nature of the army itself, changes that at least one of four crises or problems during the years 540–542 would further develop in a direction already visible.

<sup>32</sup> *BV* II xvi 13. Stein, *Studien*, p. 123, used the evidence of the expedition to Carthage in 533 to demonstrate that the barbarian element "dominated," concluding that "das zahlenmässige Verhältnis der Numeri foederatorum zu den Numeri militum ex catalogis war das von 9:4." His conclusion is based upon the assumption that the *foederati* were exclusively barbarian in composition and upon an analysis of *BV* I xi 2. 5–9. In the latter passage, Procopius states that the army was made up of 10,000 foot soldiers, and 5,000 horsemen, chosen (συνειλεγμένους) from the *stratiotai* and the *foederati*. He then lists nine officers of the *foederati*, four of the cavalry (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἰππέων), and six of the foot soldiers (πεζῶν). Now Stein reads this passage to mean that the 5,000 cavalry *only* were selected from both *foederati* and *stratiotai*; in the 10,000 foot soldiers no *foederati* and thus no barbarians were to be found. In other words, *συνειλεγμένους* should modify *ἰππέας* alone and not *στρατιώτας πεζοὺς* as well. If this is correct, then we may say that within the cavalry the proportion of barbarian to native is as 9:4 since there were nine ἄρχοντες φοιδερᾶτων and only four ἄρχοντες στρατιωτῶν ἰππέων. Actually, the text is ambiguous, and it is interesting to note that Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 127, read it to mean that *foederati* were scattered throughout both arms, cavalry and infantry, thereby contradicting his earlier statement that the *foederati* consisted entirely of cavalry (II, 77). In the light of *BV* II xv 50, Stein is probably correct in his reading of *BV* I xi 2 since in the former instance Procopius seems to wish to distinguish *foederati*, regular cavalry (κατάλογος ἰππικός) and foot soldiers (πεζοί), the implication being that the first two elements were different kinds of mounted troops. Yet, Stein's fundamental assumption is incorrect. When Procopius states (xi 4) that the name federate could be assumed by "anyone" (ἄσασι), the force of the word suggests quite literally "anyone": Roman or barbarian. Finally, even were Stein correct in establishing his 9:4 proportion of barbarian to regular in the cavalry, it is not correct to conclude from this (as does Remondon, "Soldats de Byzance," p. 46) that *foederati* comprised the greater part of the expeditionary armies; they may have "dominated" the cavalry arm, as Stein says they did, but there were still 10,000 foot soldiers present who were probably Romans. Quality has been confused with quantity.

<sup>33</sup> *BV* II xiv 17.

<sup>34</sup> *BG* I xv 25.

<sup>35</sup> *BG* I xvii 17, cf. v 3; *BG* II xxvi 3; Bulgars captured by Mundus were placed ἐν τοῖς νομερίοις ἀριθμοῖς in Lazica and Armenia; n. 16 above.

The first of the four was military in nature. War broke out on two fronts as the Endless Peace proved to have the life-span one would normally predict for any Endless Peace. In 540 Chosroes turned Justinian's deep commitments in the west to his own advantage as he launched an attack upon Antioch. As a result of his initiative, stimulated in part by an appeal from Witiges, Persian offensives and Roman counteroffensives sapped the energies of both powers between 540 and 544, heightening the need for manpower whether native or barbarian.<sup>36</sup>

The second problem was personal. To contain the Persian attack in the east Justinian recalled Belisarius from Italy. But the great general arrived enjoying less credit with his master than his previous success might have warranted. In apparent contravention of Justinian's wishes, he had pressed on to capture Ravenna in 540, employing a stratagem easily open to misinterpretation which might well have aroused suspicion and jealousy. Although Belisarius did in fact assume command against the Persians as *magister militum per Orientem* and then returned once more to Italy in 544, there to remain until 549, never again did his performance as general quite match his earlier successes nor does he seem to have won back the emperor's, or perhaps the Empress Theodora's, full confidence. Procopius suggests, and more than one modern historian has followed him, that the indecision and procrastination of the military effort in the west during Belisarius' second period of command stemmed from Justinian's *failure* to support his general with adequate reinforcement and supply. May this "negligence" have been the expression of a latent hostility between the two men? The argument is not impressive but it is sufficiently widespread to demand notice here and refutation below. Unless it is refuted, it is impossible to speak of a manpower crisis as the real reason behind Justinian's seeming negligence.<sup>37</sup>

A third crisis was both personal and administrative. In May 541 John the Cappadocian fell from power, and never again did Justinian retain one man in the praetorian prefect's office for so long a period of time. Few of his successors won any sort of reputation, whether for good or ill, and none had John's opportunity to apply consistent, forceful direction to the administrative processes that supported the military effort. John himself had made good use of his opportunities. Beginning in April 535, at precisely the point when it appeared that the conquest of Italy must come by force and not by diplomacy, a series of reforms (in which his hand is manifest) sought to provide honest and efficient provincial administration, thereby enlisting the sympathies of the subject and, hopefully, increasing the tax return. In the constitution inaugurating the reforms, official propaganda boasted of past military achievements and hinted at greater ones to come — the conquest of Italy was meant.

Knowing how much care we have exerted on your behalf, you who are our tributaries should in full, good conscience pay up the taxes you owe to the last penny . . . our sub-

<sup>36</sup> Witiges' letter: *BG* II xxii 9; Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 319–324

<sup>37</sup> Justinian's negligence is suggested in *BG* IV xxvi 7, and a number of the modern surveys have adopted it more or less explicitly: Diehl, *Justinien*, I, 164, 193 ff.; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 226, 268; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 596; Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 335: "eine gleichzeitige personalpolitische Absicht des Kaisers . . . die . . . von militärischem Unverständnis zeugte."

jects know that the military expenditures and the prosecution of the wars necessitate great care, and these things cannot be done without money . . . for . . . we have recovered all Africa and enslaved the Vandals and we hope to accept things yet greater than these from God and to accomplish them.

If the taxpayer will meet his obligations in the manner prescribed, a harmony of ruler and ruled will characterize the Roman world: *μία τις ἔσται καλή τε καὶ σύμφωνος τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀρμονία*. The victories noted above suggest that something resembling this harmony must have been achieved. Certainly John himself enjoyed in popular circles a reputation which his enemies, many among the bureaucracy, were quick to interpret in a pejorative fashion. Is it possible that with John's departure, administrative performance worsened to a point that threatened military enterprise? In his survey of Justinian's age, Ernst Stein divided the reign at about the year 540, taking as his point of demarcation John's fall from power and subsuming much of the later administrative history under the rubric "Abolition des reformes." As one among several crises, it at least deserves consideration.<sup>38</sup>

Had John remained in office, even his talents might have found no solution for the problems stemming from the fourth crisis: the short-term effects of the Great Plague, the first recorded "pandemic" of bubonic plague. Rising in Egypt in 541 and passing thence through Palestine and Syria to Asia Minor, moving always inland from the ports, it struck Constantinople in the spring of 542 before gaining Italy and the West by 543. By 544 it was extinct, but only momentarily so. Like the pandemic of the fourteenth century in western Europe, it returned sporadically in the succeeding decades — in 555, 558, 560–561, 585, and 608 — until it seemed to Agathias, writing on the occasion of the outbreak of 558, that the world had not been free of it since the fifth [sic] year of Justinian's reign.<sup>39</sup> His comments fall far short of the human pathos in Evagrius' lament.

<sup>38</sup> Quotations from Nov. J. VIII, ch. x, sec. 2 (Schoell-Kroll, 74). The fall of John the Cappadocian and its significance in Stein, *Bas Empire*, II, 282 f., 480–483 and a list of the praetorian prefects, 781–786. John's popularity appears in John Lydus, *De magistratibus*, III, 62 (ed. Wünsch, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 152 f.). The reforms, which have been analyzed with full reference to sources and literature by Karayannopoulos, *Entstehung d. Themenordnung*, pp. 62 f., deserve investigation as examples of social and institutional change under the impact of war.

<sup>39</sup> Agathias, *Historiae*, v, 10 (Bonn ed., pp. 297 ff.) where  $\epsilon$  should be corrected to  $\iota\epsilon$ . First-hand accounts are those of Procopius, *BP* II, xxii, xxiii, and John of Ephesus, fragments of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, pars II, published in W. J. Van Douwen and J. P. N. Land, *Commentarii de beatis orientalibus et Historiae ecclesiasticae fragmenta* (Amsterdam, 1889), pp. 227–240. Theophanes, A.M. 6034 (222 de Boor) lists the plague as an occurrence of October; it is noted also in Malalas, p. 481 (Bonn) and in Zacharias Rhetor x, 9 (Hamilton and Brooks, p. 313); for its incidence in the West: Marcellinus comes, s.a. 543, 2 (107 Mommsen); Victor Tonnenensis, *Chronica*, s.a. 542, 2 (ed. Th. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auctt. Antt.*, XI [1894], 201); Corippus, *Iohannidos seu de bellis libycis* III, 343–389 (ed. J. Partsch, *M.G.H., Auctt. Antt.*, III, 2 (1879), 35 f., and p. xvi of Partsch's introduction); and the barest incidental notice in Jordanis, *Getica*, sec. 104 (ed. Th. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auctt. Antt.*, VI, 1 [1882], 84 ff.); other references in Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 759, n. 1.

The plague of 541–543 awaits its historian; comparative materials may be gleaned from the studies cited in my "Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 92, n. 11, to which should be added the excellent review article of Elisabeth Carpentier, "La peste noire: famines et épidémies au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XVII (1962), 1062–



Thus it happened in my own case . . . that at the commencement of this calamity I was seized with what are called buboes, while still a schoolboy, and lost by its recurrence at different times a number of my children, my wife, and many of my relatives, as well as of my household and rural slaves. . . . Thus, not quite two years before my writing this, now being in the fifty-eighth year of my age . . . I lost a daughter and her son. . . .<sup>40</sup>

Evidence for its impact during the initial outbreak of 541–543 may be found in the first-hand accounts of Procopius and John of Ephesus and in imperial legislation as well. Investigations into the results of the plague of 1348 encourage a sceptical attitude towards estimates offered by the two historians: at the peak of the epidemic, the daily death rate in Constantinople is supposed to have reached 10,000 a day and eventually 300,000 are held to have perished, thus at least half the population of the capital in 540. Possibly the general mood of Procopius is better evidence than the specific data he offers. Why, for example, does he return repeatedly to the apocalyptic theme of depopulation even though he personalizes the issue, blaming Justinian and his grandiose plans for ensuing shortages of men and resources?<sup>41</sup>

With the official sources we are on firmer ground. A novel dated 1 March 542 notes in the preface that death, being everywhere, had afflicted all men. The edict in question sought to provide relief specifically for the *argentarii*. The latter complained that, having made loans without proper written records, it was impossible for them to recover their due from the heirs of deceased debtors.<sup>42</sup> On 23 March 544 another novel appeared, outlining problems strongly suggestive of those England and France had to face after 1348.<sup>43</sup> It deserves extensive quotation:

We have learned that, after the punishment which transpired by the mercy of God, those who should have been bettered by it — those engaged in business, crafts, and agriculture, and the shipmasters as well — have abandoned themselves to avarice and ask prices and wages two or three times those of old custom. We have resolved therefore to forbid such avarice by this edict, that, never in the future shall any merchant, artisan, or craftsman of any sort of skill, trade, or agricultural labor have the affrontery to exact wages or prices greater than ancient custom.

---

1092; the same author's *orviêto: une ville devant la peste noire de 1348* (Paris, 1962); J. F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXXII (1961), 225–251; R. Pollitzer, *Plague*, United Nations, World Health Organization Monograph 22 (Geneva, 1954); and M. I. Finley's brilliantly devastating review of A.E.R. Boak, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of Rome* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1955), possibly the best starting-point for any study of ancient and medieval demography, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLVIII (1958), 157–164.

<sup>40</sup> Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 29 (Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVI bis, cols. 2752 f.). The translation is that of Walford in the Bohn Library version of Theodoret and Evagrius, *History of the Church* (London, 1854).

<sup>41</sup> E.g., *Anecdota*, xxiii, 20, or the speech of the Gepid orator: "And yet thy empire comprises such an overabundance both of cities and lands that thou art actually searching for men upon whom thou couldst confer some part of it for their habitation." *BG*, III, xxxiv, 36 (trans. Dewing, Loeb ed. of Procopius, IV 455); see the commentary in Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 191–197. Procopius is almost completely refuted by the archaeological evidence; see E. Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt," *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), V, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Ed. VII pr. (763 f. Schoell-Kroll).

<sup>43</sup> Nov. J. 122 pr. and c. 1 (592 f. Schoell-Kroll).

When John of Ephesus complains that, after the plague, launderers raised their fees from a *folles* to a *denarius*, he seems to confirm a literal interpretation of the novel quoted above. Labor shortages occasioned by the plague called for imperial regulation of wages and prices.<sup>44</sup>

Surprisingly, the official sources provide data of a personal nature, suggesting that Evagrius' own tragedy was far from unique. A novel of 544 was addressed to an apparent conflict of laws on the *ius deliberandi*. It tells of a child, Sergia, who died of the plague only sixteen days after her mother's decease from the same cause. The ensuing litigation between claimants to the inheritance raised issues of sufficient general interest to warrant an imperial ruling applicable to other cases.<sup>45</sup> Justinian's great Novel 118, reshaping the laws on intestate succession, could hardly have appeared at a more opportune time: 16 July 543.

Conspiracy, jealousy, warfare in East and West, administrative collapse, plague, high prices, shortages, and death: certainly the armies of 540–549 had sufficient reason to fight with less *éclat* than their predecessors. The difficulty lies in choosing among the crises listed, in deciding which was of great and which of little effect upon warfare characterized, as the following review will show, by missed opportunities or inadequate reinforcements, and conducted by armies increasingly barbarian in their composition.

The dismal record begins with four seasons of fighting (540–544) between Rome and Persia in the East. At the outset, there were too few men left in the East to meet the Persian threat. To oppose Chosroes at Antioch in 540 Justinian sent Germanus, 300 men, and vague promises of further assistance. Eventually 6,000 men from Phoenicia Libanensis arrived, but their courage failed in the test and it was left to the Antiochenes themselves to bear the brunt of the Persian attack.<sup>46</sup>

The arrival of Belisarius to take command in the following year brought little improvement. How many men he commanded during the campaign of 541, Procopius does not say; the historian notes only that to a nucleus of reluctant provincials gathered from all quarters of Mesopotamia Belisarius added Goths brought as captives from the West, his own retainers, and (we may assume) probably those of the other generals returning with him from Italy. With the subsequent addition of Harith and his Saracens the result was a force so heterogeneous that its general had to control it as best he could by persuasion rather

<sup>44</sup> John of Ephesus in Van Douwen and Land, *Commentarii*, p. 235. The interpretation given is also that of Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 760 f., which seems convincing, but on some of the problems encountered by historians of the fourteenth-century plague in judging its economic effects see Carpentier, "Famines et épidémies," pp. 1084–1092, and E. Kelter, "Das deutsche Wirtschaftsleben des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Schatten der Pestepidemien," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CLXV (1953), 161–208.

<sup>45</sup> Nov. J. 158; for problems on wills and testaments at Orvieto, see Carpentier, *Orvieto et la peste*, p. 130.

<sup>46</sup> *BP* II vi 9.16, viii 2. 17–19. Glanville Downey has analyzed the sources for this campaign in a number of studies which are now summed up in his *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), pp. 247–253. Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 328, thinks the 6,000 troops from Phoenicia Libanensis were *limitanei*.

than command. Its accomplishments were slight: it did little more than capture a few Persians at Sisauranon before the summer heat forced the army to disperse. Since the same Persians are found on active service in the West during the early months of 542, the transport system apparently continued to work well despite the failure of military effort in other respects.<sup>47</sup>

In his account of the succeeding year's campaign, that of 542, Procopius again fails to indicate the army's total strength although the industrious reader may tot up scattered figures to arrive at a minimum sum of 7,000. In many ways the army of 542 resembles its predecessor of 541: it was brought together with difficulty and it included peoples of diverse origins — in this instance, Thracians, Illyrians, Goths, Heruli, Vandals, and Berbers. Before it Chosroes withdrew; but most historians have felt that Procopius was less than candid in attributing the Persian retreat to the universal awe supposedly inspired by Belisarius and his unmatched reputation. It is possible that the plague may have frightened off the enemy.<sup>48</sup>

In 543, certainly, the plague was of major importance, forcing Chosroes to divert his line of march south from Adarbiganon. Once the news reached Justinian, it suggested to him that there were Persian weaknesses to be exploited by a massive offensive. In response to the emperor's orders, an army of 30,000, including Heruli and Armenians, encamped in Roman Armenia. Martin was in nominal command, Belisarius having been recalled, but the change in commanders was of little help to the Roman cause. Most, but not all, of the 30,000 stumbled out — in great disorder, if Procopius can be trusted — meeting defeat at the hands of 4,000 Persians strongly encamped near Anglon.<sup>49</sup> It was the end of one of the three great armies collected during the sixth century, and an inglorious episode in a series of campaigns that ended dismally in 544 at Edessa. Upon this final occasion not even a reluctant provincial garrison arrived to aid the city against the Persians threatening it; its defense was left to the city militia and refugee peasants. Of particular significance are the ethnic origins of two men commanding the regular troops stationed at Edessa: Peranius was an Iberian, son of the king Gurgun; Petrus was a Persarmenian captured by the Romans in his youth; under his command at Edessa were several Huns. Even the garrison of a lesser provincial city bore a barbarian character, resembling that of the field armies themselves.<sup>50</sup>

In view of the military situation elsewhere in the Empire, the treaty with Persia (545) could hardly have been more opportune. Since 540, invasions in

<sup>47</sup> Composition of the army: *BP* II xiv 10, xvi 1. 2. 5; Artabazes and the Persian captives: *BP* II xix 24 and *BG* III iii 10 f; on the campaign in general and some of the problems in evaluating Procopius, I. Kavar, "Procopius and Arethas," *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift*, L (1957), 362–382.

<sup>48</sup> Assembling of the army: *BP* II xx 19. 25; its composition: II xxi 2. 4. The possibility of plague, first suggested by G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* (London, 1876), p. 401, was accepted by Bury, *Later Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup>, II 106; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 497, and Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 341.

<sup>49</sup> Diversion of the line of march: *BP* II xxiv 12; assembly of the army: *BP* II xxiv 12. 16; Anglon: II xxv 9. Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 342 erroneously reads the number of Persians as 40,000.

<sup>50</sup> Petrus and Peranius: *BP* II xxvi 38; Huns: xxvi 25; city's defense: xxvii 25. 34.

Thrace and Illyricum were endemic, and the frontier had to be maintained against Huns, Sclaveni, Antae, and Bulgars, sometimes by military action, more often by using one group against another.<sup>51</sup> In Africa, too, reinforcements were needed to counter the Moorish threat, more menacing since the plague of 543 had reduced the Roman garrison.<sup>52</sup>

The danger was greatest in Italy where, with the election of Totila as king, the Goths undertook successful offensive warfare late in 541. Since Totila was a far better general than Witiges had been, the situation demanded again the vigorous course of action Rome had pursued in 536–540 and was again to adopt between 551 and 554. Unfortunately, throughout most of the 540's military activity in Italy resembled the Eastern campaign described above. Armies were under-strength; reinforcements were slow in arriving; soldiers and commanders alike seem to suffer either from a failure of nerve or from a great weariness that choked off initiative. Some of these characteristics are manifest from the start. Early in 542 a sizeable imperial army of 12,000, containing the Persians captured at Sisauranon, failed in its efforts to take Verona and later went down before 5,000 Goths.<sup>53</sup> Probably late in that same year Justinian sent Maximinus to Italy at the head of Thracians, Armenians, and Bulgars. For no good reason that Procopius has recorded, he delayed at Epirus, leaving the little offensive action undertaken during that year to Demetrius and a small band the latter had led out from Constantinople after Maximinus' departure.<sup>54</sup> During 543 the imperial forces received no reinforcements and took no action that the sources have recorded. In 544 Belisarius at his own expense collected 4,000 volunteers in Thrace to form an army he later deprecated as "a small and pitiful band . . . altogether unpracticed in fighting."<sup>55</sup> The departure of the Illyrians early in 545 to defend their homeland against a Bulgar invasion could hardly have improved Belisarius' prospects, and it is not surprising that he implored Justinian during the summer of that year to send more men to his aid: guards, Huns, and other barbarians, together with the money to pay them.<sup>56</sup> To bear his letter and carry out the request "immediately," Belisarius sent John, the nephew of Vitalian, to Byzantium. But the latter tarried in the city until the end of the year, returning with an army whose total size, to judge from its subsequent actions, may have been

<sup>51</sup> In 540 there was a Bulgar or Kutrigur attack in two waves; in 544 the Bulgars reappear in Illyricum; in 545 or 546 Narses fought the Sclaveni in Thrace; in 548 the same peoples are found in Illyricum; in 550 they attack Thrace; in 551 Bulgars and Gepids menaced Constantinople and Thessalonica. Sources, discussion, and chronology in P. Lemerle, "Les invasions et migrations dans les Balkans," *Revue historique*, ccxi (1954), 265–309, esp. 285 f., and see below, nn. 61, 67.

<sup>52</sup> Sources on the plague in Africa, above, n. 38. Areobindus, Athanasius and a small group of Armenians disembarked in the spring of 545: *BV* II xxiv 1–3; John Troglita's expedition of autumn, 546: Corippus, *Iohannidos*, I, 110–416 (5–12 Pertsch); Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 366 and n. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *BG* III iii 4, iv *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> *BG* III vi 10. 11. 14.

<sup>55</sup> On the arrival of the plague in Italy, above, n. 39. Belisarius' collection of his army: *BG* III x 1. 3; the small size also emphasized in Jordanis, *Romana*, sec. 380 (50 Mommsen); cf. *Anecdota* IV 13 f. 39; Belisarius' comment: *BG* III xii 4.

<sup>56</sup> Departure of the Illyrians: *BG* III xi 13–16, and Belisarius' appeal: xii 10.

no more than 1,000. It contained 300 Antae.<sup>57</sup> Shortly after John's return, Narses also landed in Italy, accompanied by a band of Heruli. Thus the total imperial force in Italy may have been increased to perhaps 20,000.<sup>58</sup> Eventually, in the late months of 547, the trends of the preceding years were reversed. The tempo of reinforcement quickened as Sergius and Pacurius arrived with a few, Verus with 300 more Heruli, Varages with 800 Armenians, and Valerian with 1,000 men. In the spring of 548, an army of 2,000 disembarked in Sicily. Now, at last, Justinian could hope to counter the revived Gothic power.<sup>59</sup>

As the survey will have suggested, the role of the barbarian increased in the ranks and in positions of subordinate command. In addition to Artabazes, commander of the Persians participating in the siege of Verona during 542, Procopius mentions Arufus the Herul, Gilacius, the Armenian promoted to *strategos* who knew no Greek beyond his title, Odalgan the Hun in command at Perugia, and Chalazar the Bulgar at Rossano.<sup>60</sup>

The six years following upon 548 were in both East and West an era of recovery and renewed initiative. As Justinian built up his forces in the West, his intention of mounting a major offensive during the summer of 549 apparently deferred only by the conspiracy of that year, he simultaneously warded off attacks of the Sclaveni in the Balkans, assigned a large force to guard against the Gepids, and undertook an offensive in Lazica.<sup>61</sup> Already in 548 Dagistheus seems to have marched into the land of the Lazi with 8,000 men of whom 1,000 were Tzani. Another large army under Rhecithancus followed him. Subsidies were offered, in 549, to the Lazi themselves and to the Sabiri. Under their king Goubazes, the former joined with the Roman commander to constitute a force of 14,000 at the Phasis while "a few" of the latter — the Sabiri — also took part in the Lazic wars.<sup>62</sup> Late in 549 or early in 550 further reinforcements were dispatched to

<sup>57</sup> John in Constantinople: *Anecdota* v 8–15 and *BG* III xii 11; returns with Romans and barbarians, xiii 20, including, apparently, some Antae: xxii 2. 3. Size of the army may be deduced from xxvi 16.

<sup>58</sup> Heruli: *BG* III xiii 21. Hannestad, "Forces militaires," 148 ff. derives his figure of 20,000 from Totila's speech in 546: xxi 4–5.

<sup>59</sup> *BG* III xxvii 2 f., xxx 1. The small size of the tactical forces during this period is quite striking: vi 2, xi 19, xv 3, xxiii 8, xxvii 16 and Hannestad, "Forces militaires," 154 f.

<sup>60</sup> Arufus: *BG* III xxvi 23; Gilacius: xxvi 24; Odalgan: xxiii 6; Chalazar: xxx 6; in Africa, Coutisina the Berber led a group of *symmachoi* and was also *magister militum* in command of regular troops: Corippus, *Iohannidos*, vii 265–271 (88 Partsch), cf. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, pp. 315–319. The romanesque career of the Arsacid Artabanes is particularly instructive. For his part in the "Armenian" conspiracy of 549, when he had been *magister militum praesentalis* and enormously popular at Constantinople, he never suffered much punishment beyond momentary loss of office. 550 found him as *magister militum per Thraciam* participating in the Italian offensive. See Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 590 f., and for ethnic hostility among Armenians, Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 344, and n. 1119 on 517. Thus Armenian conspirators in the sixth century were treated far differently from Germans and Isaurians in the fifth: Stein, *Bas-Empire*, I, 235–239, 358–360, II, 82–84.

<sup>61</sup> The Antae fell upon Thrace, *BG* III xiv 11, and the Bulgars upon Illyricum in 544, xi 15 f., cf. x 2, xi 12–14. The Antae were offered settlements, xiv 32. In 548 the Sclaveni crossed the Danube and penetrated to Epidamnus, xxix 1–3, where they were followed but not attacked by 15,000 Romans. In the spring of 549 Justinian sent 10,000 horse to aid the Lombards against the Gepids, together with 1,500 Heruli; they were forced to remain as protection against the Gepids: xxxiv 40–47. On the problems of chronology, see Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 531, n. 1.

Lazica in advance of the new commander, Bessas, the replacement of Dagistheus. During the campaigning season of 550 Bessas sent an army under Wilgang the Herul and John the Armenian to discipline the Abasgi while he himself undertook, with 6,000 men, a siege of Petra, ultimately to end with the fortress' capitulation in the spring of 551. When action terminated in 551, the total Roman garrison in Lazica seems to have numbered 12,000 men stationed at Archaeopolis and along the Phasis.<sup>63</sup>

While Bessas and the generals subordinate to him fought around the southern and eastern littoral of the Black Sea, Justinian's ambassador sought out the Persian Great King at Ctesiphon to renew the truce of 545.<sup>64</sup> The Roman emperor must have been certain of their success; even before definite action had been taken on his proposals for a treaty, he resumed — in the summer of 550 — the preparations for a western offensive postponed from the previous year. Liberius departed for Sicily to be followed by Artabanes with a smaller group. Meanwhile, Germanus, the prospective commander in the West, drew upon all the available resources of the Roman state to seek out recruits in Thrace and Illyricum while undertaking negotiations with possible *symmachoi*.<sup>65</sup> Not all of his energies could he apply to the renewed offensive in the West, but, fortunately, his reputation alone frightened off the Sclaveni who had hoped to capture Thessalonica in the summer of 550. At the end of 551 an army had to be sent against them which finally turned defeat into qualified success.<sup>66</sup> Germanus' death in the summer of 551 interrupted the plans for a western expedition only momentarily; in his place Narses assumed command, departing for Italy in the spring of 552 with an army estimated by modern historians at twenty or thirty thousand. Nor was this great force accumulated at the expense of other frontiers. Simultaneously with its departure Martin and Goubazes contained a Persian offensive in Lazica, and the aged Liberius sailed off in the following summer to undertake the reconquest of Spain.<sup>67</sup>

While the exact size of Narses' army must remain a matter of conjecture, in composition it maintained earlier trends towards barbarization. From the Lombards Narses had engaged 2,500 cavalry and 3,000 "esquires"; 3,000 faithful Heruli followed him together with 400 Gepids, and a variety of peoples whose

<sup>63</sup> Dagistheus: *BP* II xxix 10; Rhcithancus: xxx 29; subsidies: xxx 28; force of 14,000: xxx 40; Sabiri: *BG* IV xi 22. Chronological problems noted in Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 505, n. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Reinforcements preceding Bessas: *BG* IV ix 5; Wilgang and John: ix 13; forces at Petra: xi 42, included Armenians, xi 57; total in 551: xiii 8-10.

<sup>65</sup> Details in Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 351 f., 358.

<sup>66</sup> Liberius, Artabanes, and Germanus: *BG* III xxxix 6. 8. 9-10.

<sup>67</sup> *BG* III xl 1-8, 30-45.

<sup>67</sup> Martin and Goubazes: *BG* IV xvii 11-19; Liberius in summer of 552: Jordanes, *Getica* sec. 303 (136 Mommsen); on the date, Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II 820 f.; Africa was at peace: *BG* IV xvii 20-22; Corippus, *Iohannidos*, VIII, 164-656 (98-109 Pertsch); while in the Balkans a combination of diplomacy and force had succeeded by 552; in 551 war was initiated between Outrigurs and Kutrigurs, *BG* IV xviii 18-24; the Kutrigurs were settled, IV xix 6 f.; the Slavs met by a small force at the end of 551, IV xxv 1-6. With the Gepids Justinian signed a *foedus* late in 551: IV xxv 7 f., but then an army was sent against them, xxv 10-15, before peace was restored between Gepids, Lombards, and Rome in 552: IV xxvii 21.

numerical strength is not given: more Heruli, many Gepids, and some Persian deserters. Whether barbarians comprised one third or one half its total, the proportion seems to have been greater than any displayed in previous armies of its size.<sup>68</sup>

It is unnecessary to follow out from the pages of Agathias, Procopius' successor as the historian of Justinian's wars, the remaining battles in the West. It need only be noted that, as Narses led 18,000 to victory over the Franks at Capua in the autumn of 554, a garrison force estimated at 50,000 held the frontier in Lazica. There, too, barbarian contingents were numerous, including Sabiri, Heruli, Lombards, Berbers, and Tzani.<sup>69</sup> Despite his questionable and probably high inflated statistical data, Agathias confirms conclusions drawn from Procopius: after thirty years of warfare, the expeditionary armies indeed displayed "un caractère international."

Obviously we shall never know the exact proportion of Roman to barbarian throughout all the armies in any one year. Doubtless, if a census had been made, and provided that it included the *limitanei* as well as detachments of the *comitatenses* stationed in relatively peaceful provinces, the Roman element would have predominated. If, on the other hand, enumeration had been limited to those elements of the *foederati* and *comitatenses* actually in the field on expedition, proportions would have been vastly different. At times the Roman armies would probably have been as Roman as Franco's army was Spanish during the Civil War of 1936-1938.

Three conclusions seem reasonably certain. The imperial armies of 554 were truly imperial, composed of peoples far more diverse in origin than those who had taken the field during Justinian's early years. Secondly, Justinian's generals drew constantly on barbarian peoples for recruits, a practice that could have had no other effect than to increase the barbarian element. In the absence of precise quantitative evidence for the process, qualitative indications are suggestive: in particular, the gradual blurring of distinctions between *foederati* and *stratiotai*. Perhaps even more telling is the penetration into positions of command by peoples of non-Roman origins, the Armenians above all. Old prejudices were vanishing in the face of military necessity.

Finally, to say that the armies of Belisarius and Narses were composed mainly of recruits from the Balkans and Asia Minor is to encourage misinterpretation. Armies varied according to specific circumstances; there were differences of time and place. For the same reason there is some unreality about such statements as "wichtig bleibt die Tatsache dass unter diesem Kaiser (Justinian) das einheimische Element in der Armee gegenüber dem barbarischen das Übergewicht bekommt" or "folglich haben wir es bei den Truppenaushebungen und der Nationalisierung der Armee mit einer tiefgreifenden, aber konstanten Entwick-

<sup>68</sup> BG iv xxvi 5-17.

<sup>69</sup> Capua: Agathias II 4 (Bonn, p. 73). Garrison in the East and its composition: Agathias III 6. 8. 7. 20. 21 (Bonn, pp. 148, 153, 177, 184, 186.) See M. Ites, "Zur Bewertung des Agathias," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxvi (1926), 273 ff., esp. 277, 282.

lung zu tun.”<sup>70</sup> Aside from the fact that development had taken its course in precisely the opposite direction, the statement overlooks the nature of the truly expeditionary armies. Unlike the *limitanei* and the *comitatenses* in garrison, they were formed on an *ad hoc* basis; if necessity dictated, they might, as a device of desperation, contain elements drawn from frontier and garrison forces. By virtue of their fighting capacity, barbarians were preferable to rustics, but men were taken where they could be found. It is, in short, a question of “armies,” not “an army.”

Much of the confusion stems from misapplication of the conclusions found in Maspero's *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantin*, from a failure to recognize certain limitations in the work which possibly the author himself did not appreciate. By analysis of the papyri he demonstrated (not quite correctly, recent work suggests) that the Egyptian army in garrison was native-born during the sixth century. In the quality of this native army he found reasons for its collapse in the face of Persian and Arab invaders during the seventh century: it was a police force designed to collect taxes and preserve order; it was never supposed to take part in campaigns such as those described above.<sup>71</sup> For that reason, the barbarian's military talents would have been wasted in Egypt. A sensible division of labor resulted, destined to be maintained at least until the end of the major campaigns in 554. A “Roman” army, made up of Egyptians, of a people never known for military valor, performed housekeeping tasks in a relatively peaceful province. “Barbarized” armies took the field at Busta Gallorum, Capua, and other battle sites.

It is important to probe even more deeply into Maspero's work, for it displays an historiographical problem of significance for the study of any aspect of Justinian's reign. Maspero was well aware of many of the texts cited above, particularly of those attesting to the entry of Tzani and Vandals into the ranks of the *stratiotai*. As against the papyri, however, they weighed very little in his judgment: one of them being written off as “un expédient de hasard et il n'y faut pas attacher grande importance dans une étude du fonctionnement normal de l'armée.”<sup>72</sup> In the course of Justinian's wars, there were a great many of these “expédients de hasard,” involving not only Tzani and Vandals but Bulgars, Slavs, Armenians, Berbers, and Goths — in short, most of the peoples encountered by East Rome between 527 and 554. The source of Maspero's difficulty is obvious. If by “fonctionnement normal” he means peacetime operations as the papyri reveal them to be, then he is to a large degree correct. Armies at war and transformed by war are another matter; to understand them we must give equal weight to the historians who, for all their shortcomings, provide more directly what the Egyptian papyri ordinarily show less clearly: evidence of the impact of war upon a society

<sup>70</sup> Karayannopoulos, *Entstehung der Themenordnung*, pp. 44–45; italics mine. I should like to emphasize that, while I do not agree with the author's views on the development of the armies, the main points of his work still stand: the themes, which are administrative in nature, were the product of many decades of development and not the creation of a reforming emperor. See note 94 below.

<sup>71</sup> *Organisation militaire*, pp. 126, 130.

<sup>72</sup> “Στρατιῶται,” 106.



and its institutions. It is worth noting that Maspero himself, a brilliant product of the educational system of the Third French Republic, grew up in a peaceful and abundant society wherein (it seems now) it must have been sheer pleasure to live and work. His study was published in 1912, not many years before he fell in defense of his country.<sup>73</sup>

Even in the early years of Justinian's reign barbarization of the expeditionary armies was under way. The narrative has shown how successful wars thereafter made available peoples prized for fighting capacities. Justinian was fortunate, too, in the fluidity of political or tribal relations around and beyond the Danube. Until the Avars appeared, no one folk blocked off sources of recruitment by achieving unquestioned hegemony over the others; it was always possible for Rome to recruit *symmachoi* among them by promising subsidies or other benefits.<sup>74</sup> As long as expansionist wars remained the order of the day, barbarians were at hand and they were eagerly welcomed.

Without their aid, the military recovery and victories of 549-554 would have been impossible; and the critical importance of barbarian troops during those years suggests that need or demand for their services had grown along with the supply. If the armies changed, they changed in response to pressures that threatened, as well as opportunities that beckoned. During the period 540-548 these threats were particularly serious, extending beyond the mere play of personality.

Although Procopius suggests otherwise, and modern historians have followed him, something more than Justinian's negligence and jealousy, or a failure of nerve on Belisarius' part, lies behind the ineffectiveness and indecision of these years.<sup>75</sup> The accusations may be quickly refuted. It seems, in the first place, odd that Justinian would appoint Belisarius to command in 544 and then deliberately withhold troops or money from him. Surely he knew his man. Although cautious, Belisarius was no McClellan, frightened by the spectre of the enemies' size and unable to move save with massive strength. During the first phase of the Gothic wars, each reinforcement, however slight, led to more vigorous action of wider scope.<sup>76</sup> If Belisarius asked for men, his demands were based upon a realistic assessment of his needs. Procrastination characterized operations everywhere between 540 and about 548; it was not confined to Italy and thus could not have expressed a particular grudge against a particular person or specific neglect of a specific frontier. Similarly, preparations for a renewed offensive in 549 were but one phase of a recovery everywhere visible. Since increasingly larger contingents of men had already been sent throughout 547-548, the army Germanus was supposed to lead in their wake to Italy seems the climax of a military build-up,

<sup>73</sup> See now Remondon, "Soldats de Byzance," esp. pp. 83-93, where it seems that after 552 Justinian tried to create a mobile force of predominantly Gothic *foederati* in the Thebaid as part of a general plan to reorganize the defenses of Egypt while economizing men and money. Apparently he wished to reproduce, within Egypt, the division of labor between garrison and expeditionary forces visible throughout the Empire as a whole.

<sup>74</sup> Stein, *Studien*, pp. 119 f.

<sup>75</sup> See note 37 above.

<sup>76</sup> *BG* I xxvii 3-14, xxvii 26 f.; *BG* II vi 1-3, vii 25 f., xvi.

rather than the result of a sudden decision to fight, triggered by the Gothic invasion of Sicily. The same considerations, stagnation and gradual recovery, demonstrate that when John the Cappadocian fell from power in 541 the event had no lasting effect on the administrative services. No more than any other bureaucrat was John the indispensable man; between 550 and 554 the Empire achieved its conquests without him.

During the years when conquests were apparently impossible, the Empire suffered from a manpower shortage for which overcommitment, the result of having to fight too many enemies at once, was in part responsible. Capable troops who might have held Antioch against Chosroes in 540 were away in Italy, and Justinian's diplomacy had tried, before that year and thereafter, to avoid such contingencies. The Endless Peace of 532 gave greater hope of success for the campaigns against the Vandals; Narses' great expedition of 552 did not depart for Italy until combined military and diplomatic effort had brought peace to Africa, the Balkans, and Lazica.

Upon closer analysis, however, it appears that there is another, a missing, variable. There were periods, including that of 526–532, when East Rome could fight many enemies at once; there were times when it could fight no one at all. In 545 Justinian made peace with Persia at the cost of large subsidies; during the two years that followed he twice overlooked provocative incidents that, ordinarily, he might have welcomed as pretexts for war. At the same time, he entertained the Persian ambassador with expenditures lavish enough to cause mutterings at Constantinople.<sup>77</sup> Quite clearly he wanted peace and, equally clearly, he was prepared to pay well for it. Yet, to what purpose did he use his advantage? In both Africa and Italy the crisis could hardly have been more acute, but reinforcements were small in size and slow in arriving.<sup>78</sup>

Nothing could contrast more sharply with the course of events after 548. In that year Justinian took the initiative in the East by dispatching Dagistheus' army to Lazica while simultaneously continuing a reinforcement of the Italian armies he had undertaken in 547. Germanus gathered together his army in Illyricum before peace was entirely assured in Lazica. While Narses fought during 552 in Italy, Justinian took advantage of a crisis in Spain to send an army into the westernmost regions of the Mediterranean world. As Narses bested the Franks in Italy during 554, the garrison in Lazica was kept at sufficient strength to ward off a Persian offensive.

There is a striking coincidence in time between the pestilence of 541–543 and a period (both concurrent with it and subsequent to it) of missed opportunities and

<sup>77</sup> Neither Rome nor Persia intervened in a quarrel that broke out in 546 between the Lakhmid, Mundhir, and the Ghassanid, Harith: *BP* II xxviii 12–14. In 547, the Persian ambassador, Isdigousnas, seems to have attempted to seize Dara on his journey to Constantinople: II xxviii 15–44.

<sup>78</sup> On reinforcements to Africa, see note 52 above. In the East between the siege of Edessa and the truce of 545, John Troglita as *dux Mesopotamiae* undertook small but highly successful actions at Theodosiopolis and Dara: Corippus, *Iohannidos*, I 48–109 (4 f. Patsch). In the Balkans, Justinian met the attack of 544 or 545 with an offer of federation rather than force: *BG* III xiv 32. The Heruli who, under Narses, defeated Sclaveni in 545 were actually being gathered for the expedition to the West; see note 58 above.

ineffective military action. Is not the missing variable the short-term effects of the Great Plague? Explicit indications of its impact on military operations are admittedly few, but a similar lack of direct evidence in archival materials has momentarily confounded historians of the fourteenth century when they have attempted to assess the results of the Black Death of 1348. Once the pestilence had passed, it seemed that nothing had happened; only upon "reading between the lines" do the full dimensions of the catastrophe appear.<sup>79</sup> The evidence assembled above from the historians and Justinian's novels certainly justifies taking the hint and making a similarly close analysis and reconstruction of the period in question.<sup>80</sup> Beginning with the expedition of Maximinus, which left Constantinople in the spring or summer of 542 (thus at the height of the plague) and then inexplicably dallied at Epirus, men's actions are constantly too curiously ineffective to escape suspicion. What lay behind them?

Unfortunately, Procopius' accounts of the campaigns undertaken during the critical years of 542 and 543 are among the most unsatisfactory in the *Histories*. When analyzing them, it is essential to remember that he apparently wished to magnify Belisarius' doubtful achievements in the former year while presenting in the worst possible light the failures of Martinus and the others during the latter. Belisarius left Constantinople in the spring or early summer of 542, at a point when (as Edict 7 proves) plague had already struck the city after passing through Syria. He arrived, then, in an area which had earlier felt the disease in its coastal regions, and pestilence could have moved inland about his headquarters at Europum. Exchanging the metropolis for the lesser cities or the countryside did not, in 542 any more than in 1348, mean that one was assured of escaping disease. John of Ephesus joins Procopius in bearing witness to its impact upon the rural communities.<sup>81</sup> Incidence of the plague could explain the small size of the army Belisarius contrived to collect although he recruited everywhere (*πανταχόσε*). There is something curious, too, in Chosroes' retreat before this unimpressive force. As Rawlinson, Bury, and Stein have all pointed out, if Chosroes did in fact withdraw from fear of Belisarius, why was he given the wealthiest citizen of Edessa as hostage and how could he destroy Callinicus with impunity, carrying off its inhabitants into captivity? Was it not the plague, rather than Belisarius, that frightened off Chosroes?<sup>82</sup>

Procopius' description of Chosroes' actions in 543 are quite acceptable in the light of known trajectories of this and later plagues. Since all moved inland from ports where rats could most easily bring infected lice, disease would be found in Roman Armenia during 543 after it was extinct at Constantinople. Rather than

<sup>79</sup> Carpentier, "Famines et épidémies," 1064, and *Orviato*, pp. 192 f.

<sup>80</sup> Compare the accounts gathered in Carpentier, *Orviato*, pp. 112–119, from Italian chroniclers with *BP* II xxii 9–37, esp. 31. It is a hint all the more readily taken since Procopius' description is a classic, coinciding closely with fourteenth century and modern descriptions of the course of bubonic plague. It is even possible that, since some of the victims died vomiting blood, the bubonic form may (as it was in 1348) have been accompanied by the pulmonary form. The latter is particularly virulent, to judge from modern statistics collected in China and India, and it may be transmitted from person to person.

<sup>81</sup> Van Douwen and Land, *Commentarii*, pp. 227–240.

<sup>82</sup> See note 48 above.

invading this region, with its numerous frontier cities and active trade routes, Chosroes would naturally have left his base at Adarbiganon for a less urbanized area. In this instance it was Assyria where, according to Procopius, plague was not yet epidemic.<sup>83</sup> That Justinian, seeking to exploit his weakness, could then bring together one of the great armies of the century is not necessarily incompatible with the preceding reconstruction. The army in question mobilized all available strength in the East and thus probably contained *limitanei* as well as expeditionary forces. The subsequent behavior of the troops in battle is fully consonant with the low reputation of the *limitanei*, and the actions of the generals no less curious than those of Maximinus or Chosroes in 542. In direct contravention of Justinian's orders, and departing from usual practice, they never assembled at one point, but established camps along a frontier extending for 200 kilometers south from Theodosiopolis by Chorhazianene and Citharizon to Martyropolis. According to Procopius, there was a complete lack of co-ordination among them either before or during the abortive invasion; the group at Martyropolis under Justus even failed to join the others. Thus the strength of the army that met Nabedes and his 4,000 at Anglon fell somewhat short of the full 30,000 collected. It was, nonetheless, an army of unusual size for the period and curiously reluctant to fight so few Persians, however strongly entrenched spies had discovered them to be. Throughout the account there is much to challenge credulity; in particular, Procopius emphasizes repeatedly the contrasting strength of the great army in 543 and of the little one in 542. Certainly we can say that Rome failed to mount an invasion during a year of the plague in a region where it was currently epidemic. If nothing in the sources proves the implicit relation of cause and effect, neither does anything contradict it absolutely.<sup>84</sup>

In other parts of the Roman world, the narrative has shown 543 to have been a blank year. The Roman commanders in Italy are supposed to have passed their time shut up in their fortresses, given over to revelry and lawlessness of all sorts, a note oddly reminiscent of behavior reported after the plague in Constantinople or in the pages of Thucydides and Boccaccio for that matter.<sup>85</sup> Pestilence also struck Africa in 543; despite reinforcements, the army never recovered its earlier strength and later defeated the Moors (who themselves never experienced the plague) only by making extensive use of Berber allies. The Roman army in Africa was transformed into a force whose barbarized character has often been noted.<sup>86</sup>

Alice's phrase, "curioser and curioser" describes the actions of the next two

<sup>83</sup> *BP* II xxiv 12. On plague trajectories, see Carpentier, "Famines et épidémies," 1071 f.; André Siegfried, *Itinéraires de contagions*, Paris, 1960; Procopius, *BP* II xxii 9: always from the coast to the interior.

<sup>84</sup> See note 48 above. Location of the forces: *BP* II xxiv 17. Suspicions of the account may be found in Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 108, and Rubin, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 343.

<sup>85</sup> Compare Procopius *BG* III ix 1-6, where (it should be noted) he says nothing of the plague, with *BP* II xxiii 16 and Thucydides II 53. Similar problems in Orvieto and Venice: Carpentier, *Orvieto*, pp. 129, 134. Plagues always seem to provide material for moralists: see Corippus, *Iohannidos*, III, 371-375.

<sup>86</sup> Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, pp. 361-381, esp. 377; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*?, II 141 f., 146 f.; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II, 556 f.

years as well. 544, the year of the novels on wages and prices and the *ius deliberandi*, saw Edessa left to its own resources and Belisarius unable to find an effective army in Thrace. 545 saw John, the nephew of Vitalian, delayed in Constantinople for the purpose, according to Procopius, of arranging his marriage with the daughter of Germanus. Meanwhile Belisarius impatiently awaited his return with reinforcements.<sup>87</sup>

In this instance we can discover with reasonable certainty what the trouble was. John arrived in Constantinople in the spring or early summer of 545 to find a city beset with shortages and economic difficulties, some of them probably increased by the plague. It had been a bad harvest year in Egypt; even widespread *coemptiones* or forced purchases of grain made throughout Thrace, Bithynia, and Phrygia by the praetorian prefect, Peter Barsymes, failed to compensate for a deficit in the city's grain supply manifest at the end of the summer.<sup>88</sup> Soldiers complained that their pay was in arrears; in view of the better bargain the agricultural laborer could hope to strike after the plague, military service might have seemed a less promising alternative than it once had to the peasant anxious to escape poverty.<sup>89</sup>

Two problems appear in imperial legislation. A novel of 1 March 545 attempted to regulate *coemptiones* made by troops stationed in the provinces, protecting the interests both of the taxpayers and the soldiers, including barbarians (ἑθνικοὶ) on their way to the aid of the state.<sup>90</sup> Another novel of 1 June 545 attempted to prescribe in minute detail the administration of those taxes upon which the activities of the Empire depended. Among its other provisions, it established, after many years of experiment, the definitive form of the *epibole*: the forced assignment to certain specified persons of unproductive lands together with the tax burdens upon them. In at least one respect, Justinian's legislation on the *epibole*, in this and earlier years, is more stringent than provisions found in the edicts of his predecessors. During the fifth century, those who would take up uncultivated lands were encouraged to do so by remission of all or some of the taxes for varying lengths of time. In 545, however, both burdens — that of taking up the lands and that of assuring the tax revenues — fell at once. Justinian's novel thus sought to assure an uninterrupted flow of revenue, a goal all the more difficult to achieve if death had removed either the owner responsible for the payments or the hands necessary to assure production. At the same time, the individual forced to assume unproductive lands was not held responsible for any arrears in taxation, and we may assume that the officials charged with the administration of the *epibole* had abused their authority in this respect. Procopius probably had reason to complain *in his own time* that collective responsibility for taxes and the forced assignment of unproductive lands were burdens difficult to bear; quite justly, he could note that the plague had made them more so.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> See note 57 above.

<sup>88</sup> *Anecdota*, xxii 17.

<sup>89</sup> *Anecdota*, xxii 20; Zimarchus, Dityvistus, and Justin come to Constantinople to escape poverty: *Anecdota*, vi 2; for other examples of rural recruitment, see above, n. 32 and *BP* I xviii 39 (Callinicus).

<sup>90</sup> Nov. J. 130, c. viii.

<sup>91</sup> Nov. J. 128, cc. vii. viii (639 Schoell-Kroll). The most recent study on the *epibole* with full refer-

In all likelihood John found upon his arrival at Constantinople an Empire strained to the utmost in its efforts to assume burdens of warfare on many frontiers. It could ill afford unpredictable shocks including bubonic plague and shortages in the Egyptian grain supply. It is not surprising that many months passed before John could scrape together a small force and return with it to Italy — about a year after his departure. It is far from surprising, too, that Narses had to seek out a supplementary force among his faithful Heruli, that the reinforcements John Troglita led to Africa in 546 were pitifully small, that the subsequent tempo of reinforcement in Italy was slow, and the proportion of barbarians high among those who arrived. There seems little reason to doubt that the bubonic plague interfered directly with Justinian's plans in 542 and 543, created a manpower shortage of considerable dimensions during the next two or three years, slowed down the process of recovery when it came, and favored further barbarization of the imperial forces.<sup>92</sup>

Alternative explanations for what men did during each of the episodes analyzed above will immediately spring to mind. Taken collectively, however, the similarities create a pattern, suggesting that (together with factors particular to each) an agent common to all was at play. If the plague was not that agent, is there a more satisfactory way to explain why a distinct period of recovery followed a distinct period of stagnation or why men consistently acted to such little effect during the latter? The hypothesis may be tested further and reinforced if it is placed within the perspective of the last years of the century, following the recovery of the early

---

ences to sources and secondary literature is J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1958), pp. 236–259. In this and in his earlier work, K. has shown that Procopius' comment is far from valid for the fourth and fifth centuries, before the *epibole* had reached the final stage of definition revealed in Nov. J. 128. At this earlier period, the interests of the emperor in assigning uncultivated lands often coincided with the wishes of those who received them. And, to encourage the assumption of such lands even further, the *adiectio* was often accompanied by partial or complete remission of taxes. The problem lay in forcing the recipients to take sub-marginal along with good land; this the emperors achieved by a sporadic use of the principle of collective tax responsibility: Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, p. 253. By the time of Nov. 128, these two principles of collective responsibility and *adiectio* are regularly coupled. Yet, as K. admits (*Finanzwesen*, p. 258, n. 53), the *epibole* could at times run counter to the interests of the recipient landowner; the texts that view it as a burden are to be dated after the first quarter of the sixth century, thus contemporary with the fully developed institution and Procopius' strictures on it; Nov. J. 17, c. xiv (535) even makes the *adiectio* a form of punishment. For his own time, then, I believe Procopius' comments to be valid when stripped of a certain degree of rhetorical exaggeration. At the same time, I agree with K. that the primary objective of Nov. 128 is to assure collection of taxes, not the cultivation of land. Whether the *epibole* (either with or without collective tax responsibility) indicates shortages of agricultural manpower or more stringent demands on the part of the state for tax revenues which full cultivation alone could provide is a question that must be answered for each specific instance of its application; there can be no general rule. Procopius, *Anecdota*, xxiii 15–22.

<sup>92</sup> Compare the problems encountered by the East Roman Empire in the 540's with those faced by England and France in 1348 and thereafter. E. Perroy, *The Hundred Years' War* (New York, 1951), pp. 113, 121–124, 125 f., attributes to the plague not only the failure of the French to mount an offensive in 1348 but the length and indecisive quality of the conflict during the ensuing years. Gilliam, "Plague under Marcus Aurelius," is sceptical of connections among disease, manpower shortages, and military problems during the second century, A.D. During the latter period, however, the disease was not bubonic plague and the sources do not permit the establishment of the close correlations that may be derived from Procopius

550's. In so doing, we may also discover how well a "barbarized" army could defend an imperial frontier.

Recovery seems to have been only momentary, and it never led into those broad, sunlit uplands men might have hoped to find. In 558 Zabergan and his Kutrigurs crossed the Danube and divided into three bands, one of which attacked Constantinople in 559. The aged Belisarius put on armor long unused and led out 300 veterans, *palatini*, city militia, and peasants to defend the walls. It was a nondescript force, strongly reminiscent of those upon which Antioch depended in 540 or Edessa in 544. Within this context Agathias wrote his lament, often quoted out of context, on the numerical decline of the Roman armies. The weakness at Constantinople in 559 was but a particular instance, he believed, of a decline so widespread that 150,000 men had to defend frontiers for which 645,000 would have been a minimum number. Since there was no war on the Persian frontier, feeble defenses reflected the feebleness of a feeble old emperor. Rather than fight, Justinian preferred to rely on subsidies and play off one enemy against another. Weakness at the top filtered down into the lower echelons: the bureaucracy preferred to speculate on pay and supplies rather than transmit them to the proper recipients. For these reasons, soldiers left the service, and the military establishment declined to a critical point.<sup>93</sup>

The personal aspects of this indictment may be disregarded, for the successors of Justinian—younger, vigorous, sometimes expansionist in sentiment—never solved a manpower problem already discernible in 559. During the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius, and Maurice, it was sometimes impossible to fight on more than one frontier at a time; wars were often designed to win supplies of men more than prestige, strategic advantage, or the land the men occupied. Victory brought back captives whose impact on the domestic economy the historians chose to describe in terms of great hyperbole. An acute shortage of soldiers threatened the Empire's safety. This shortage Ernst Stein noted many years ago, tracing it to the drying-up of sources of recruitment among barbarian peoples but neglecting to include among its causes repeated attacks of bubonic plague.<sup>94</sup> Surely the long-term effects of the latter are manifest in the military crisis under Justinian's

<sup>93</sup> The attack: Agathias, v 11–13 (299–306 Bonn), cf. Malalas, p. 490 (Bonn); the defense of Constantinople: Agathias, v 16 (312 f. Bonn); commentary on the armies: v 13 *in fine*–14 *init.* (305–307 Bonn) and Rubin's discussion of the passage, *Zeitalter Iustinians*, I, 227 f.

<sup>94</sup> See above, n. 74. Evidence for a long-term decline is noted in my "Grain Supply," pp. 95 ff., and the sources cited, n. 25. I hope to deal with these materials more fully in a forthcoming study. The same pattern of demographic stagnation or decline and subsequent recovery is noted in a series of studies by P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance," *Revue historique*, CCXIX (1958), 32–74, esp. 63 ff.; "Les répercussions de la crise de l'Empire de l'Orient au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle sur les pays d'Occident," in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo: Caratteri del Secolo VII in Occidente*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1958), II, 713–731, esp. 719; "Quelques remarques sur le règne d'Heraclius," *Studi Medievali*, ser. III, I (1960), 347–361. As a partial explanation of Byzantium's recovery after the seventh century, demographic patterns are all the more important to investigate now that Heraclius has lost his title of reformer. See Lemerle, "Quelques remarques," and J. Karayannopoulos, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit d. Kaisers Herakleios," *Jahrb. d. Oesterr. Byz. Gesellschaft*, x (1962), 53–72.

successors? They may even explain in part the difficulties of 559, for 558 had been a plague year.

But at least one other factor must be held accountable for the inadequate armies of 559: this was the problem, almost insoluble on both financial and disciplinary grounds, of first turning an expeditionary force into a garrison army or an "army of occupation," and then of keeping it under control and ready to fight at the same time. While not initially and wholly responsible for the problem, the process of barbarization had complicated it in a variety of ways.

When barbarian peoples fought as *symmachoi*, separately organized under their own leaders, there could be no question of keeping them in the conquered lands once their military services were no longer in demand. The aftermath of Busta Gallorum is an excellent example among many. During the battle barbarian and Roman fought with equal valor. After the victory Narses had to buy off his Lombard allies, sending them home to end the rape and arson to which they had abandoned themselves.<sup>95</sup>

Even when barbarian peoples were more fully absorbed within the military establishment as *foederati*, they became a particularly embarrassing element in a generally difficult situation. Regardless of their ethnic composition, garrison forces were difficult to control. Lacking the discipline imposed by having to fight together in an alien land, deprived of easy access to spoils, the units tended to break asunder, seek the safety of fortified points, and identify local interests with their own.

The latter is a particularly crucial point and the African revolt of 536 a good example of it. Roman soldiers in the newly conquered province rebelled in part because their pay was in arrears; they also objected when lands brought them in dowry by their Vandal wives were confiscated by the state. Young men in occupying armies like to marry the young women they encounter, and not very much can be done about it. A further irritant stemmed from an imperial edict against Arianism. Soldiers adhering to the Arian creed, particularly numerous among barbarian *foederati*, could neither accept nor enforce such a law.<sup>96</sup> A moment's reflection will reveal the irony of the situation. The imperial interest, which Justinian in his legislation of 535 had tried to identify with the general interest, fell before the particular interests of those who were supposed to enforce it. Peoples only partly assimilated could hardly promote assimilation in other quarters if they themselves could not accept the very foundation of imperial loyalties: Catholic Christianity.

In the relatively peaceful province of Egypt, the contrasting situation of full assimilation of barbarian to native created its own range of problems. After the

<sup>95</sup> BG iv xxxii 11, xxxiii 2; on problems with Antae and Sclaveni, *Anecdota* xi 4-11; the Sabiri and the Persian Mirmeroes' difficulties with them: BG iv xiii 7; the Gepids and their embarrassing allies, the Kutrigers: BG iv xviii 16 f. For the value of the barbarian in war, BG iii xviii 29 (546) and xii 10 (545); Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, p. 279.

<sup>96</sup> BV II xiv 8-15; cf. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, pp. 75-77; disciplinary problems were acute in Italy after 540; BG iii i 23, 28-33 and desertions numerous during this period and the second phase of the wars, Hannestad, "Forces militaires," p. 153.



victories of the 550's Justinian hoped to employ some of the Goths captured in Italy as a mobile striking force in the Thebaid against the Blemmyes to the south, leaving the police work and the manning of the fortresses to the less warlike native Egyptian *comitatenses* in garrison. Unfortunately for the plan, the raids of the Blemmyes were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently threatening to keep the barbarian *foederati* in fighting trim; the latter were "Egyptianized," sank into the normal routine of provincial life, and became themselves garrison troops of little value against Persians and Arabs in the seventh century. What had been created *by* war — the "barbarized" army — had to be used *for* war.<sup>97</sup>

Thus, by 559 Justinian's empire was trapped by a combination of its own success and the unpredictable. As the narrative has shown, unless a number of major crises supervened at one and the same time, its resources could support the wars of reconquest undertaken in 533 as they had the defensive operations of the preceding five or six years. Drawing upon reserves of barbarian peoples available to him, Justinian confounded those of his advisors who had doubted, on the eve of the expedition to Carthage, that his projects were feasible. Fiscal and moral resources equal to the tasks of conquest fell short, however, of the demands made by the process of assimilating and controlling what had been won in battle. Financial and disciplinary pressures alike rendered imperative the demobilization that so horrified Agathias in 559. The barbarian character of the army, which both resulted from and accounted for success in time of war, made the disciplinary problem all the more difficult to solve in time of peace.

Constant expansionist warfare would have solved the disciplinary problem, but was this solution possible when the "unpredictable," repeated attacks of bubonic plague, curtailed resources of men and money? During an age of apparent population decline it was necessary to practice economies of both. Upon those occasions when the financial stringency of a Tiberius or a Maurice increased the reserves of the state, the emergence of the Avar hegemony in the Balkans after 562 blocked off full access to peoples who might have sold their services for money. To recruit widely among the native population would have threatened the agricultural base and produced armies of rustics, traditionally considered of little military value.

Inasmuch as the limits of feasible expansion had been reached, the conquests created a dilemma from which there could be no escape until at least one of the following happened. At a cost to its prestige and to the nature of the military institutions it had developed through warfare, the Empire would have to retrench. The demographic curve would have to rise again or new non-Roman peoples become available. Better ways of assuring imperial loyalties and of maintaining fighting capacity would have to be discovered, particularly for partly assimilated peoples upon whose valor so much had come to depend.\*

#### MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

<sup>97</sup> Remondon, "Soldats de Byzance," pp. 67 ff., 83-87, 90-92.

\* The time of its publication made it impossible to use in the composition of this article the recent survey by A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*, 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1964). In his discussion of Justinian's army (I, 657-668) Jones presents views on the barbarization process which are similar to the conclusions of the present study.



## The President and Fellows of Harvard College

---

The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography

Author(s): CYRIL MANGO

Source: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989), pp. 360-372

Published by: [Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036320>

Accessed: 06/04/2013 23:16

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute* and *The President and Fellows of Harvard College* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography

CYRIL MANGO

We would probably not be celebrating the millennium of the conversion of Rus' if the Rus' chroniclers had not adopted a system of dating and a tradition of chronography from Byzantium along with the new faith. The Rus' chronicle—for there is no such thing as a medieval Rus' "history" in the technical sense of the term—was plugged into the Byzantine network and thereby replicated an entire vision of the human past. That is a matter of general knowledge, and an ocean of ink has been spilt on the thorny problems of the reception of Byzantine chronicles in the Slavic world, their translation, influence, and continuation. I shall not reopen that old debate, which others are much better qualified to do than I am. My intention is to examine instead the tradition of Byzantine chronography, which, I believe, was undergoing some interesting transformations in the ninth and tenth centuries, i.e., in the period of the conversion of the Slavs.

We tend to regard Byzantine chronography as a continuum, running from Eusebius of Caesarea (and even earlier) to the sixteenth century. That is not a mistaken view, but it is a view taken from a considerable distance; for if we take a closer look we discover many gaps and changes of direction within a broadly uniform framework. The biggest gap for us corresponds to the "Dark Age" of Byzantium, i.e., the second half of the seventh and the greater part of the eighth century. The Paschal Chronicle stops in 628 in the form in which we have it; the combined chronicles of Syncellus and Theophanes date from ca. 811–814. Even after Theophanes the continuum is very slack: George the Monk, who brings the story down to 843, was, according to the latest research,<sup>1</sup> writing after 871, and we have to wait until the middle of the tenth century to find a connected account of events from 813 onward, i.e., from the point where Theophanes breaks off.

I shall return to the big gap in a moment. But first I must confess my ignorance on a matter of considerable importance, for I do not know the mechanism whereby events were recorded in the Byzantine world. Ideally speaking, a chronicle ought to be compiled year by year or, at any rate, at regular and frequent intervals. We know that in the medieval West, annals

<sup>1</sup> A. Markopoulos, Συμβολή στη χρονολόγηση τοῦ Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ, Κέντρον Βυζ. Ἑρευνῶν, Σύμμεικτα 6 (1985): 223–31.

were appended from time to time to paschal tables,<sup>2</sup> but to my knowledge no such Byzantine annals have survived. Their existence (which remains to be proved) has been, however, postulated by Romilly Jenkins as underlying the portion of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 867–913.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, many stories we read in Byzantine chronicles were ultimately due to eyewitnesses. Take that of the murder of Michael III in September 867, told by the same Logothete. Only a person who was present on that fateful evening and who had accompanied the murderers as they made their way in the dark from the palace of St. Mamas, across the Golden Horn, as they stopped at a particular house, climbed the city walls and finally entered the Imperial Palace could have described these events in such minute and vivid detail.<sup>4</sup> Yet the Logothete was writing roughly a century later. However many intermediary stages we postulate, we have in the end to reach the person who, in 867 or the following year, first wrote the story down. And so I come back to the question: was there some provision for recording events as they occurred and, if so, in what milieu?

For the early Byzantine period the existence of city chronicles, kept in major urban centres, like Antioch and Constantinople, has been supposed:<sup>5</sup> these are said to be reflected in the Chronicles of Malalas and Marcellinus Comes, among others. In fact, we possess two local chronicles of that period, focused on Edessa in Mesopotamia. The earlier of the two, known by the name of Joshua the Stylite, covers the years 494 to 506. It was not, however, produced under the auspices of the municipal authorities. As the preface makes clear, it was commissioned by the abbot of a monastery from an author whom the said abbot had met only once; and it was specifically intended as an admonition to virtue for future monks of the same establishment.<sup>6</sup> In other words, it was an entirely ad hoc production motivated by moral considerations, not a concern for preserving an accurate record of the past. The other Edessa chronicle, known as *Chronicon Edessenum*, is a collection of meager notices, such as obituaries and appointments of local bishops and the construction of buildings from 313 to 533. The records appear to have been kept in the cathedral of Edessa, and were occasionally

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals* (Oxford, 1926).

<sup>3</sup> "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A. D. 867–913," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 19 (1965): 91–112. Even if the relevant entries proved to be in correct chronological order, that does not necessarily demonstrate their reliance on annals.

<sup>4</sup> *Leo grammaticus*, Bonn ed., 251ff. = *Georgius monachus* (cont.), Bonn ed., 836ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena, 1882). B. Croke, "The Chronicle of Marcellinus and its Contemporary and Historical Context," Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1978.

<sup>6</sup> *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and trans. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), p. 1 ff.

supplemented from other written sources, one of them Antiochene.<sup>7</sup> Many short local chronicles, the so-called *Kleinchroniken*, are also known from the end of the Middle Ages,<sup>8</sup> and they, too, appear to have been composed in a fortuitous fashion. As to the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia, which may be of the ninth century, it cannot be described as a chronicle in any meaningful sense.<sup>9</sup>

As we enter the Middle Ages proper we naturally think of monasteries as the milieu where annals and chronicles would normally have been written. That is also what Pushkin assumed:

В часы  
Свободные от подвигов духовных  
Описывай, не мудрствуя лукаво,  
Всё то, чему свидетель в жизни будешь  
Войну и мир, управу государей,  
Угодников святые чудеса,  
Пророчества и знаменья небесны.

Pushkin was not mistaken: in Rus' as in the medieval West, as also in the Syriac orbit, chronicles were composed in monasteries. Oddly enough, however, in Byzantium we do not find a single monastic chronicle. Let me explain: we do, of course, have a few chronicles that were compiled by monks, like Theophanes or George surnamed Hamartolos, and some may think that in so doing they manifested a monastic spirit, whatever that may be. What we do not find is a chronicle that records, be it occasionally, events that were of interest to a particular monastic community; I mean entries like "Sturmi abbas Fuldensis coenobii moritur; cui successit Baugolf eiusdem monasterii monachus" or "Hoc anno basilica sancti Bonifacii martyris in coenonio Fuldense . . . dedicata est."<sup>10</sup> The absence of all such notices from the Byzantine tradition suggests to me that the writing of annals or chronicles was not maintained on a regular basis in any Byzantine monastery.

What, then, are the alternatives? For some periods if not for others the possible existence of court annals needs to be considered. On the other hand, it may be argued that the big chronographic compendia that have come down to us, far from offering primary material—except in a few cases, like the final portion of Theophanes—are merely a digest at second

<sup>7</sup> See L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik, Texte und Untersuchungen* 9/1 (1892).

<sup>8</sup> Ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Vienna, 1975).

<sup>9</sup> See P. Lemerle, "La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie," *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*), 21 (1963): 5–49.

<sup>10</sup> *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 779, 819.

or third remove of a medley of available sources, many of them being of a non-chronicle nature. The latter conclusion gains some support from the well-known preface of Skylitzes.<sup>11</sup> His aim, we may remember, was to compose a "synopsis" or "epitome" in the manner of Theophanes from A.D. 811 to his own time. He proceeds to name his authorities; after rejecting, as being useless, two overly succinct compilations, one of them by Michael Psellus, he lists ten authors, most of them, alas, lost to us. In his words, they had written laudations or invectives dealing at length with the events of their own days or a little earlier, and had done so with bias, to curry favor or even under order. None of the ten appears to have been a proper chronicle. That was the material Skylitzes had at his disposal and, after pruning it down to his own satisfaction, he supplemented it only with certain oral traditions communicated to him by old men. Skylitzes was a high imperial official. Had there existed a court chronicle, he might have spared himself a good deal of trouble.

I have raised the above questions not only because they are important in themselves (whatever the correct answer may be), but also because they have a bearing on Rus' chronography. The Primary Chronicle, as we all know, does have an annalistic form, which—or so it has been argued—goes back to the second stage of the chronicle's composition, the one conjecturally associated with the monk Nikon in the 1060s.<sup>12</sup> If it was indeed Nikon who adopted this format and instituted in the Monastery of the Caves a tradition of recording events year by year, he may have had certain models in mind. At first sight these do not appear to have been Greek models.

I come back to what I have called the great gap. For us, as I have said, it is delimited on either side by a work of chronography, namely, the Paschal Chronicle on the one hand and Syncellus plus Theophanes on the other. Of these only Syncellus was translated into Slavic in a shortened form. Significantly, both the Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes are based on an annalistic principle, but that is as far as their mutual resemblance extends. The Paschal Chronicle, which, incidentally, does not appear to have enjoyed a wide diffusion and is preserved in only one manuscript, is a very strange work.<sup>13</sup> Its avowed purpose is to present a method, based on

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Thurn, 3–4. On this passage see J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès: Correspondance* (Paris, 1978), pp. 6–10; A. Markopoulos, "Théodore Daphnopatès et la Continuation de Théophane," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985): 171–82.

<sup>12</sup> D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), pp. 77ff., following A. A. Šaxmatov.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Beauchamp, R. C. Bondoux et al. in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., no. 604 (Paris, 1984), pp. 451–68.

astronomical cycles, for determining the date of Easter and validating that of certain other liturgical feasts—Christmas, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the birthday of John the Baptist. To do so the author had to establish certain key dates—that of the creation of the world or rather that of the luminaries, which marked the beginning of time, of the Crucifixion, etc. He could have accomplished his purpose by composing a treatise on computation coupled with a discussion of biblical chronology. The historical or narrative element—I am thinking especially of Roman history after the apostolic age—is extraneous to his aim, and it is not clear to me why he included it at all and did so in a particular form, which necessitated the recording of each successive indiction, regnal year, and consulship within a grid of Olympiads. The number of “empty” years is proportionally very high and the presence or absence of historical matter appears at first sight capricious, although further research may uncover some underlying pattern.

We have, as I have said, no extant Greek chronicle composed between ca. 630 and ca. 810, but that does not mean that none existed. We can be fairly confident that there was a chronicle, written at Constantinople, down to 641;<sup>14</sup> the reign of Constans II (641–68) was not recorded at all; but from 668 down to 769, at the earliest, an account of events was kept: it is the common source of Nicephorus and Theophanes. Since we do not possess it in its original form, it is hazardous to say how it was structured, although there is some reason to believe that its entries were dated by indiction.<sup>15</sup> There are also a number of ghosts conjured up by modern scholarship.<sup>16</sup> The so-called *Megas Chronographos*, whose title will remind slavists of the hypothetical *Letopisec po velikomu izloženiju*, is represented by eighteen fragments appended to the unique manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle. In my opinion it ought to be removed from the eighth century and placed no earlier than the middle of the ninth.<sup>17</sup> Traianos Patrikios, allegedly a contemporary of the Emperor Justinian II, is no more than a name,<sup>18</sup> and I see no benefit in associating him with the conjectural

<sup>14</sup> Being the source of Nicephorus's *Breviarium* for that period. See my “The *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus,” *Byzance: Hommage à A. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), 2: 543.

<sup>15</sup> As appears from the imperfectly reworked paraphrase of Nicephorus, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 70, 75–77.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Markopoulos, “A la recherche des textes perdus,” *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavřínek (Prague, 1985), pp. 203–207.

<sup>17</sup> As I have tried to show in the article cited in fn. 14.

<sup>18</sup> C. de Boor, “Der Historiker Traianos,” *Hermes* 17 (1882): 489–92.

*Epitome*.<sup>19</sup> In other words, while the “big gap” is partly the result of the accidents of preservation, it is still true to say that neither historiography nor chronography flourished during the Dark Age.

The Byzantine revival that started shortly before the year 800 and corresponds to the Carolingian Renaissance in the West was certainly marked by a renewed interest in history. Oddly, it has not left us any text resembling Einhard's *Vita Karoli*—say, a Life of the Empress Irene in classical Greek.<sup>20</sup> It has left us the following works, which I am placing in approximate chronological order: (1) The Short History or *Breviarium* of Patriarch Nicephorus; (2) a proliferation of succinct chronologies rather than chronicles; (3) the bulky Chronicle of Syncellus completed by Theophanes; (4) possibly parts of the History by Sergius Confessor.

The first of these does not concern us here: it is (or pretends to be) a history, not a chronicle, although, in fact, it is no more than a paraphrase into ancient Greek of earlier chronicle sources already mentioned. Nor do we have to consider the fourth: Sergius Confessor, whom I have tried to identify with the father of the patriarch Photius,<sup>21</sup> is known to have written a historical work extending to the year 828.<sup>22</sup> It is not specifically described as a chronicle and is said to have contained an extensive account casting back to the reign of Constantine V. It is conceivable, as suggested by Warren Treadgold, that two preserved texts, the so-called *Scriptor incertus de Leone* and the “Dujčev fragment” about the Bulgarian disaster of 811, are derived from the History of Sergius.

I pass to item 2, namely, the succinct chronologies. Of these we have several Slavonic versions, namely: (1) The *Letopiseč vskore* attributed to Patriarch Nicephorus. Found in several recensions, it extends from Adam to the murder of Michael III on 23 September 867, followed by Russian material;<sup>23</sup> (2) The *Istorikii za Boga vkratce*, dated 893/94 (indiction 12) and ascribed to Constantine of Preslav. As it stands, it is a list from Adam to the emperor Leo VI, but the last two entries, those for Basil I and Leo VI, given in rounded figures, appear to have been added.<sup>24</sup> If I am not mistaken,

<sup>19</sup> On which see, especially, D. Serruys, “Recherches sur l'Epitomè,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 (1907): 1–51.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. P. J. Alexander, “Secular Biography at Byzantium,” *Speculum* 15 (1940): 194–209.

<sup>21</sup> “The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios,” in *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), study 13.

<sup>22</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 67.

<sup>23</sup> Ed. N. V. Stepanov, *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 17/2 (1912): 250–93; 17/3 (1912): 256–320.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. V. N. Zlatarski, *Spisanie na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite* 27 (1923): 132–82. Cf. B. S. Angelov, *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966): 83–105.



the Greek original extended to 867 or, possibly, to 866;<sup>25</sup> (3) The list of emperors from Augustus to Constantine VII and Zoe placed at the end of Svjatoslav's *Izbornik* of 1073. This is usually regarded as of Bulgarian origin, i.e., as forming part of King Symeon's collection, although it occurs after the colophon.<sup>26</sup>

It is admitted that these compendia exerted an important influence on the elaboration of chronology in Rus' and their mutual relationship has been the subject of considerable discussion. The whole question needs, however, to be reexamined in the light of the Greek material, which presents a much more complicated picture than has been supposed. What we have before us is not merely the *Chronographikon syntomon* of the patriarch Nicephorus as edited by de Boor.<sup>27</sup> Not only did de Boor fail to use many manuscripts, including the four oldest;<sup>28</sup> there also circulated soon after the year 800 several versions of the same work or, perhaps, several works of the same nature. One was used by Syncellus not later than 811; the same or another by Theophanes; a third is found in Cod. *Vatic. gr.* 2210 of the tenth century.<sup>29</sup> I am unable to say when this work originated or what form it had at the beginning. What is worth pointing out, however, is that it exhibits a wide range of historical interest, for in its fullest form it consists of the following sections:

1. An Old Testament chronology from Adam to the Babylonian captivity.
2. The kings of Persia from Cyrus to Alexander's conquest.
3. The Ptolemies down to Cleopatra.
4. The emperors of Rome from Julius Caesar down to Michael II (820–29).
5. Roman empresses starting with the wives of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine I.
6. The kings of the ten tribes of Israel in Samaria.

<sup>25</sup> It ends with: Theodora and Michael [III]—14 years, 1 month, 2 [for 22] days; Michael alone—11 years, 1 month, 9 days [as in the Greek: ed. de Boor, *Nicephori opusc. hist.*, 101, col. 2]; Basil [I]—20 years; Leo [VI]—7 years, i.e., to the time of writing. The joint reign of Michael III and Basil I (26 May 866–23 Sept. 867) is not mentioned. If the figure for Michael given in the *Istoriikii* (11 years, 1 month, 9 days) is meant to cover both his sole rule and his joint rule with Basil, it should, in fact, have been 11 years, 6 months, 8 days (15 March 856–23 Sept. 867); if his sole rule only, 10 years, 2 months, 9 days.

<sup>26</sup> Ed. E. K. Piotrovskaja in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 317–31.

<sup>27</sup> *Nicephori opusc. hist.*, pp. 80–135.

<sup>28</sup> British Library, *Add.* 19390 (late 9th century); Oxford, Christ Church, *Wake* 5 (late 9th century); *olim* Dresden, *Da* 12, now in Moscow (A.D. 932); Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, *cod.* 24 (tenth century).

<sup>29</sup> Ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chron. liber prior*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1875), app. IV, pp. 81–83.

7. The high priests of the Jews from Aaron to the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans.
8. The bishops of Constantinople from Metrophanes<sup>30</sup> perhaps down to the iconoclast Theodotus (815–21).
9. The popes of Rome.
10. The bishops of Jerusalem.
11. The bishops of Alexandria.
12. The bishops of Antioch.
13. A list of the canonical, dubious, and apocryphal books of the Bible with the number of verses in each.

To these *Cod. Vatic. gr. 2210* also adds a list of the Sassanian kings of Persia and one of the Arab caliphs. The historical perspective indicated by these chronologies corresponds exactly to that of Syncellus and Theophanes, to whom I now turn. The Slavs had to make do with the first four items only.<sup>31</sup>

The Chronicle of Theophanes is so familiar to students of the early Middle Ages, enjoyed such a wide diffusion, and exerted so much influence on later compilations both in Greek and Latin that we tend to regard it as the typical Byzantine chronicle. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is a highly unusual work that reflects the preoccupations of a particular milieu at a particular time. A definition of its scope is given in the prefatory remarks of Syncellus,<sup>32</sup> who had the intention of completing the work himself down to A.D. 808; in the event he was forced to stop in A.D. 284 and the remaining part—actually to A.D. 813—was edited by Theophanes. Now Syncellus, too, was preoccupied with computation. He was intent on establishing that the world had been created on the 25th of March, 5500 years before the birth of Christ, and that the Resurrection took place on the 25th of March of the year 5534. That is the so-called Alexandrian computation, which differs both from that of the Paschal Chronicle (creation of the luminaries on 21 March 5507 B.C.) and from the common Byzantine system, which was already fairly well entrenched at Constantinople in the ninth century and reckoned from 5508 B.C. In addition to setting up a correct chronological framework, Syncellus, as distinct from the author of the Paschal Chronicle, is also interested in the narrative element: he wishes to record in proper sequence all the important events of world history “as regards nations and empires,” as he puts it. These events are to be taken from Holy Scripture

<sup>30</sup> The earliest versions omit the mythical bishops of Byzantium, starting with the apostle Andrew (ed. de Boor, 112–14.)

<sup>31</sup> Or fewer. The *Izbornik* of 1073 has only the list of emperors starting with Augustus.

<sup>32</sup> Bonn ed., 4, 10 = ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 2, 5–6.

as well as from the more notable historians, and have to do with kings, priests, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and teachers as well as the famous men of heathen nations, to wit, philosophers, practitioners of other arts, generals, and exemplars of unusual depravity. Finally, Syncellus emphasizes his concern with the Mohammedan apostasy, the same that had been prophesied by the apostle Paul for the end of days (2 Thess. 2.3).

In his own preface<sup>33</sup> Theophanes gives a brief review of the unfinished work of Syncellus:

He made a very exact study of the dates, reconciled their divergences, corrected them and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded the lives and dates of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, both those who had tended the Church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy.

As for his own part, Theophanes defines it as follows:

I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the actions of the ancients derives no small benefit from doing so.

Thus the stage is set: the chronicle is to be several things at once, namely, a narrative (seeing that history is beneficial), but a narrative broken down chronologically within a general scheme that reflects the symmetry of God's purpose.

In terms of geographical coverage it is, of course, something of an exaggeration to describe the Chronicle of Theophanes as being universal. Yet it is much more than an account of the Byzantine Empire. While very little is said about the West, the rise of Islam (as announced by Syncellus) and the affairs of Eastern Christians after the Arab conquest are given great prominence. That in itself reflects a certain view of the world. What I should like to emphasize, however, is not so much the content as the structure. Each annual entry is preceded by a rubric written horizontally across the page. It consists of the *annus mundi*, occasionally the *annus Domini*, the regnal year of the Roman emperor, of the king of Persia, and of the five patriarchs, those of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, in that order. When the Sassanian kings of Persia cease, their place is taken by the Arab caliphs. The succession of the two great temporal rulers and of the five leaders of the Christian church establish the universal

<sup>33</sup> Ed. de Boor, pp. 3–4.

framework. At the same time the rubrics put to use the succinct chronologies we have already discussed, with the difference that they are now synchronized.

The question now arises of the origin of this particular structure. Broadly speaking, it goes back to the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was arranged in vertical columns of rulers intersected by a horizontal grid of dates, namely, Olympiads and years from Abraham. Within this layout room was left for a *spatium historicum*, but it was necessarily very succinct, consisting of entries such as "X flourished at this time," there being no space on the page for a fuller narrative.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, one finds in the earlier part of Theophanes many traces of Eusebian-like entries, e.g., "At that time, too, Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, who had suffered greatly under Diocletian. . . was in his prime;"<sup>35</sup> or "In this year Eustathius, presbyter of Constantinople, a man of apostolic life. . . was conspicuous as well as the architect Zenobius, who had built the Martyrium at Jerusalem at Constantine's behest."<sup>36</sup> Let us grant, therefore, that the ultimate source of Theophanes's scheme was the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was, indeed, known to Syncellus. We may ask next whether the Eusebian tradition was kept alive in Greek between the fourth and the early ninth century. If I am not mistaken, its last Greek representative was Panodorus, who was active in the fifth century and used the very same system of Alexandrian computation from 5508 B.C. that we find in Syncellus and Theophanes. Subsequently, the Greek text of the Eusebian Chronicle was itself lost: what we know of it today derives from the Latin adaptation made by Jerome, the incomplete Armenian version, and bits of a Syriac synopsis, the last two made towards the end of the sixth century. Setting aside Syncellus, who, I believe was a Palestinian, there is no trace of Eusebius's Chronicle at Constantinople in the ninth century, nor, indeed, that of Panodorus. In Syriac, however, the Eusebian tradition did live on and is represented by Jacob of Edessa, who was active at the very end of the seventh century.

Briefly, I would suggest that the concept of Theophanes's Chronicle owes more to the Syriac than to the Greek tradition. However that may be, it represents a dead end in the Byzantine domain. Its content continued to be plagiarized, but its structure was never again imitated. What happened after Theophanes may be described as a split. The short chronologies or *Letopiscy vskore* lived on independently and were constantly brought up to

<sup>34</sup> See A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, 1979), pp. 67ff.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. de Boor, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup> Ed. de Boor, p. 33.

date as regards the Byzantine emperors, empresses, and patriarchs of Constantinople, the other lists being either omitted or left in a fossilized state. Their underlying chronology, based on the obsolete Alexandrian computation, was not rectified, a circumstance that caused considerable complication in the Slavic world. The narrative chronicle, on the other hand, shed its chronological skeleton while at the same time undergoing a shrinkage of its horizons: it became little more than a story of the Byzantine emperors.

The next author we have to consider is George the Monk, about whom practically nothing is known. He, too, stands alone, but in a different sense. It is worth reading his preface, notable for its obscurantism, its vitriolic character, and its bad Greek. George begins by firing a broadside at all those secular authors, historians, poets, and "chronographers" who have written in a lofty and verbose manner about ancient kings, philosophers, and orators. He does not tell us whom he has in mind, but assures us that their writings are incomprehensible to the ordinary reader. Which is why George, uncultivated as he was and ignorant of secular science and fine style, yet a man who had read many histories, even pagan ones, and many edifying treatises, composed this little book, compressing many matters into a brief compass. It contains nothing but unadorned truth. Indeed, men of the spirit, who are expert at quarrying holy doctrines, do not have recourse to complicated and artful speech, which is usually an excuse for mendacity, but are concerned only with truth even if it is expressed in a barbarous tongue.

Having thus made his position clear, George proceeds to entice the reader by giving him some highlights of the little book: the invention and overturning of idols; the absurd myths invented by pagan philosophers and the godless doctrines of different nations; the beginning of monastic life, rooted in the Old Dispensation, but elevated by the example of Christ's life; the abominable, profane, and rabid madness of the Manichees which spawned the horrible heresy of the Iconoclasts; the ludicrous religion of the Saracens and the beastly life of their false prophet; finally, the infantile rebellion of the old man Thomas and his destruction.<sup>37</sup> I leave aside the question of why George, if he was writing as late as ca. 870, was so concerned with the revolt of Thomas the Slav in the 820s.

The uniqueness of George's work and the key to his popularity lie in the fact that he is not at all interested in history. Events for him are simply an excuse for moral and theological lessons expressed through lengthy quotations from the Fathers. Take as an example his treatment of Justinian's

<sup>37</sup> Ed. de Boor, 1: 1–3.

reign, which occupies twenty-seven pages in de Boor's edition.<sup>38</sup> Of the twenty-seven only six, i.e., less than a quarter, are devoted to what may be called events, and these have been carefully selected: Justinian's wars, his reconquest of the West, even his code of law have all been edited out. Prodigies and the plague occupy roughly three pages. The remaining three deal with the rebuilding of St. Sophia, the introduction of certain liturgical innovations, a brief mention of the Nika riot, a confusion over the date of Easter, and the persecution of pederasts. By contrast, eleven pages are taken up by extracts concerning the Fifth Ecumenical Council, nine by quotations from John Chrysostom and Anastasius Sinaita about the evils of pederasty, Sodom and Gomorrah, and one with a further quotation from pseudo-Chrysostom about the dominical feasts. It is easy to make fun of George the Monk; it is harder to forgive him for having told us practically nothing about events in his own lifetime. His real importance lies, however, in the history of ideology.

To George's Chronicle, if it can be so called, was tacked on part of that of Symeon the Logothete down to the year 948 without any consideration of their mutual incongruity. Symeon's work, of which I shall say little,<sup>39</sup> may perhaps be viewed as a typical Byzantine chronicle of the Middle period. It contains a small measure of moralizing, but no theological commentary. It gives some dates by month and indiction, occasionally the day of the week, but not the *annus mundi*. It shows some political or, more accurately, factional bias and a strong preoccupation with the leading families. Its interest in prodigies is limited. The gaps in its coverage, e.g., for the decade 930–940, are difficult to explain. But most important is the shrinkage of its horizons, which hardly extend beyond Constantinople and the affairs of the court.

Of later developments I shall mention only one, which falls largely within the twelfth century. It is an attempt not so much to popularize the chronicle story as to make it attractive for the consumption of a new class of literate aristocrats. The versed Chronicle of Manasses, intended for oral recitation, is the best representative of this trend, and it proved a great success in both Greek and Slavic.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. de Boor, 2: 627–54.

<sup>39</sup> Among many studies devoted to it, see especially G. Ostrogorskij, "Slavjanskij perevod Xroniki Simeona Logofeta," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 17–37; A. P. Každan, "Xronika Simeona Logofeta," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 15 (1959): 125–43; A. Markopoulos, 'H Xponoγpaφίa tou Ψευδοσυμεών, Diss. Ioannina, 1978, p. 1ff.

I hope I have fulfilled, however sketchily, my promise of describing some of the main developments in the tradition of Byzantine chronography. In the story as I have told it, the ninth century represents the pivotal period, which witnessed the transition from a universal to a local perspective. If I were asked to explain that development, I would point in the first instance to the breaking away of the Greek-speaking Christian communities of Palestine and Syria, with which Syncellus and Theophanes could still identify themselves. By the time of the Byzantine reconquest of parts of Syria in the late tenth century the Orthodox Christian communities in those parts had become arabized and were no longer “part of us.” Their fortunes were of little interest to the Constantinopolitan public. Even so, the overall framework of chronography was maintained: that of a single process flowing down from Adam to the present day. Gradually the inessential branches were cut down, the more so as it was no longer necessary to recalculate the dates of the Creation, the Incarnation, and of the major feasts by confronting the chronology of the Bible with that of the kings of Rome or Sicyon. That had all been done. Of the pagan prehistory there remained only some ghostly presences—Nimrod, Kronos, Sardanapalus, Perseus, the Pharaoh, Pelops, the Persian Cyrus, Romulus and Remus, Philip and Alexander of Macedon. George the Monk was able to despatch the lot of them in some thirty-five pages. That was, more or less, what the Slavs inherited from Byzantium. Their debt in no way accounts for the *Pověst’ vremennyx lět*, either in organization or in literary quality. The Bulgarians, who never developed a native chronography, remained firmly within the Byzantine tradition.

*Exeter College, Oxford*

# DUMBARTON OAKS

---

Byzantine and Sasanian Trade Relations with Northeastern Russia

Author(s): Richard N. Frye

Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 26 (1972), pp. 263-269

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291322>

Accessed: 03/04/2013 06:31

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



BYZANTINE AND SASANIAN  
TRADE RELATIONS WITH  
NORTHEASTERN RUSSIA

RICHARD N. FRYE

This paper is based on one delivered at the Symposium on  
"Byzantium and Sasanian Iran," held at Dumbarton Oaks  
from 30 April to 2 May 1970.

THE history of the steppes of southern Russia has been viewed as a series of invasions of nomads from the east who displaced their predecessors, either annihilating them, absorbing them, or forcing them to move westward. Until the fourth century A.D. southern Russia was dominated by Iranian-speaking peoples, first by those generally called Scythians by classical authors, and then by the Sarmatians with many divisions such as the Alans, the Roxalani, and others. After the Hunnic invasions the Turkic period of steppe history begins, for the interlude of the Goths and the movement of the Finno-Ugrian Magyars to the west were mere episodes in the overall change in the history of the area.<sup>1</sup> With the coming of Turkic-speaking peoples, however, the Iranians were not all displaced, as were the Alans who moved to the Caucasus area. Other Iranians who remained in settlements in south Russia continued to trade and to spread their culture on all sides. It is the contention of this brief paper that the Iranians in the towns of south Russia acted as middlemen in the trade between the Sasanian empire in the south and the Ugrian-speaking peoples of northern Russia. The greater success of Sasanian trade (and, possibly, of diplomacy), as opposed to the Byzantine, with the peoples of the north may have been the result of the efforts of the Iranian kinsmen of the Sasanians in south Russia. That the Sasanians were indeed more successful in trade than were the Byzantines is indicated by the much larger number of Sasanian silver plates than of Byzantine objects found in the Perm and Kama regions. Let us examine this area and adjoining regions, first to determine generally what has been found and second to interpret the material remains.

The fact that almost all Sasanian coins discovered in Scandinavia or in Russia have been found in hoards together with Islamic coins has led many scholars to assume that trade between Iran and eastern and northern Europe developed only after the establishment of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in the Near East. Although most evidence points to a great increase of trade in this period, especially with the Viking expansion, there are indications that such trade existed in pre-Islamic times. The most significant evidence of early trade relations between the Kama-Perm regions of northeastern Russia and pre-Islamic Iran is the large number of Sasanian silver bowls of the fifth to eighth centuries, whereas the comparatively few earlier silver bowls are found only in south Russia, in the Crimea or Saratov regions.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that finds of Byzantine silver vessels parallel the Sasanian, although on a smaller scale and with a wider distribution. We shall discuss this below. General archaeological evi-

<sup>1</sup> It must be emphasized that the words "Turkic" and "Iranian" refer only to people whose rulers or the mass of whose population spoke a Turkic or an Iranian language. We know that tribes and peoples in eastern Europe and Central Asia were highly mixed and under various cultural influences from the centers of civilization. We must use some general designations for lack of satisfactory terms, but the reader should heed the *caveats* regarding the history of the peoples of this vast area.

<sup>2</sup> See V. V. Kropotkin, *Ékonomičeskie svyazi vostočnoj Evropy v 1 tysjačelietii našej éry* (Moscow, 1967), 75. The existence of many Iranian loan words in Finnish, Mordwin, and other Ugrian languages is additional evidence of contact, but they cannot be discussed here.

dence of contacts is less convincing because of the difficulty of dating the strata, although one may presume that trading relations between north and south existed at this time, since there is plenty of evidence from both an earlier (Scythian-Bosporan kingdom) and a later ('Abbāsīd) period. Contacts may have been broken in periods of invasion of the steppes of south Russia or because of internal problems, but these breaks may be viewed merely as interruptions throughout a long period of continuity—as exceptions rather than the norm. The question which we ask is, why do silver bowls appear in great numbers in the Kama-Perm area, dating from the period of the last century of the Sasanian empire into Islamic times? Obviously the question has two parts: why did the people of the Kama-Perm regions want silver, and why did the Sasanians supply it?

The answer seems simple; the silver plates were small objects of great value which could be carried easily by merchants and were a good investment for the Ugrian-speaking peoples, since they could exchange them with the nomads of the steppes, silver always having been the currency of nomads. The Kama-Perm peoples could trade fish, hides, wax, honey, and amber for the plates—and especially furs, which were greatly prized in Iran though not so greatly in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> Another luxury article from the north was walrus ivory, and even mammoth ivory, more highly valued in the south than elephant ivory for knife handles and other decorative uses.<sup>4</sup> The motives for trade were therefore present but the same motives would have existed elsewhere, where no silver objects have been found. Furthermore, the great number of silver objects in the Kama-Perm regions was not just a discovery of modern archaeologists; the old Russian chronicles frequently mention "silver from beyond the Kama," or Kama silver, which indicates that the people who lived there were well known for their love and hoarding of silver.<sup>5</sup> The key to the problem of the large quantity of silver in the Kama area was provided by Russian ethnographers of the nineteenth century, who investigated the religious practices of the forest peoples who were not Christians, and also discovered corroboration of their ethnological finds in the old Scandinavian sagas. In brief, silver plates and other silver objects were used as part of the religious cult of the people who inhabited this area.<sup>6</sup> It is outside the scope of this paper and of the competence of its author to discuss the religious practices of the inhabitants of the Kama-Perm regions, but the reason for the accumulation there of silver objects is clear, and we may now turn to the other end of the trade route, to the original home of the silver plates.

We have already mentioned the articles of trade sought by Iranians, and we need not investigate the fur trade or why the furs were so highly prized in Iran—

<sup>3</sup> Much has been written on the fur trade, but for an account of the value of furs for the Persians later, see G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?* (Berlin, 1891), 19, 23.

<sup>4</sup> S. Cammann, "Carvings in Walrus Ivory," *The University Museum Bulletin*, Pennsylvania University, 18, No. 3 (1954), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. R. N. Frye, "Historical Notes on Sasanian and Byzantine Silver," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 1 (Shiraz, 1969), 39.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. N. Bader and A. P. Smirnov, "*Serebro Zakamskoe*" *pervyx vekov našej èry* (Moscow, 1954), 23–24, and A. P. Smirnov, *Novaja Naxodka Vostochnogo Serebra v Priural'e* (Moscow, 1957), 29–31.

it is, of course, cold on the Iranian plateau in the winter.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, many people forget that in the past amber was not merely employed for manufacturing decorative ornaments but was also widely used in medicine. Thus, on the basis of commerce alone there was good reason for the Sasanians to trade with the north. Another reason, I believe, existed for the export of silver to the north; this can be found in diplomacy. One of the policies of Kavād and his son and successor Chosroes I seems to have been the development of the Caspian provinces and Gurgān to the east of the Caspian Sea. The important seaport of Abaskūn was reportedly founded by Kavād.<sup>8</sup> Later, under Chosroes, the great wall of Gurgān (*hodie* Kızıl Yılan, "the red snake") was built to protect the province from raids of the nomads. Limited space prevents discussion here of the many problems related to the nomads who threatened the northern borders of the Sasanian empire both to the east and to the west of the Caspian Sea. The identification of Šul/Chūr, the rise of the Khazars, and other problems are not directly pertinent to our subject. Suffice it to say that all of the northern borders of the empire were threatened by Turkic-speaking peoples or their allies, and Chosroes I was very busy in the Transcaucasus region including Derbend, and in Gurgān to the east of the Caspian, seeking to defend Iran against her northern foes as well as to expand his territories. Just as the Romans and especially the Byzantines had sought allies in the steppes of south Russia against the nomadic foes threatening their borders, so did the Sasanians seek support in lands to the north against enemies who would invade their empire. Again, just as the cities of the Crimea and Azov Sea, once Greek, provided a base for Byzantine diplomatic and commercial activities, so did the Iranian traders and settlements in south Russia provide contacts for Sasanian diplomatic and commercial plans. The cities of the northern Black Sea littoral, however, were far more important to Constantinople, and their ties with Byzantium were more significant to them than were the mutual relations between Sasanians and Iranians of south Russia. Furthermore, the Iranians of south Russia depended more on trade with their neighbors than on contacts with the Sasanians to the south. I suggest that the Sasanians knew little if anything about the peoples of north Russia; it was the merchants in south Russia who acted as middlemen between Sasanian Iran and the north, for it was surely in their commercial interest to promote exchanges.

When we turn to the fewer Byzantine silver plates and bowls found in the Kama region, the variety of subjects decorating them is not as striking as is their date, nor is the number found here surprising when compared with the number found in the rest of Russia. L. A. Matsulevich studied their decoration, but *inter alia* he noted that at least twenty-five Byzantine silver plates and bowls had been found in the Kama region—almost twice as many as those discovered elsewhere in Russia. More important still, from my point of view, he determined

<sup>7</sup> Parthian furs are mentioned in the *Codex Justinianus*, Digest XXXIX. iv.16. Cf. S. Wikander, "A Central Asian Loanword in the Arthaśāstra," *Pratidānam, Festschrift F. B. J. Kuiper* (The Hague, 1968), 274.

<sup>8</sup> M. A. F. Mehren, *Cosmographie de Dimichqui*, Arabic Text (St. Petersburg, 1866), 226; trans. (Copenhagen, 1874), 314.

that almost all of the objects dated from the end of the sixth and the seventh century and were probably shipped directly to the Kama region where they were promptly buried.<sup>9</sup> This information corresponds to that furnished by the Sasanian silver discovered in the Kama area, although the dating of "Sasanian style" silver plates is more difficult than that of their Byzantine counterparts. A control is provided by a hoard of Byzantine coins of Heraclius found in a Sasanian bowl in the village of Bartym in 1950.<sup>10</sup> Other indices, such as inscriptions on the objects, only confirm the dating of most of both Byzantine and Sasanian silver objects to the end of the sixth and through the seventh century. The picture is clear, for it remarkably coincides with the evidence of silver coins. We know that Heraclius minted a great amount of silver *miliaresia* or hexagrams for the Persian wars. These are found in considerable quantities in Transcaucasia; though in Russia only in the Kama region, with a scattering north of the Caucasus but not in other parts of European Russia.<sup>11</sup> Regarding Transcaucasia, the monetary situation was complicated, but in general one could say that the Byzantine gold *solidus* was the basis of the money economy of Lazica, on the Black Sea coast, whereas in Georgia both Byzantine and Sasanian coins circulated, and in Arrān (Albania) and Armenia the Sasanian *dirhams* dominated the market. It may be concluded that the end of the sixth and most of the seventh century saw an expansion of both Byzantine and Sasanian contacts with the north; also that the people of the Kama region at this time imported silver in great quantities. I have already mentioned the importance of silver objects in the cult of the local people, but it can hardly be assumed that this was an innovation in the sixth century, for writers in the nineteenth mention as still current the custom of dedicating silver objects to deities and spirits of the pagan tribes. We may conclude, therefore, that both the Byzantines and the Sasanian Persians in the sixth century "discovered" the north. One might also say that the peoples of the Kama "discovered" the south in this period, together with the source of silver objects, either from Byzantium or from Iran. Fortunately, the beginnings of trade in the Kama area have been investigated by V. L. Yanin, who concluded that this area and the region along the Ural mountains were the first corners of eastern Europe to be opened to trade with the East, since they had already assumed this role in the sixth century.<sup>12</sup> Archaeologists tell us that the first towns in eastern Europe were located in northeastern Russia. On the Kama River towns were built long before the rise of Kiev or Novgorod. The fascinating vistas opened by the finds of silver objects and coins in northeastern Russia, added to archaeological excavations, will enable us to reconstruct a movement to the south of the inhabitants of this area in the aftermath of the Hunnic invasions, when the Goths, Alans, and others evacuated south Russia leaving a vacuum. It is not my purpose, nor indeed my competence, to discuss problems

<sup>9</sup> For the best summary (with a French résumé), see his article "Vizantiiskii Antik a Prikam'e," *Materialy i Issledovaniia po Arheologii SSSR*, 1 (Moscow, 1940), 139–58, esp. 143–45.

<sup>10</sup> V. V. Kropotkin, *Klady Vizantijskix Monet na territorii SSSR*, Arheologija SSSR, E 4-4 (Moscow, 1962), 26.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 50, and D. G. Kapanadze, *Gruzinskaja Numismatika* (Moscow, 1955), 47.

<sup>12</sup> V. L. Janin, *Denezno-vesovye Sistemy russkogo srednevekovija* (Moscow, 1956), 85.

of the history of Russia, but the silver finds fit well with the events of that history, and also with the history of Byzantium and Iran.

When we remember that at the end of the sixth century the trade of Byzantium with India shifted from Mesopotamia to the Red Sea and west Arabian routes,<sup>13</sup> and recall that in 568 a Turkish mission arrived in Constantinople to establish trade contacts north of the Caspian Sea, to be followed by the famous embassy of Zemarchos (Menander Protector, frags. 19–22), the strategy of Byzantine diplomacy becomes apparent. It was matched by the Sasanian occupation of Yemen after 570, and one should not forget the attempts of Chosroes I at expansion in Lazica in Transcaucasia and against the Hephtalites in the northeast. The role of the peoples of northeastern Russia in the diplomatic and commercial activities of the two great powers was small, probably decidedly secondary, and managed through the intervention of middlemen to the south. One could not say that these peoples played any decisive role in the drama of conflict between Byzantium and Sasanian Iran. On the other hand, they did play a small part in the great struggle, and undoubtedly provided a background for the later Viking expansion down the Volga River. The enigma of the Kama silver—for it was rife with problems—appears to be a phenomenon explicable by the internal history and customs of the native people of the Kama as well as by the commercial and diplomatic rivalry of the Byzantines and the Sasanians in the sixth century A.D.

In addition, it should be noted that almost all the Sasanian silver vessels found in Iran—and these are far fewer than those found in northeastern Russia—come from the Caspian provinces. Travel was easier across the Caspian Sea to the north than across the rugged Elburz mountains to the south. Furthermore, the last refuge of Sasanian traditions in Iran was in the mountains of the Caspian provinces. Probably many “Sasanian” plates will in future be assigned to the craftsmen of the numerous petty princes of the Caspian provinces in Islamic times, who, more than was the case elsewhere on the plateau, not only clung tenaciously to the past but possessed the independence, wealth, and strength to order such plates copied and produced. The discovery of Byzantine silver spoons and plates in this region is not surprising, but belongs to another story of Byzantine-Iranian trade relations.

<sup>13</sup> Discussed by I. Kavar in “The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561,” *Arabica*, 3 (1956), 184.

# DUMBARTON OAKS

---

Byzantine  $\Delta$ and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century

Author(s): Speros Vryonis, Jr.

Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 17 (1963), pp. 287+289-314

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291195>

Accessed: 28/03/2013 22:46

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



BYZANTINE ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ  
AND THE GUILDS  
IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

## INTRODUCTION

**B**EFORE entering upon the subject of Byzantine guilds and urban violence in the eleventh century, it would be useful to set forth certain major questions or observations in connection with mediaeval guilds in general. Though there will be no attempt to answer these broader questions here, nevertheless these questions will contribute to a better understanding of Byzantine guilds themselves and possibly also to the understanding of the relationship between guild organizations and urban political activity in the mediaeval world from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Such a course would serve the function of putting my own more particularized researches on the Byzantine guilds into a broader and perhaps more meaningful context.

The first of these observations is the apparent similarity of many aspects of Latin, Byzantine, and Islamic societies in the mediaeval period. Islam, Byzantium, and the Latin West were all, to a lesser or greater degree, the heirs of Graeco-Roman antiquity. The very geography of these three cultural blocks forced the heritage of late antiquity upon the emerging societies. Secondly, in many of the provinces where these three cultures developed and came to predominate, a number of the forms of Graeco-Roman economic organization continued, though of course in varying degrees. Consequently, the forms of the organization of agricultural, artisan, and commercial energies in these three areas often bore certain resemblances.

The third observation is more in the nature of an unanswered question. To what extent are these similarities in Byzantine, Latin, and Islamic economic organization due to common origins and to what extent to like necessities and functions? To put the question in more obvious terms: To what degree was the organization of craftsmen and merchants into apparently similar corporations under the control of urban officials in Pavia, Constantinople, and Damascus, say in the tenth century,<sup>1</sup> due to common institutional ancestry, and to what degree was it due to a common need of some kind of control of the labor forces and production of urban society? There is a similarity, and how does one explain it? But a similarity which is even more striking lies in the political activity, violence, and political programs of these urban organizations which fill a significant number of pages in the mediaeval Latin and Arab chronicles. Latin and Arabic sources are consciously separated from the Byzantine sources in the preceding statement. For though Islamists have accumulated abundant testimony as to the political activities of the *akhis*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Lestocquoy, *Aux origines de la bourgeoisie: le gouvernement des patriciens (XI<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1952), 17. G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung der Zunftwesens* (Helsingfors, 1936), 188–190.

<sup>2</sup> F. Taeschner, "Akhi," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., I (1960), 321–323. C. Cahen, "Ahdath," in the same volume, 256, suggests that the ahdath were perhaps a survival of the old Byzantine factions in the cities of the Levant. If this is so, it would strengthen the whole likelihood of the existence of certain other similarities between Muslim and Byzantine cities.

and though the dynamic consequences of guild participation in the active political life of many of the western towns are known,<sup>3</sup> nothing of the sort has been connected with the Byzantine guilds.<sup>4</sup> It does seem strange to the historian of Byzantium that, whereas it has been established for both western and Islamic mediaeval society that the inhabitants of urban centers often found expression for their political natures and political programs through their economic organizations, the guilds, the standard treatments of Byzantine economic and urban life are almost devoid of references to such facts. In making this statement, one is of course aware that the results of this research will become suspect; suspect as having been forced to appear under a certain Toynbeeian constraint, so that the conclusions will not be admitted before history's tribunal of fact. But this is not at all valid. Such a judgement would tend to condemn the value of comparative history. For even though most historians are agreed that history does not repeat itself as exactly as Polybius felt it did in connection with the history of Roman political institutions, or as Ibn Khaldun felt it did in connection with the rise and decline of dynastic power, they will agree that similar situations recur. Given the above similarities of urban and socio-economic organization in the three great mediaeval cultural spheres, given also the political articulation of the corporations in the West and in the Islamic realm, one might with some profit approach the Byzantine sources with a view toward ascertaining whether or not the Byzantine corporations were likewise active in urban political life.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> R. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South," 295-296, and M. Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North," 220-222, in *The Cambridge Economic History*, ed. by M. Postan and E. Rich, II (Cambridge, 1952).

<sup>4</sup> A. Rudakov, *Ocherki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym-grecheskoi agiografii* (Moscow, 1917), p. 120, was the first, to my knowledge, to hint at the connection in Byzantium. Most recently A. Kazhdan, "Gorod i derevnia v Vizantii v XI-XII vv.," *XIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Rapports*, I (Ohrid, 1961), 43, has emphasized the activity of the tradesmen in the twelfth century. The author has attempted to draw the same connections for tenth-century Constantinople in his *Derevnia i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv.* (Moscow, 1960), 375, 386, 392, but on the basis of inconclusive evidence.

<sup>5</sup> For comments on the elements of continuity between Graeco-Roman antiquity on the one hand and mediaeval Latin and Islamic civilization on the other hand, and also for remarks on the elements of similarity in the cultural, political, and economic realm, see the following: C. Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (New York, 1957), 25-72, for general cultural and political continuity in the West. In the sphere of economic continuity, scholarship during the first quarter of the present century had moved away from the theory of Roman origins of the western guilds to the theory of completely independent origins, J. Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, I (Munich-Berlin, 1928), 181-192. Since then there has been a gradual and limited modification of this stand to the point where possibilities of continuity of Roman and similarity to Byzantine economic institutions are being reconsidered. G. Mickwitz, "Un problème d'influence: Byzance et l'économie de l'Occident médiéval," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936), 21-28. R. Lopez, *op. cit.*, 269-280, 295-296, comments on the elements of economic continuity and survival in Italy, and on the political activities of the guilds in eleventh-twelfth-century Italy. M. Postan, *op. cit.*, 157-159, 220-222, comments on the same phenomena in northern Europe. F. Dölger, "Die frühbyzantinische und byzantinisch beeinflusste Stadt," *Atti de 3º Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1958), 17-20, 32-33, on guilds and cities. B. Mendl, "Les corporations byzantines," *Byzantinoslavica*, XXII (1961), 301-319. V. Hrochova, "La révolte des Zélotes à Thessalonique et les communes italiennes," *Byzantinoslavica*, XXII (1961), 1-15.

In the realm of Islam: G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam. A Study in Cultural Orientation*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1953), 2-3, 8, and B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, 2nd ed. (London, 1954), 66, 86, 138-139, on economic, political, artistic, and intellectual continuity. On the elements of continuity in the cities, guilds, and the fiscal system, B. Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *The Economic History Review*, VIII (1937), 20-37; C. Cahen, "Zur Geschichte der städtischen Gesellschaft im islamischen Orient des

Byzantine δημοκρατία,<sup>6</sup> that is the political agitations and manifestations of the *demos*, the urban populace, has been for the past half century the central theme of a number of learned studies. In picking up this seemingly exhausted theme once more, this study will concentrate almost exclusively upon the intense political agitations and demonstrations that were characteristic of the Constantinopolitan scene in the eleventh century. The virulent participation of the urban populace in the political life of the empire is well known to the historian of Byzantium during the earlier centuries, especially from the fifth to the seventh, at which time the local urban groups, the so-called *demes* (*militia*) and the circus parties (*Blues and Greens*), were the vehicles of popular political expression.<sup>7</sup> Similar activity seems to have burst forth in twelfth-century Constantinople when the citizenry raised an outcry against Italian economic domination.<sup>8</sup> Nicetas Choniates has recorded a vivid description of one such outbreak (that of May 2, 1171) which is particularly worthy of reference here:

"The throngs of other cities rejoice in disorder and are with great difficulty kept in hand. But the populace of the market place in Constantinople is the most disorderly of all, rejoicing in rashness and walking in crooked ways. As it is governed by different peoples<sup>9</sup> and because of the

---

Mittelalters," *Saeculum*, IX (1958), 59–76; F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1927), 94.

<sup>6</sup> Consult the remarks of G. Bratianu, "Empire et Démocratie à Byzance," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1937), 87–91, on the meaning of the word δημοκρατία in Byzantine times. See also the detailed study of D. Xanatalos, Βυζαντινὰ Μελετήματα. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ λαοῦ (Athens, 1940). A. Kazhdan, "Sotsial'nyi sostav naseleniâ vizantiiskikh gorodov v IX–X vv.," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, VIII (1956), 87–90, and N. Skabalanovich, *Vizantiiskoe gosudarstvo i tserkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg, 1884), 233–235, for a description of the make-up of the city populace.

<sup>7</sup> The literature on the circus factions and *demes* is considerable, amongst the more important items of which are the following. A. Maricq, "Factions de cirque et partis populaires," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie royale de Belgique*, XXXVI (1950), 396–421. A. Diakonov, *Vizantiiskie demy i faktsii* (τὰ μέρη) v V–VII vv., *Vizantiiskii Sbornik*, I (1945), 144–227. G. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, VI (1936), 617–716. F. Dvornik, "The Circus Parties in Byzantium," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I (1946), 119–134; see also his remarks in *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), 6–9.

<sup>8</sup> For details on the urban outbreaks in the twelfth century one may consult the studies of; F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bizanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno. Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino, 1911–12* (Turin, 1912); F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes: Études sur l'empire byzantin aux XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1900–12); H. F. Brown, "The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the Close of the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XL (1920), 68–88; E. Besta, *La cattura dei Veneziani in Oriente* (Feltre, 1920); M. Sînzîumov, "Vnutrenniâ politika Andronika Komnina i razgrom prigorodov Konstantinopoliâ v 1187 godu," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XII (1957), 58–74; A. Kazhdan, "Gorod i derevniâ v Vizantii v XI–XII vv.," *XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Rapports*, I (Ohrid, 1961), 41–42.

<sup>9</sup> The writings of the twelfth-century poet John Tzetzes bear colorful testimony to the polyglot nature of the Constantinopolitan population. In *Chiliades*, ed. T. Kiessling (Leipzig, 1826), lines 360–369, he remarks both on the polyglot and corrupt nature of the citizens:

Οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν ὁμὸς θρόος, οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,  
 Ἄλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικται, πολὺκλεπτοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες,  
 Οἱ πόλιν γὰρ τὴν ἀνασσαν ναίοντες Κωνσταντίνου,  
 Οὐχὶ μᾶς φωνῆς εἰσὶ καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς μόνου,  
 Μίξεις γλῶσσῶν δὲ περισσῶν, ἄνδρες τῶν πολυκλέπτων,  
 Κρῆτες καὶ Τοῦρκοι, Ἄλανοί, Ῥόδιοι τε καὶ Χῖοι,

variety of the trades, one may say that its mind is easily altered. But since the worst always wins out, and one scarcely finds amongst the sour grapes a ripe one, the populace of the market place upon whatever undertaking it embarks, does not do so reasonably, nor with good will, nor suitably. But at a mere word it disposes itself to rebellion and becomes more destructive than fire . . . accordingly, it suffers from an inconstancy of character and is untrustworthy. Nor are these people ever detected doing those things which are most advantageous to themselves, nor were they ever persuaded by others who counselled them for their own good. But they always do those things which are detrimental . . . Their indifference to the rulers is preserved in them as if it were inborn. Him whom today they raise as legal magistrate, this same one next year they will tear to pieces.<sup>10</sup> They do not perform these things with any logic, but through simple-mindedness and ignorance."<sup>11</sup>

It would be strange indeed, however, if between the seventh and the twelfth centuries the inhabitants of the largest and wealthiest city in Europe (with a

Ἀπλῶς ἔθνους τοῦ σύμπαντος, τῶν ἀπασῶν χωροῦντες,  
Ἄπαντες οἱ κλεπτίσεροι καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένοι,  
Χειροτονοῦνται ἄγιοι τῇ πόλει Κωνσταντίνου.  
Ὡ τῆς τοσαύτης ὕβρεως ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἀσκόπων.

The verses edited by G. Moravcsik in "Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, VII (1930), 356–357, are of particular interest in this respect, for they reflect again the variety of tongues to be heard on the streets of Constantinople. Tzetzes boasts to the reader that he can address a person in seven languages, and what is more he implies that he can speak each with a good accent:

„καὶ Σκύθην Σκύθαις εὖροις με, Λατίνον τοῖς Λατίνοις  
καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς ἓνα γένους τούτων.  
καὶ Σκύθην ἀσπαζόμενος οὕτω προσαγορεύω·  
σαλαμαλέκ ἄλτῃ (--) σαλαμαλέκ ἄλτουγεπ.  
καὶ Πέρσαις πάλιν περσικῶς οὕτω προσαγορεύω·  
ἄσαν χαῖς κουρούπαρζα χαντάζαρ χαραντάση.  
τῷ δὲ Λατίνῳ προσφωνῶ κατὰ Λατίνων γλῶσσαν·  
βένε βενέστι δόμινε, βένε βενέστι φράτερ,  
οὐνδε ἐξ ἐτ δεκούαλε προβίντζια βενέστι;  
κόμοδο, φράτερ, βενέστι ἰνίσταν τζιβιτάτεμ;  
πεδόνε, καβα(λλά)ριους, περμάρε, βίς μοράρ(ι);  
τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς προσφθέγγομαι κατὰ τὴν τούτων γλῶσσαν·  
ταπαγχάς μέσφιλι χοινά κορθιν (----)  
τὸ φάρνετζν κίντζι μέσφιλι καιτερφουά(--) οὐγγε.  
τοῖς δ' Ἀραβῖν ἀραβικῶς (----) προσ(λέγω)·  
ἄλενταμόρ βενένεντε σιτη μουλέ σεπάχα.  
πάλιν τοῖς Ῥῶς ὡς ἔχουσιν ἔθος προσαγορεύω·  
τὸ σδρᾶ πράτε, σέστριτζα καὶ (τὸ) δόβρα δένη λέγω·  
τοῖς δ' Ἑβραίοις προσφυῶς ἑβραϊκῶς προσλέγω·  
μεσκαωμένε βηθφαγή βεελεβούλ τιμαῖε,  
ἔβερ ἐργαμ μαράν ἄθᾶ βεζέκ εἰστοχω(--)”

<sup>10</sup> This line would imply that the citizens played an active role in the appointment and removal of governmental officials.

<sup>11</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835) (hereafter, Nicetas Choniates), 304–305. Choniates is the single most important text for the events concerning Byzantine urban violence in the twelfth century.

population of perhaps 500,000)<sup>12</sup> had failed to leave any significant record in the pages of history as to their political existence. As a matter of fact, one does see in the tenth- and above all in the eleventh-century Byzantine chroniclers, as well as in the somewhat later Arab chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, abundant testimony to the fact that the Constantinopolitans had not abandoned their time honored taste for strife, rebellion, and riot. The citizenry of the capital played important roles in the deposition of four emperors (Michael V, Michael VI, Michael VII, Nicephorus Botaniates), and it becomes evident from the sources that the emperors attempted, increasingly, to win the support of the urbanites by extensive grants and favors.

What is most interesting is the fact that the heart of all this urban political activity seems to have been the vast guild system of the city, as will soon become apparent. It would seem extraordinary that this connection between the artisan class and the eleventh-century urban disturbances should have been neglected by the social historian of Byzantium, for, as was mentioned earlier, the connections between urban violence and guilds have been described in detail by historians of the mediaeval West as well as by the historians of mediaeval Islam. The Byzantine guilds, though they too have been studied in a number of significant monographs and articles, have been studied primarily from the point of view of their economic significance and organization.<sup>13</sup> J. B.

<sup>12</sup> A. Andreades, "Le montant du budget de l'empire byzantin," *Revue des études grecques*, XXXIV (1921), 29. See also the remarks of P. Charanis in his review of G. Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (Oklahoma, 1960), in *Speculum*, XXXVI (1961), 477-478, where he defends this more generous estimate of the city's population.

<sup>13</sup> The literature on the guilds and tradesmen is extensive and scattered throughout a wide variety of periodicals. A satisfactory monograph on this vast and complex subject is still lacking. It is hoped that the following bibliography, though not complete, will be of some use. F. I. Uspenskiĭ, "Konstantinopol'skiĭ eparkh," *Izvēstiia russkago arkheologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopolē*, IV, 2 (1899), 79-104. J. Nicole, *Le livre du préfet ou l'édit de l'empereur Léon le sage sur les corporations de Constantinople* (Mémoire de l'Institut National Genevois, XVIII) (Geneva-Basel, 1894). H. Gehrig, "Das Zunftwesen Konstantinopels im X Jahrhundert," *Hildebrands Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 93 (1909), 577-596. A. Stöckle, *Spätromische und byzantinische Zünfte* Klio, Beiheft 9 (Leipzig, 1911); reviewed by E. Meyer, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1912), 531-535, and by Bezobrazov, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XVIII (1911), 30-38, 2nd pagination. E. Chernousov, "Rimskie i vizantiiskie tsekhi," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvēshcheniia*, 52 (Sept. 1914), 154-178. A. Rudakov, *Ocherki vizantiiskoi kul'tury po dannym grecheskoi agiografii* (Moscow, 1917), 120ff. C. Macri, *L'Organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macédoine* (Paris, 1925); reviewed by F. Dölger, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, V (1927), 235-243, and by F. Ganshof, *Byzantion*, IV (1927), 658-660. T. Begleres, "Ανακοίνωσις περί ἐμπορικῶν σωματείων ἢ συστημάτων παρὰ βυζαντινῶν καὶ περὶ παβουλίων," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, VII (1930), 414-416. G. Zora, *Le corporazioni bizantine* (Rome, 1931); reviewed by G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1933), 380-395, where he includes a considerable bibliography on the *Book of the Prefect*. A. Christophilopoulos, *Tò Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ* (Athens, 1935); reviewed by G. Mickwitz, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, XII (1936), 368-375. Mickwitz, "Un problème d'influence: Byzance et l'économie de l'Occident médiéval," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936), 21-28. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* (Helsingfors, 1936); reviewed by H. Seeveking, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, LIX (1938), 928-930. D. Ghinnis, "Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον καὶ οἱ νόμοι 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, XIII (1937), 181-191. L. Bréhier gives a review of literature on the *Book of the Prefect* in *Revue historique*, CLXXXIV (1938), 355-358. A. Christophilopoulos, "Ζητήματα τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπαρχικοῦ βιβλίου," *Ἑλληνικά*, XI (1939), 125-136. R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (1945), 1-42; reviewed by A. Kazhdan, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, III (1950), 290-293. P. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, II, 1 (Athens, 1948), 179-249. M. Sīzūfūmov, *Kniga Eparkha. Ustavy vizantiiskikh tsekhov X v.* (Sverdlovsk, 1949); reviewed by A. Kazhdan and M. Zaborov, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, V (1952), 273-276. Sīzūfūmov, "Remeslo i torgovliā v Konstantinopole v nachale X v.," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*,

Bury came close to discovering the relationship of guilds and violence in Byzantium many decades ago. But he misinterpreted a critical text. He recognized that the text in question referred to political activity on the part of certain urban groups, the *ἐταίρεια*, which he translated to mean private political clubs.<sup>14</sup> As we shall see, the phrase referred to the public guilds. And this puts into bold relief one of the basic difficulties of the problem, that of semantics. For many of the terms used in the texts are ambiguous and vague, and could refer not only to guilds but to organizations in general.

### THE GUILDS PRIOR TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

What do we know, if anything, of the Byzantine guilds prior to the eleventh century that might suggest their political potential? First there are the scattered references in the chronicles which, because of the extraordinary nature of a particular event, the chronicler has chosen to record. That is to say, very little has been preserved. These meagre sources are supplemented by the *Book of the Eparch*, *The Book of Ceremonies*, and the lives of the saints.

#### 1. Political Activities

We have records of "political" activity amongst the guildsmen as far back as the reign of Justinian I, when members of the jewelers guild, the *argyropratai*, plotted to assassinate the emperor and to this end supplied their accomplices with fifty pounds of gold (3,600 *nomismata*).<sup>15</sup> In 623 Heraclius left Constantinople, accompanied by a formal procession, to greet the Avar Khan

IV (1951), 11-41. S. Runciman, "Byzantine Trade and Industry," *Cambridge Economic History*, ed. by M. Postan and E. Rich (Cambridge, 1952), 86-118. A. Kazhdan, "Tsekhi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinopole v IX-X vv.," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, VI (1953), 132-155. G. Spyridakis, "Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ μιστοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον Ἀέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ," *Mélanges*, ed. by O. et P. Merlier, II (Athens, 1953), 417-423. P. Nasledova, "Remeslo i torgovlâ Fessaloniki kontsa IX- nachala X v. po dannym Ioanna Kameniaty," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, VIII (1956), 61-84. I. Fihman, "K kharakteristike korporatsii vizantiiskogo Egipta," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XVII (1960), 17-27. A. Kazhdan, *Derevniâ i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv.* (Moscow, 1960), 301 ff. B. Mendl, "Les corporations byzantines (Οἱ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀπογραφῇ ὄντες)," *Byzantinoslavica*, XXII (1961), 309-319, includes some recent bibliography by Loos, as well as useful comments. In Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, the following articles, amongst others, are of use; "Monopole," "Industrie," "Collegium," "Berufsverein," and "Naviculari." Unfortunately some of the recent Soviet literature has not been available to me, as for instance; M. Sifuzimov, "O pravovom polozhenii rabov v Vizantii," *Uchenye zapiski sverdlovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, II (1955), as well as a second article by the same author on Julian the Ascalonite in *Uchenye zapiski Ural'skogo universiteta*, XXXVIII (1960), I, 3-34, and a third article in the same journal, XXV (1958), 147-173, on hired labor. Nor have I yet seen the study of V. Shandrovskaja, on the crafts in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Byzantium in *Issledovanie po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960). In recent years various articles in *Voprosy Istorii* (no. 10 [1958], 91; no. 3 [1959], 112-113) have given a rapid survey of the literature which has been published on this subject in the Soviet Union. Since this article went to press there has appeared the interesting article of E. Frances, "L'État et les métiers à Byzance," *Byzantinoslavica*, XXIII (1962), 231-249.

<sup>14</sup> J. B. Bury, *Selected Essays* (Cambridge, 1930), 207-208. The texts were Joannes Zonaras, *Annales*, ed. by T. Büttner-Wobst, III (Bonn, 1897) (hereafter all texts are of the Bonn edition unless otherwise stated), 664, and Cedrenus, II, 635.

<sup>15</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883) (hereafter, Theophanes), 237-238.

in Thrace. We are told that the guildsmen participated in this procession alongside the nobles, clergy, and demesmen.<sup>16</sup> In 695, when Justinian II equipped a large fleet and sent it on an expedition to Cherson, he drafted guildsmen, demesmen, and senators to augment the military catalogues.<sup>17</sup> In 775 Leo IV associated his son Constantine VI in the imperial power and had the officials and citizens swear an oath on the relics of the Holy Cross to accept as emperor only his offspring. Those who swore the oath were the thematic officials, the senate, the guards, the citizens, and the guildsmen.<sup>18</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus remarks that when the enemy appears before the walls of the city, the military contingents in the city and the guilds are to assume the military defense of Constantinople.<sup>19a</sup> These few passages imply, in one case at least, that the guildsmen did indulge actively in political life. At the same time the recourse of the emperors to the guildsmen for military, ceremonial, and dynastic purposes implies that they were a real force in the society of the capital.

## 2. *Wealthy Guildsmen*

The texts reveal that guildsmen often managed to accumulate considerable wealth. Sozomenus relates that when the Gothic general Gainas entered Constantinople he intended to plunder the shops of the *argyropratai* because of their great wealth. But as the guildsmen got wind of the barbarian's intentions, they removed their goods from the shops and hid them.<sup>19</sup> The chronicler Theophanes records the fact that the wife of Justin II, the Empress Sophia, dissolved all debts owed to the *argyropratai* by the citizens. As these were very extensive, the citizens acknowledged Sophia as a great benefactress.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Chronicon Paschale, I, 712. "ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐργαστηριακῶν καὶ δημοτῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους καὶ πλήθους ἄλλου οὐκ ὀλίγου."

<sup>17</sup> Theophanes, I, 377. "πᾶσαν ναῦν δρομώνων τε καὶ τριηρῶν καὶ σκαφῶν μυριαγωγῶν καὶ ἀλιάδων καὶ ἔως χελανδίων, ἀπὸ διανομῆς τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν συγκλητικῶν τε καὶ ἐργαστηριακῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀφικίου." Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880) (hereafter, Nicephorus), p. 44. "ναὺς πολὺ πλείστας καὶ διαφόρους συναγείρας, ἐμβιβάσας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρις εἰς ἑκατὸν χιλιάδας ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν, εἰδότας ἕκ τε τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ γεωργικοῦ καὶ τῶν βανανισκῶν τεχνῶν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δήμου."

<sup>18</sup> Theophanes, I, 449. "καὶ ὥμοσε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ ζύλα, οἱ τε τῶν θεμάτων καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἔσω ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων καὶ ἐργαστηριακῶν, τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι βασιλέα ἐκτὸς Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑγγράφα καθὼς ὥμοσαν ἰδιόχειρα αὐτῶν."

<sup>19a</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caeremoniis*, ed. by I. Reiske, I (Bonn, 1829) (hereafter, *De Caeremoniis*-Bonn), 449. "ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὸν λαόν, ὅσοι τε ὑπὸ τὰ τάγματά εἰσι τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὕπαρχον, καὶ τούτους προορίζειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν συστημάτων φυλάξει τὴν πόλιν ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιδημίας ἔχθρων." This passage could possibly refer to the guilds. M. Sînzîmîmov has so interpreted the passage, "Remeslo i torgovlîa v Konstantinopole v nachale X v.," *Vizantiïskii Vremennik*, IV (1951), 40.

<sup>19</sup> Sozomenus, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVII (Paris, 1864), 1524.

<sup>20</sup> Theophanes, I, 242. The *argyropratai* appear more frequently in the sources than do most of the other guildsmen. See *Tipucitus*, ed. by F. Dölger, *Studi e Testi*, LI (1929), xi, 1; xix, 1. Also, their guild seems to be the only one which emerges from the sources with a personality. Nicetas Choniates, 156-157, relates that during the visit of the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan to Constantinople, the Emperor Manuel I took him to see the games at the hippodrome. One of the scheduled performances was to have been a flight through the air from a high tower by a Muslim garbed in a sail-like garment. However, the flight failed and the Muslim was killed, much to the distress of the Sultan and his Turks, but to the merriment of the Greeks. Afterwards, when any of the Turks appeared in the agora the



We have yet another anecdote in Theophanes concerning the wealth of a member of the candlemakers' guild, a *cerularius*. During the course of his financial exactions Nicephorus I had a *cerularius* brought to court and forced him to declare the extent of his wealth, which amounted to 100 pounds of gold (7,200 *nomismata*). The Emperor confiscated the greater part of the gold, leaving the candlemaker only 100 *nomismata*.<sup>21</sup> One is better able to grasp the true significance of the man's wealth by comparing it with the salary of the *strategus*. The highest paid *strategus*, or general, in the Byzantine army received forty pounds of gold a year. Thus we see that guildsmen could become very wealthy from their trades. As will become clear at a later point, this wealth was an important factor in the social fluidity of a number of the guildsmen as well as in their political importance. In the eleventh century there are examples of a patriarch, a general,<sup>22</sup> two emperors,<sup>23</sup> and a high administrative official who were of families with guild or artisan backgrounds.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. Organization-Book of the Eparch

The only document which deals specifically and exclusively with the guilds of Constantinople is the well-known *Book of the Eparch*.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, this

---

*argyrocopoi* no sooner caught sight of them than they began to ridicule them and to strike their tables loudly. For the greater context of this "flying" story, see L. White, "Eilmer of Malmesbury, an Eleventh-Century Aviator," *Technology and Culture*, II, 2 (1961), 98ff. Leo Gramaticus, 121-122, records a humorous incident in which a "chemist" defrauds the *argyropatai*.

<sup>21</sup> Theophanes, I, 487-488.

<sup>22</sup> Such would seem to be the case from the verse edited by S. Lampros. "Τὰ ὑπ' ἀριθμὸν ΠΙΖ' καὶ ΡΓ' κατάλοιπα," *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, XVI (1922), 45.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς στρατηγὸν Κηρουλάριον.  
Καὶ σὺ στρατηγὸς κηροπώλου παιδίον,  
οὐ καὶ τὸ ρῶ πέφευγεν ἐκ τῶν ρημάτων,  
ποῖαν φρόνησιν ἢ λόγον κεκτημένος.  
Ὅμως κατεῖδον δαίμονα, στρατηγέτην  
καὶ κηροπώλην ἐν βλέψαι μόνον θέλω,  
καὶ Χαβδᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῃ Βυζαντίδι  
καὶ σῖτον ὀκτῶ τὸν μέδιμνον χρυσίων.

<sup>23</sup> The members of the Paphlagonian dynasty obviously had some connection with the artisan class.

<sup>24</sup> The twelfth-century literary figure Ptochoprodromus has left us an interesting poem which is as informative in regard to the economic well-being of the artisan class as it is humorous in depicting the poverty of the intellectuals and scribes. The poet begins by telling the reader that he studied letters in obedience to his father's admonitions. But now arrived at man's estate, with vast literary learning and talent, Ptochoprodromus complains (to no less a person than his patron the Emperor) that he is starving to death. In contrast to the penurious income of his own profession, the trades of the tailor, cobbler, baker, seller of whey, etc. enable these artisans to eat veritable banquets. The food larders of the latter are plentifully stocked with tunny and mackerel, and their daily meals include tripe, Vlach cheese, stew, marinated roasts, boiled dishes, wine, pure wheat bread, etc. Ptochoprodromus concludes by anathematizing the day on which, as a young boy, he had been turned over to the grammarians. He informs the Emperor that should his neighbor seek advice as to his son's education, he (the poet) will advise the father to have the son taught the trade of a cobbler. The facts and sentiments are not unfamiliar to twentieth-century society! See the text in D. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Chrestomathie Néo-Hellénique* (Paris, 1925), 42-46.

<sup>25</sup> The *Book of the Eparch* was edited by J. Nicole, *Le livre du préfet* (Geneva, 1894). T. Zepos reproduced the text in *Jus Graecoromanum*, II (Athens, 1931), 369-392. There are translations in English by A. E. R. Boak, "The Book of the Prefect," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I (1929), 597-618, and also by E. H. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1938). There is an annotated translation in Russian by M. Sfūzūmov, *Kniga Eparkha. Ustavy vizantiiskikh tsekhov* X v. (Sverdlovsk, 1949). For other literature, footnote 13 *supra*.

tenth-century compilation is not a collection of guild statutes, but rather a collection of state ordinances pertaining to certain trades. The *Book of the Eparch* regulates the relationship between these select guilds and the state and the populace of Constantinople. It mentions nineteen guilds; *tabularioi* (notaries), *argyropratai* (jewelers), *trapezitai* (bankers), *vestiopratai* (dealers in silk garments), *prandiopratai* (dealers in Syrian silks), *metaxopratai* (dealers in raw silk), *catartarioi* (silk spinners), *sericarioi* (silk weavers), *othoniopratai* (dealers in linen), *myrepsoi* (dealers in perfume), *cerularioi* (candle-makers), *saponopratai* (soap-makers), *saldamarioi* (grocers), *lorotomoi* (leather cutters), *macellarioi* (butchers) *choiremporoi* (dealers in pork), *ichthyopratai* (fishmongers), *artopoioi* (bakers), and *capeloi* (innkeepers).<sup>26</sup> It is obvious that this list contains the most highly esteemed guilds and those that were essential to the business and provisioning of the capital.

Though the *Book of the Eparch* is not specifically concerned with the internal organization of a guild itself, one may examine the regulations governing the corporation of the *tabularioi* with some profit. To enter the guild, the initiate had to learn the forty titles of the *Prochiron* by heart and also the sixty titles of the *Basilica*. He had also to pass an examination in this before a meeting of the guild, at which time his candidacy for entrance was accompanied by the testimonies of witnesses as to his worthiness. He was elected by the vote of the guildsmen and their chief, the *primicerius*. Part of the ceremony is described in the *Book of the Eparch*.

"The election of the candidate shall be carried out as follows. After the hearing of the witnesses and the examination, he shall present himself wearing a cloak before the most glorious Prefect of the City, accompanied by the guild of the notaries and the *primicerius*. These shall swear before God and by the safety of the emperors that he is being enrolled in the order not through any favor, influence, family connections, or friendship, but by reason of his good conduct, knowledge, ability, and general fitness. After the oaths have been taken, by means of a sign the Prefect in office shall elect him in the prefectural bureau, and he shall be enrolled in the guild and numbered among the notaries. Then he shall go to the church which is nearest his residence, while all the notaries wear their cloaks, and, doffing his cloak and donning a white surplice, shall be consecrated by a prayer of the priest. He shall be escorted on his way by all the notaries clad in their cloaks, while the *primicerius* himself holds a censer and directs

<sup>26</sup> The question has arisen whether other guilds existed aside from those mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*. *Basilica*, LIV, vi, 6–16 (Zepos edition), seem to provide a positive answer to the question, Ἀργυροκόποι, σκυτοτόμοι, χρυσοχόοι, ζωγράφοι, μαρμαράριοι are listed amongst the various occupations. Since the first three are mentioned as having guilds in the *Book of the Eparch*, it would seem that the grouping of all of them together in the *Basilica* would imply that all had guilds. Stöckle, *op. cit.*, says that it is impossible to determine from the *Book of the Eparch* whether there were guilds other than the nineteen mentioned in the heads of the chapters. Christophilopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 9, repeats this judgement. But the *Book of the Eparch* does furnish evidence that there were guilds other than those of the chapter headings: In chap. xiv, para. 2, we find two other guilds, that of the μαλακατάριοι (the softeners of leather), and of the βυρσοδέψαι (tanners). See also the remarks of B. Mendl, *loc. cit.*, 303.

the fumes towards him, the newly elect, who carries the Bible openly before him; this signifying that his ways shall be made straight as the incense ascending before the face of God. In this glorious fashion he shall proceed to the seat to which he has been allotted and then return home with the same pomp, there to feast and rejoice with his associates.'"<sup>27</sup>

The newly elected member had to pay to the *primicerius* three *nomismata* as initiation fee, and to each of the *tabularioi* one *nomisma*. He also had to contribute six *nomismata* for table expenses. No member of the guild could be absent from imperial processions when the eparch commanded them to participate, as absence from such processions drew a fine of four *ceratia*. When the chief of the guild, the *primicerius*, was no longer able to perform his functions he had to retire and was then given a pension. Though the eparch appointed the ranking *tabularius* to replace him, here the members of the guild could exercise some choice. For if they did not want the *primicerius* chosen by the eparch, they could declare him unworthy, and the eparch would choose the second or third in line for the office. Amongst the duties of the *primicerius* was that of adjudicating minor disputes between the members of the guild. The *Book of the Eparch* also regulates the salaries of the *tabularioi*. A *tabularius* received twelve *ceratia* in drawing up any contract in which the subject matter was not worth more than 100 *nomismata*. If the value exceeded this sum, then he received one *nomisma*. If the value far exceeded 100 *nomismata*, he received two *nomismata*. No member of the guild could employ a secretary without first presenting him to the *primicerius* and the guild, and obtaining their approval. Finally, whenever a member of the guild died, he was buried by the guild. Any member of the corporation who was absent from the funeral procession paid a fine of six *ceratia*.<sup>28</sup>

The provisions governing the remainder of the guilds are not quite so extensive. Most of them seem to have had similar ceremonies of initiation, and the duties of the heads of the guilds were more or less similar. One of the more interesting features of these regulations is the exclusion of the nobles or *archontes* from participation in many of the trades of the guilds.<sup>29</sup>

Without going into any further detail, it should be pointed out that these regulations reveal a guild system, descended from that of the fourth century, which created a certain cohesive and corporate spirit among the members of an individual guild, and perhaps among the guilds themselves. And though all were, theoretically, under the close supervision of the prefect of the city, they held certain internal administrative and judicial power in their own hands.

#### 4. *Topographical Location of the Guilds*

The location of the guild establishments in the city is an important factor in considering the political potential of these groups. Fortunately the sources are much more ample here than they have been in the preceding considera-

<sup>27</sup> Boak, *loc. cit.*, 601.

<sup>28</sup> *Book of the Eparch*, I.

<sup>29</sup> *Book of the Eparch*, V, 4; VI, 10.

tions. The *Book of the Eparch* specifies that the *argyropratai* could carry on their business only in their workshops on the Mese.<sup>30</sup> Theophanes indicates that their shops stretched along the Mese from the Forum of Constantine to the Palace of Lausus.<sup>31</sup> The *chalcopratai* had their shops near the western door of St. Sophia.<sup>32</sup> The fur-dealers had their shops in the Forum of Constantine,<sup>33</sup> while the slave-dealers had their establishments near the bakeries.<sup>34</sup> The *artopoioi* had their bakeries between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius along the Mese.<sup>35</sup> The candle-makers had their shops in the forum and also in the church of St. Sophia.<sup>36</sup>

The life of St. Andrew the Fool is of particular interest in this connection, for it takes place in the milieu of the guilds, shops, and working people. We find mention of innkeepers and *saldamarioi* (grocers) in the *antiforum*, and of the prostitution establishments near the Forum of Constantine and the *artopoleia*.<sup>37</sup> The *Book of the Eparch* says of the *saldamarioi* that they were to have their shops all over the city so that the provisioning of the inhabitants would be facilitated.<sup>38</sup> It also includes a rather interesting specification concerning the place of business of the *myrepsoi*.

"They shall place their show tables with the containers in a line extending from the sacred image of Christ our Lord which is by the Chalce up to the Milestone, so that these may send forth a savory aroma befitting the image, and make pleasant the porches of the palace."<sup>39</sup>

It is obvious that a considerable portion of the shops and warehouses of the guilds was located along the triumphal boulevard of Constantinople, the so-called Mese,<sup>40</sup> and in the Milion in the vicinity of the palace. So in more recent times the great covered bazar of Istanbul was not too far from the saray of the Ottoman sultans. By their location and concentration in the administrative and commercial heart of the city, the guildsmen could and did convulse not only the economic life of the city but the political life of the whole of the empire.

## 5. *Munera*

Another aspect of the relationship of the guilds to the government is apparent in the fact that a number of these groups was still, as in the fourth century, responsible for certain *munera*. The *Book of Ceremonies* of Cons-

<sup>30</sup> *Book of the Eparch*, II, 11.

<sup>31</sup> Theophanes, I, 184.

<sup>32</sup> R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (Paris, 1950), 97-98.

<sup>33</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 420.

<sup>34</sup> Pseudo-Codinus, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*, ed. A. Vogt, I (Paris, 1935) (hereafter, *De Caerimoniis-Vogt*), 44-51.

<sup>36</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, 420.

<sup>37</sup> *Vita Andreae, Acta Sanctorum, Maii Tomus Sextus* (Paris-Rome, 1866), appendix, 2-14.

<sup>38</sup> *Book of the Eparch*, XIII, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Boak, *loc. cit.*, 611.

<sup>40</sup> On this street, consult R. Guiland, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International D'Études Byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), 171-182.

tantine VII gives a number of details concerning the guilds in the imperial processions of the tenth century. In the processions of the emperors from the palace to St. Sophia the guilds of the *vestiopratai* and of the *argyropratai* were responsible for adorning the *tribunalium* with purple silk cloths, and gold and silver objects. And all of the guilds of the city, under the leadership of the eparch, took part in the procession.<sup>41</sup> The court ceremonial prescribed that emperors returning to the capital after a period of absence were to proceed to the church of the Holy Apostles, then through the Mese to the palace. On their way from the church to the palace they were received along the Mese by the eparch and all the guilds.<sup>42</sup>

In the official reception given the Arab ambassadors from Tarsus by Constantine VII and Romanus II, the *argyropratai*, under the direction of the eparch, were responsible for the decoration of the *tribunalium* with silk cloths and objects of gold and silver. Not only were the guildsmen responsible for the decoration of the *tribunalium*, but the members of the guilds and their officers were present in the *tribunalium* during the reception. The *archontes* or chiefs of the guilds wore the six *platonica chlanidia* of the *secreticoi*, while the others wore the white *chlanidia* of the *tagmata*.<sup>43</sup>

That these guildsmen were members of the public guilds and not of the imperial workshops within the palace is demonstrated by two facts. First Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that they were under the direction of the eparch. According to the *Basilica* and to the *Cletorologion* of Philotheus, the public guilds were under the jurisdiction of the eparch. And in these processions and receptions the guilds mentioned are under the *prefect* or *eparch* of the city.<sup>44</sup> The craftsmen of the imperial workshops were under a separate official.<sup>45</sup> Secondly, Constantine Porphyrogenitus distinguishes between the public and imperial craftsmen by referring to the latter as βασιλικοί and by usually referring to their workshops as βασιλικά ἐργοδόσια, while the workshops of the public guilds were generally ἐργαστήρια.<sup>46</sup> It was certain of

<sup>41</sup> *De Caerimoniis*-Vogt, I, 9. "αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τριβουνάλιον κατακοσμοῦσιν οἱ τε βεστιοπράται καὶ ἀργυροπράται διὰ τε βλαττίων καὶ λοιπῶν ἐντίμων ἀπλωμάτων τε καὶ πέπλων, καὶ μὴν διὰ τε χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν παντοίων σκευῶν τοῦτο καταγαίλουσιν. . . καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν ὑπαρχον ὀφικιάλαιοι, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ συμπόνου καὶ τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ πραιτωρίου."

<sup>42</sup> *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 497-498. "ὥς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν μέσσην. . . τάξις τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἀργυροπράται καὶ πάντες πραγματευταί, καὶ πᾶν σύστημα."

<sup>43</sup> *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 572, 579. "ἴστέον, ὅτι τὸ τριβουνάλιον ἐξώπλισεν ὁ ὑπαρχος κατὰ τὸ εἶωθός τῆς προελεύσεως ἀπὸ τε βλαττίων ἀπλωμάτων καὶ σενδῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἔργων χρυσῶν καὶ χυμευτῶν καὶ ἀναγλύφων ἀργυρῶν, δηλονότι τῶν ἀργυροπρατῶν ταῦτα παρεχόντων." „ἐν δὲ τῷ τριβουναλίῳ ἔστη ἔνθεν κάκειθεν ἡ πολιτικὴ μετὰ τῶν συστημάτων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων, φορούντων τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων τὰ ἐξ χλανίδια τῶν σεκρετικῶν τὰ πλατώνια, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τὰ λευκὰ χλανίδια τῶν ταγματικῶν."

On other *munera*, see P. Koukoules, *op. cit.*, IV, 339ff. Cedrenus, II, 300, for a brilliant reception given an Iberian prince in the *agora*.

<sup>44</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London, 1911) (hereafter, Philotheos), 131, 71. *Basilica*, VI, iv, 13. "πάντα τὰ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σωματεῖα καὶ οἱ πολῖται καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως ὑπόκεινται." *Peira*, LI, 29. "οἱ τῶν τεχνῶν τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ὑπόκεινται."

<sup>45</sup> *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 720. "... τῷ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ λόγῳ. . . ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐργοδοσίων, ἐβδομάριοι καὶ μεζότεριοι τῶν ἐργοδοσίων."

<sup>46</sup> My colleague Prof. Lopez has, I think, erred in his identification of the imperial "guilds" (he says the "public" and "imperial" guilds are one and the same thing) with what he calls the *δημόσια σώματα*. These public or imperial guilds are, he says, differentiated from the "private" guilds by the

the public guilds, then, that were responsible to a great extent for the splendid and luxurious furnishings so pleasing to Byzantine spectators and so dazzling to the eyes of foreign envoys. The guilds and their chiefs were important enough to take part in the actual receptions of foreign ambassadors in the palace.

## 6. *Conclusions on Political Potential Of Guilds Prior to the Eleventh Century*

This rapid survey of the condition of the guilds prior to the eleventh century shows them to have possessed much of the apparatus necessary to participate significantly in the political life of the imperial capital. Their political

---

fact that the former are δημόσια σώματα and the latter are simply σώματα. In fact, then, the adjective δημόσιον is the key word, its use indicating that the guild is an imperial-public one. However, it is much more probable that in the tenth century δημόσιον σωματεῖον (σωματεῖον is far more common in the literature than σώμα) was not an imperial-public guild at all. In fact, one really wonders to what extent the groups of imperial craftsmen working in the palace constituted guild groups. Further, his use of the word "public" as the equivalent of "imperial" is confusing. Certainly the Byzantine texts of this period do not use this adjective, δημόσιον, in describing the artisans and workshops of the palace; they use the adjective βασιλικόν for this purpose. Thus, when Leo Diaconus (146–147) speaks of the imperial textile workshop, he uses the phrase βασιλική ἱστοργική. Theophanes, I, 469, uses the same adjective in describing the imperial workshops. "ἀνήφθη καὶ μέρος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐργοδοσίου, τῶν χρυσοκλαβαρίων κατὰ τὸν χρυσεῶνα." So also Pseudo-Codinus, p. 74, "τὰ δὲ Μάγγανα ὁ Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος ἔκτισε λόγῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐργοδοσίων"; on pp. 118, 121, he simply refers to the imperial workshops as ἐργοδόσια. Nicetas Choniates, 157, "... δῶρα πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρυσῶνων..." *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 725, "ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ εἰς τὰς προελεύσεις τοὺς ῥάπτας τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ τοὺς χρυσοκλαβαρίους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοχοὺς"; also 518, 572. The members of the imperial workshops, then, were called imperials, βασιλικοί, not δημόσιοι. Further, public and imperial are quite different. Often the meaning of δημόσιον is "public," even though it is also used to denote the fisc. This adjective is frequently employed to denote anything having to do with the citizenry. Thus in one of the letters of Psellus, *Miscellanea*, ed. by C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, V (Paris, 1876), 320, the expression δημοσίων καπηλείων is used to refer to the public inns and taverns. As the *Book of the Eparch*, XIX, testifies, these were to be found all over the city. Therefore, they were not "imperial" guilds simply because they are described as δημοσίων. *Basilica*, LIV, xxxvii, 4, uses the adjective δημόσιον to refer to the public stoas of Constantinople, δημοσiais στοαῖς. These are not imperial from the utilitarian point of view. They were intended for public rather than for imperial use. Therefore βασιλικόν and ἐργοδόσιον have to do with the imperial artisans and workshops. Δημόσια σωματεῖα have to do with corporations in which were enrolled artisans of the city itself. On this point, see also the remarks of M. Sūzūmov, "Remeslo i torgovlā v Konstantinopole v nachale X veka," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, IV (1951), 28, no. 3.

Prof. Lopez further states that the provisions in the *Basilica* refer only to the imperial guilds, and that the guilds of Constantinople are not mentioned here. The latter, he concludes, are present only in the *Book of the Eparch*. Now it so happens that he used the Heimbach edition of the *Basilica*, asserting that there was no other. However, he was not aware of the slightly improved edition of Zepos. Had he referred to this latter edition, he would have seen that the *Basilica* do deal with the public corporations. LIV, vi, 6–19, lists over forty guilds, among which are the architects, doctors, veterinarians, painters, sculptors, masons, woodworkers, potters, goldsmiths, glassworkers, fullers, silversmiths, coppersmiths, etc. But even the Heimbach edition mentions a number of public guilds ("private" guilds, according to Lopez). LIV, vii, 1, mentions *tabularioi*; LIV, xx, mentions the guilds of the pork-dealers and innkeepers, and other guilds as well; LIV, xxi, mentions *chalcopratai* and *trapezitai*; LIV, xxv, mentions *artocopoi*. Most of these latter guilds appear in the *Book of the Eparch* as well, which, according to Lopez, is the only document describing the public ("private") guilds. Therefore, the *Basilica*, as well as the *Book of the Eparch*, deal with the non-imperial guilds, those which I refer to as public guilds.

On the imperial craftsmen, see, in addition to the work of Sūzūmov cited above, A. Kazhdan, "Tsekhi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinopole v IX–X vv.," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, VI (1953), 150–153. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), is of some use on the subject. Unfortunately he has interpreted the regulations of the *Book of the Eparch* as intended for the imperial workshops.

potential was manifested in their actual participation in political life, in the considerable wealth accruing to many of the guildsmen (which wealth, in one case, was applied to the attempted assassination of an emperor), in the guild organization which provided the guildsmen with a close knit corporate spirit,<sup>47</sup> in the geographical proximity of the guilds to the palace enabling them to terrorize the government, and in the fact that the government and emperors relied upon them for certain *munera* and for occasional military service. Between the reigns of Heraclius and Leo III the political prominence of the demes and circus factions declined considerably. They were apparently reorganized and took on functions which were completely ornamental. The imperial government assumed charge of the circus games in the hippodrome, and the factions henceforth made their appearance only in the official processions and imperial ceremony. Such was their role in the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>48</sup> Thus, with the suppression of these circus factions, the guild system, along with the church, seems to have remained as the only major organization of the inhabitants in the capital with sufficient power to take an active part in the politics of Constantinople.

#### URBAN VIOLENCE AND GUILDS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The salient feature of the history of Byzantium in the eleventh century was the bitter and fatal struggle between the civil bureaucrats and the provincial feudal generals for the possession of supreme power.<sup>49</sup> With the death of the last male ruler of the Macedonian dynasty in 1028, the ambitious generals began to hatch plans and conspiracies which, they hoped, would give their families the throne. These provincial generals were representative of the some forty-five most prominent families of the provinces, families with traditions of illustrious military service often going back two to three hundred years, and in one case half a millenium. These generals were at the same time the great landowners of the provinces.

The generals, in their quest for imperial power, were violently opposed by the bureaucracy in the capital. This was a disparate group in its composition, drawing its leading members from the actual corps of administrators, especially the eunuchs, but also including the professors from the university of Constantinople and a certain group which we may describe as the urban aristocracy or nobility.

So the greater part of the eleventh century is the story of the attempts of the provincial generals to remove the civil aristocracy from the direction

<sup>47</sup> They had certain favorite saints. See the life of St. Artemius, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* in *Sbornik grecheskikh neizdannyykh bogoslovskikh tekstov IV-XV vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 1-79. As the healer of hernia St. Artemius was of particular importance to the artisans.

<sup>48</sup> *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 798-799. F. Dvornik, "The Circus Parties in Byzantium," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I (1946), 119-134.

<sup>49</sup> For what follows, see, S. Vryonis, "Byzantium: The Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II (1959), 157-176.

of affairs in Constantinople. Their obvious strength lay in the fact that they had the provinces and provincial armies in their hands. Before the militarists, under Alexius I Comnenus, finally triumphed in 1081, the bureaucrats put up a long and very spirited resistance, for they had a number of advantages. In their hands were the imperial palace, the central offices and finances of the state, the small but crack body of troops and the fleet stationed at Constantinople, and, most importantly, the imperial city itself with its invincible walls. It is remarkable to what degree the ideology of the Byzantine Empire was centered on Constantinople. The very fact that the imperial capital was in the hands of the bureaucrats for the greater part of the eleventh century was almost enough in itself to thwart the fifty or sixty rebellions raised by the provincial militarists during the period between 1028–1081. For no matter how long a rebellious general might hold Anatolia or the Balkans, without the conquest of the city on the Bosphorus it was a meaningless achievement. It is interesting that these generals did not, for the most part, think in terms of founding separatist states.

Given the importance of the actual possession of Constantinople in this struggle between the bureaucracy and the provincials, any group within the city that was articulate politically acquired increasing significance in the affairs of that day. And in fact two Constantinopolitan groups do come to the fore in this tense polarization of political forces, the church and the very populace of the city. It is with the latter rather than with the former that we are here concerned.

#### MICHAEL V CALAPHATES

In 1042, when the upstart Michael V Calaphates attempted to remove his aunt by marriage, Zoe, and with her the Macedonian dynasty, he first strove to secure the support of the upper class, but also, and especially, the support of the people, by conferring favors.<sup>50</sup> The removal of the Empress from the palace would be an extremely touchy matter at very best. Hence Michael was obliged to proceed cautiously. He decided to test the populace and its sentiments on Easter Sunday.

“The imperial procession having been prepared, the προεξάρχοντες<sup>51</sup> of the agora strewed the ground with luxuriously woven silk carpets from the very palace to the gates of the revered and most holy St. Sophia. They had prepared these so that the Emperor might pass through in honor with his armed retinue.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. by E. Renauld, I (Paris, 1926) (hereafter, Psellus, *Chronographia*), 96.

<sup>51</sup> Προεξάρχοντες would seem to refer to the heads of the guilds, or at least to the heads of the *agora*. The heads of the guilds appear variously as προστάται, προστατεύοντες, πρωτοστάται, πριμικήριοι, ἑξάρχοι, ἐξάρχοντες. Stöckle, *op. cit.*, 78–79, 84–85. Nicole, *op. cit.*, 29. Sathas, *op. cit.*, VI, 645. Whether it refers to the heads of the guilds or to the officials of the *eparch*, the total effect is the same here. It is the populace of the market place that Michael was sounding out.

<sup>52</sup> Attaliates, p. 12.



Satisfied with the luxurious reception given him by the people, Michael decided to make yet one more sounding as to his popularity in the city; so the court announced a public procession on the Sunday following Easter. The Emperor was to go through the streets to the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>53</sup> This was to be the final test as to whether he could openly propose the deposition of Zoe to the populace.

"The Emperor, crowned, proceeded with the senate, the whole of the city having gathered for the sight. Those who lived on this boulevard hung out silver and gold vessels and carpets and other gold cloths. And they greeted him with such shouts that it seemed as if they were pouring out their very souls."<sup>54</sup>

The narrative of Psellus completes the picture given by Attaliates and Cedrenus of the people's reaction to Michael.

"There remained, however, the problem of the others—the pick of the city populace and all those who belonged to the people of the agora and the manual workers. Their adherence, too, was assured and the hearts of the people won over by his favors. It was a necessary expense, for one day, if need arose, he might want their backing for his projects. The people, on their side, were genuinely attached to him and their sentiments found expression in certain obvious marks of goodwill. For instance, they would not allow him to walk on the bare ground: it would be a dreadful thing, they thought, if he did not tread on carpets. His horse, too, must needs revel in covers of silk. These compliments, not unnaturally, gave him pleasure and in his elation he began to reveal what his secret designs were."<sup>55</sup>

It is rather obvious that in the above passages the populace of Constantinople, i.e., the πολῖται, the δῆμος, was the prime concern of Michael in his bid for support. More specifically, he was concerned with the *agora* and its inhabitants, i.e., the craftsmen and shopkeepers, that is, the members of the guilds.<sup>56</sup> Psellus says that he bestowed favors on "ὅσοι τῆς ἀγοραίου τύρβης ἢ τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν..." on all of the people of the *agora* and craftsmen. As a result, the craftsmen gave the Emperor a brilliant reception on Easter Sunday and on the following Sunday when his entourage passed through the agora and silk carpets covered the street over which he was to pass. In the first instance, Attaliates relates that the προεξάρχοντες of the agora were responsible

<sup>53</sup> Cedrenus, II, 536. "ἔδοξεν οὖν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν πρότερον, διὰ ἧς ἐχῶσι περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, καὶ εἰ μὲν χρηστὴν διάθεσιν φανῶσι φυλάττοντες εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν ὀρθήν, τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγχειρήσαι τῇ μελέτῃ, εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. τῇ κυριακῇ οὖν τῇ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα προέλευσιν δημοσίαν κηρύξας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ναῷ, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποπειραθῆναι κρίνας τῆς γνώμης τῶν πολιτῶν."

<sup>54</sup> Cedrenus, II, 536. Attaliates, p. 12. "μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νέαν κυριακὴν ἐφίππου τῆς προόδου γεγενημένης ἐπεριπετάννυντο ὥδε κάκεισε τὰ πολυτελῆ τῶν ὑφασμάτων καὶ τίμια, καὶ κόσμος ἄλλος χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καταστράπτων συνεχῶς ὑπερήρητο, καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς στεφανηφοροῦν καὶ οἷον ἑορτάζον χαρμόσυνά τινα σωτηριώδη κατελαμπρύνετο. ἡ δὲ προπομπὴ θαυμαστὴ τῷ ὄντι καὶ βασιλική, πανταχόθεν εὐφημίαις συγκροτούμενῃ καὶ χάρισι καὶ παιανισμοῖς ἐξαιρουμένη τῆς πόλεως." Note that where Cedrenus refers vaguely to the whole city, Attaliates speaks of the inhabitants of the market place.

<sup>55</sup> *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, tr. by E. R. A. Sewter (London, 1953) (henceforth, Sewter), p. 93. Psellus, I, 96.

<sup>56</sup> Psellus, I, 96.

for the strewing of the streets with silk carpets. These προεξάρχοντες seem to have been the heads of the guilds.

The second procession, to the church of the Holy Apostles, went through the Mese, the great street of Constantinople along which were located the majority of the shops and where the craftsmen and merchants practiced their trades.<sup>57</sup> Cedrenus says that the procession passed through the λεωφόρος to the church. As is well known, λεωφόρος refers to a boulevard, a great street. Further, it is a well established topographical fact that it was the Mese which led from the palace to the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>58</sup> Cedrenus says that it was the inhabitants of the Mese, the shopkeepers and craftsmen, who decorated it with silver cloths, and gold and silver objects. Attaliates remarks that the whole *agora*, "...was garlanded..." on the occasion. The objects displayed during both processions were products of craftsmen who were obliged by law to have their shops on the Mese, i.e., gold and silver objects could be handled only by the ἀργυροπράται. These ἀργυροπράται were obliged to have their shops on the Mese.<sup>59</sup> Also, the πέπλα σηρικά και ύφάσματα χρυσοϋφή were restricted to certain workshops along the Mese. A close examination of the ornaments that adorned the procession in such great number suffices to indicate that the guilds were responsible for the reception, for, as we have already seen in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the guilds were responsible for decorating the processional way. Thus, it becomes strikingly obvious that Michael was seeking to ensure the support of the shopkeepers and craftsmen who had their places of business in the vicinity of the Mese and in the neighborhood of the palace.

As a result of the two receptions which he had received, Michael felt that he had this support. The night of the Sunday after Easter he had the unfortunate Zoe brought from her chambers and accused her of attempting to poison him, after which she was exiled to the isle of Principo where she was shorn and forced to don the monastic garb. The next day the populace gradually learned of Zoe's fate, and the popularity of Michael amongst the citizens was soon replaced by anger.<sup>60</sup> As a result, Michael gave a dramatic account of the events which had transpired to the senators, and secured their approval. Then a *pittacion* was drawn up and given to the eparch of the city who was to read it to the people at the Forum of Constantine.<sup>61</sup> Michael thus hoped to quiet the unrest. The eparch, the *patricius* Anastasius, proceeded to the Forum of Constantine and read the letter, the contents of which are preserved in Cedrenus.

"As Zoe has plotted against my imperial power I have exiled her, and her accomplice Alexius has been removed from the church. You, my people, if you persevere in your good faith in me, shall receive great honors and benefits and you shall live a clean and sorrowless life."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Stöckle, *op. cit.*, 71-72.

<sup>58</sup> R. Janin, *op. cit.*, map no. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Nicole, *op. cit.*, 24. "Μή ἔχειν κελεύομεν ἐξουσίαν χρυσοχόον οἶκοι ἐργάζεσθαι χρυσόν ἢ ἀργυρον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τῆς Μέσης."

<sup>60</sup> Attaliates, 13.

<sup>61</sup> Attaliates, 14. Cedrenus, II, 536-537. Psellus, I, 98-100. Zonaras, III, 609.

<sup>62</sup> Cedrenus, II, 537.

The silence which followed was broken by a single voice which cried out, "We do not want a blasphemer of the cross and a caulker as our emperor, but the original heir, our mother Zoe."<sup>63</sup>

And immediately the crowd began to shout,

"Curse the bones of Calaphates."<sup>64</sup>

This was the usual curse employed by the rioting demes in the earlier period of Byzantine history. Then the crowd gathered sticks and stones and would have slain the eparch had not he and his troops fled from the scene. The *pittacion* infuriated the crowd and set in motion the rioting which eventually overthrew Michael.<sup>65</sup>

On the second day after Easter the whole city was aroused and certain officials and the clergy openly denounced Michael's act. The members of the guilds, i.e. the tradesmen in the *ἐργαστήρια*, were preparing an uprising.<sup>66</sup> As Psellus remarks, "...the people of the agora, already let loose, were moving to replace the tyranny of the tyrant."<sup>67</sup> Then they began to gather, with the intention of setting fire to the palace. The gathering was formed into a military formation,<sup>68</sup> and though some of the mob were armed with axes, swords, bows, and spears, the majority were armed only with stones.<sup>69</sup> But both Psellus and Attaliates imply that the group was more than a rabble, for it followed certain thought out plans.<sup>70</sup> The jails were opened and the prisoners enlisted in

<sup>63</sup> Cedrenus, II, 537.

<sup>64</sup> Cedrenus, II, 537. "ἀνασκαφείη τὰ ὀστά τοῦ καλαφάτου."

<sup>65</sup> Attaliates, p. 14. "Ἐλαθε δὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὑπεκκλίνων εἰσβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πῦρ."

<sup>66</sup> Psellus, I, 102. "οἱ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ πρὸς μεγάλας τόλμας παρεσκευάζοντο." The *ἐργαστήρια* were the workshops of the craftsmen along the Mese. Stöckle, *op. cit.*, 71-72. Nicole, *op. cit.*, 24. "...ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τῆς Μέσης."

<sup>67</sup> Psellus, I, 102. "τὸ δὲ ἀγοραῖον γένος καὶ ἄφετον ἤδη πού καὶ παρεκκίνητο ὡς ἀντιτυραννήσον τῷ τυραννεύσαντι." Here the phrase ἀγοραῖον γένος really refers to the people of the *agora*, that is, to the craftsmen. This is made clear in other passages. Psellus relates that women left their seclusion to join the rebellion. "ἐγὼ γοῦν πολλὰς ἐωράκειν, ὅς οὐδεὶς ἄχρι τότε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἔξω τεθέαται, δημοσίᾳ τε προΐούσας καὶ βοώσας τε καὶ κοπτομένας καὶ δεινὸν ἀπολοφυρομένης ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τῆς βασιλίδος, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ Μαινάδων δίκην ἐφέροντο καὶ τάγμα οὐ τι μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀλιτήριον συνεστῆκεσαν."

<sup>68</sup> Psellus, I, 103. "τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατὰ μέρος καὶ ὥσπερ κατὰ σύστημα ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο, ἔπειτα ὅλη τῆς Πόλεως κατ' αὐτοῦ συνεστρατήγουν τῇ φάλαγγι." Constantine Manasses, 263.

"Θυμοῦ καχλάζει τῇ πυρᾷ, λίθους εὐθύς ἀρπάζει,  
ξύλα καὶ πᾶν τὸ προστυχόν, βώλους, κορύνας, ξίφη."

<sup>69</sup> Psellus, I, 103.

<sup>70</sup> Attaliates, 14-15. "καὶ τούτους ἄρδην καταβαλόντες καὶ φυγεῖν αἰσχυρῶς ἀναγκάσαντες οὐ διασκεδάσθησαν, οἷα τὰ τοῦ συμμιγοῦς πλήθους, καὶ χηρεύοντα ἀρχηγοῦ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄνωθεν στρατηγούμενοι γενναιοτέροις βουλευμάσι πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτερον ἀνελάμβανον ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ προσθήκην ἑκάστης ὥρας ἐκ τῶν συρρεόντων ἐλάμβανον." Psellus, I, 103. "...ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα κέκίνηται καὶ ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην συνειλεκται." Cecaumenus, *Strategicon*, ed. by B. Vasilievsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896) (hereafter, Cecaumenus), 99. "τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ἐκείνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν μετανοίᾳ καλῇ καὶ τοῦ ἀνεπίου αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐπανάστη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἔξω εὐρεθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ, πρόφασιν εὐρηκότες κατ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν δέσποιναν ἐξορίσαντος. καὶ ἐξηλίφθη κάκεινος καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ." Ibn-el-Athiri, *Chronicum quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. by C. Tornberg, IX (Leiden, 1863), 342, supplements the accounts of Attaliates and Psellus. Ibn al-Athir remarks that the leader of the outbreak was the Patriarch. This makes sense in the light of the other urban outbreaks which occurred during the eleventh century. For it was the patriarch who usually assumed the over-all direction of the revolutions. Ibn al-Athir remarks that the Emperor had had the Patriarch arrested and then ordered the Bulgarian and Russian guards to execute him. But the Patriarch succeeded in winning them over to his side and so obtained his release. According to the narrative of the Arab chronicler, the Patriarch then proceeded to the church (St. Sophia), summoned the citizenry, and urged them to remove Michael. See also Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique de 952 à 1136*, tr. by E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), 72-73.

the forces of the rebels. The property of Michael's family was then razed to the ground. At first Michael had not feared the uprising, considering it little more than a popular tumult. However, when the citizens' army (Psellus speaks of it as the *πολιτικὸν στράτευμα*)<sup>71</sup> appeared before the palace, Michael saw that the people were drawn up according to battalions and that the formation was of considerable size. It was then that he began to despair.<sup>72</sup>

After the appearance of the rebel army before the palace, Michael's position was somewhat strengthened by the arrival of his uncle, the *nobelissimus* Constantine, with his private troops. The newly arrived soldiers were placed in the heights of the palace, and they showered missiles and stones on the people's phalanx below. But after a temporary success in breaking up the military formation of the citizens, the latter once more returned to the attack.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile Zoe had been recalled from Principo by Michael, who hoped to quell the disturbance by presenting her to the crowd fully garbed in imperial raiment. However, the appearance of Zoe did not put an end to the citizens' attack on the palace, for a group of citizens proceeded to St. Sophia, where, after consultation with the Patriarch Alexius, it was decided that they would retrieve Zoe's sister, Theodora, from the monastery of Petron.<sup>74</sup> The *patricius* Constantine Cabasilas and a section of the people's army were dispatched to the monastery. At first Theodora refused to leave the sanctuary, but was eventually dragged out by members of the citizens' army. She was clothed in the imperial robes and escorted to St. Sophia where she was acclaimed empress.<sup>75</sup>

The battle between Michael's forces and the citizens was by now raging furiously. The rebels were divided into three sections. One was attacking the palace in the section of the *excubita*, a second was in the hippodrome, and a third in the *tzycanisterion*. Though the arrival of Catacalon Cecaumenus from Sicily had strengthened the forces of the Emperor, on the evening of the second day of the revolt, the citizens' army prevailed over the imperial forces by weight of sheer numbers, and succeeded in smashing the gates of the palace. On entering the *secreton*, they plundered the gold and other objects accumulated there and destroyed the public registers. Michael and his uncle hastily boarded a ship and sailed to the monastery of Studion for refuge, where they adopted the monastic habit. But the battle, which had lasted for roughly twenty-four hours,<sup>76</sup> had been a bloody one, and over 3,000 citizens had fallen.<sup>77</sup> As a result, when Zoe addressed the people and asked what was to become of

<sup>71</sup> Psellus, I, 108.

<sup>72</sup> Psellus, I, 104. "ἔπει δὲ ἤδη λαμπρὰ ἡ ἀποστασία ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος κατὰ λόχους συνήεσαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογος ἡ παρεμβολὴ ἐγεγονεί, τότε δὴ δεινῶς τε ἐστρέφετο τὴν ψυχὴν..."

<sup>73</sup> Psellus, I, 105.

<sup>74</sup> Attaliates, 16; Psellus, I, 108; Cedrenus, II, 537. Psellus specifically states that the crowd sought out Theodora only after Zoe had been displayed in the imperial raiment. Cedrenus implies the reverse. The reference to the fact that the rebels went to the Patriarch for instructions confirms that which Ibn al-Athir has to say about the role of the Patriarch in the rebellion.

<sup>75</sup> Psellus, I, 108–109; Attaliates, 16. Cedrenus, II, 537, says that both Zoe and Theodora were acclaimed.

<sup>76</sup> Cedrenus, II, 539.

<sup>77</sup> Cedrenus, II, 538–539. "καὶ γίνεται φόνος πολὺς τῶν πολιτῶν οἷα γυμνῶν καὶ ἀόπλων πρὸς ἐνόπλους ἀγωνιζομένων μετὰ ξύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ τῶν παρατυχόντων εἰδῶν. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀπώλοντο κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν... ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τὰς τρεῖς χιλιάδας."

the deposed Michael, their cry was for vengeance. Cedrenus, who preserved many of the curious details of the revolt, included here the answer of the crowd.

"Kill the abominable one, remove the sinner. Let him be impaled, crucified, blinded."<sup>78</sup>

Zoe hesitated to punish Michael, but Theodora ordered the new eparch, Campanares, to blind Michael and his uncle. The citizens accompanied Campanares to Studion where they removed the two unfortunate men from the sanctuary by violence and the bloody deed was performed at the Sigma.<sup>79</sup>

Clearly, Michael had realized the importance of obtaining the support of the guilds. But he overestimated the success of his policy of bribes, and underestimated the great strength of dynastic sentiment. He overplayed his hand, and the guilds, speaking for the populace—and in the very words traditionally spoken by the demes—condemned him. Δημοκρατία had the last word.

In the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus, the sources reveal that the Constantinopolitans continued to be active in the political affairs of the city, though there is no mention of any connection specifically with the guilds. Constantine had established an amorous liaison with the beautiful Scleraina prior to his accession to the throne. After his coronation Constantine kept Scleraina as his mistress, in spite of his marriage to Zoe, thereby inducing a fear on the part of the *demos* that the lives of Theodora and Zoe were endangered. It was this apprehension of the citizens which produced riots of such violence that the new Emperor was almost overthrown. Attacking Constantine and a considerable armed retinue which were on their way to religious services, the populace repudiated Scleraina and clamored for their "mothers," Zoe and Theodora. Had not the two women been summoned and presented to the populace, Constantine's reign would surely have come to an abrupt end during the course of the riot.<sup>80</sup>

In 1047 the revolt of Leo Tornices and his advance on Constantinople occurred so unexpectedly that there were not sufficient forces within the walls for the defense of the city; so the Emperor was forced to raise levies from the populace which were then posted upon the walls.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Cedrenus, II, 540. "αἶρε τὸν παλαμναῖον, ποίησον ἐκ μέσου τὸν ἀλιτῆριον. ἀνασκοποισθήτω, σταυρωθήτω, τυφλωθήτω."

<sup>79</sup> Cedrenus, II, 539–540. See Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III (Paris, 1905), 377, for a reproduction of the Scylitzes miniature which depicts the dragging of the victims across the *agora*.

<sup>80</sup> Cedrenus, II, 555–556. "μέλλων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς προσκύνησιν ἀπελθεῖν τῶν ἁγίων δημοσίᾳ προόδῳ κατεστασίασθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ἐξελθόντος γὰρ τούτου πελῆ μετὰ πολλῆς δορυφορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου καὶ εὐφημίας... ἐξαίφνης ἐξηχήθη φωνὴ ἀπὸ μέσου τοῦ πλήθους 'ἡμεῖς τὴν Σκλήραιναν βασιλίσσαν οὐ θέλομεν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτὴν αἱ μάνναι ἡμῶν αἱ πορφυρογέννητοι Ζωὴ τε καὶ Θεοδώρα θανοῦνται.' καὶ εὐθὺς συνεχύθη τὰ πάντα, καὶ ταραχὴ κατέσχε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἐζήτουν τὸν βασιλέα διαχειρίσασθαι. καὶ εἰ μὴ τάχιον αἱ βασιλίδες προκύψασαι ἄνωθεν κατεστόρεσαν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀπολώλεισαν ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς." Ibn al-Athir, IX, 352, implies that the Muslim and Christian foreigners in Constantinople had played some role in the rioting. As a result, Constantine banished from Constantinople all foreigners who had been residents there for less than thirty years. He gives an obviously exaggerated number for those banished, over 100,000!

<sup>81</sup> Cedrenus, II, 563–564. When Tornices arrived before the walls he made overtures to the citizen defenders of the walls to desert Constantine. It was on such occasions of emergency, remarks Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*-Bonn, I, 449, that the guildsmen were recruited for military service on the walls.

1057-1081

During the period 1057-1081 the populace of the capital figured in four major rebellions, three of which succeeded in dethroning monarchs. In fact, the turbulence of the people was such that the newly crowned sovereigns in most cases attempted to secure their good will by the bestowal of favors.

In 1057 the patriarch Cerularius was able to dethrone Michael VI by promoting a revolution of the Constantinopolitans. Michael had realized the danger which a hostile citizenry posed and consequently had attempted to secure its good will.<sup>82</sup> When the revolt did break out in the capital, the citizens all gathered at St. Sophia and acclaimed Isaac Comnenus emperor.<sup>83</sup> Amongst those present were the heads of all the guilds,<sup>84</sup> and Attaliates relates that groups of citizens and soldiers then transferred the seat of government to St. Sophia. After Isaac's coronation by the Patriarch, the new Emperor rewarded all his followers, amongst whom were, of course, the populace of the capital.<sup>85</sup>

When Constantin X Ducas succeeded to the throne in 1059 he made a determined effort to secure the favor of the people. At his acclamation were gathered all the guilds and the senate, and after addressing them, he rewarded many of the people and senators.<sup>86</sup> Zonaras reports that numerous senators and large numbers of the common people were raised to higher ranks.<sup>87</sup> In a unique passage, Psellus elucidates somewhat the vague statement of Zonaras.

"Not a single man out of that assembly was sent away without some reward. The government officials, their deputies, the minor workers, even the manual workers, all received something. In the case of the last named, he actually raised their social status. Until this time there had been a sharp distinction between the class of ordinary citizens and the Senate, but Constantine did away with it. Henceforth no discrimination was made between workers and Senators, and they were merged into one body."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Cedrenus, II, 634. "ὁ δὲ γέρων συνέσφιγγε εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίαν. . . ." Psellus, II, 103-104. "δέδοικα γὰρ τό τε δημοτικὸν πλῆθος. . . ἵν' οὖν μὴ κινήσω πράγματα ἐπ' ἐμέ. . ."

<sup>83</sup> Attaliates, 58. "καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν εὐφημεῖ."

<sup>84</sup> Cedrenus, II, 635. "οἱ τῶν ἑταιρειῶν πάντες ἄρχοντες, καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἀφανεστέρων." Zonaras, III, 664. Ἑταιρεία would seem to indicate the guilds. Ἑταιρεία is used as a designation for guild, along with σύστημα, σωματεῖον etc., in *Basilica*, VIII, 2, 101; XI, 1, 14. Ἑταιρεία is often used to designate the body of mercenary troops in the palace. But Attaliates, 58, says that the palace guard remained loyal. Thus, it is the guilds about which Cedrenus, II, 635, is talking. In addition, he uses the plural form of the word, not the singular.

<sup>85</sup> Attaliates, 60. "... φροντιστάς πολλοὺς τῶν δημοσίων ἀποδείξας συλλόγων, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν τῆς προσηκούσης τιμῆς ἀξιοῖ."

<sup>86</sup> Attaliates, 70-71. "... συνήθροισε τὰ σωματεῖα τῆς πόλεως, καὶ λόγους ἐπιεικεῖας γέμοντας ἐδημηγόρησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς. . . καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τιμηθέντες πολλοὶ τῶν τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς." Note the conjunction of σωματεῖα and τῶν τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Cedrenus, II, 651. "λόγους ἐπιεικεῖας γέμοντας ἐδημηγόρησε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικὸν τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ κοινόν. . . ἐτίμησε δὲ τῶν τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου πολλούς."

<sup>87</sup> Zonaras, III, 674. "πολλοὺς τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δημόδους πλῆθους εἰς μείζονας ἀξιομάτων βαθμοὺς προεβίβασε."

<sup>88</sup> Sewter, 258. Psellus, II, 145. "οὐδένα γοῦν τῶν πάντων ἀφῆκεν ἀγέραστον, οὐ τῶν ἐν τέλει, οὐ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνους εὐθύς, οὐ τῶν πόρρωθι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν βαναύσων οὐδένα. αἶρει γὰρ καὶ τούτοις τοὺς τῶν ἀξιομάτων βαθμούς, καὶ διηρημένους τέως τοῦ πολιτικοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ συγκλητικοῦ, αὐτὸς ἀφαίρει τὸ μεσότοιχον καὶ συνάπτει τὸ διεστῶς, καὶ τὴν διάστασιν μετατίθῃσιν εἰς συνέχειαν."

Attaliates specifically states that those honored were τῆς ἀγορᾶς,<sup>89</sup> and further confirms this statement of Psellus in a passage describing the donations which Nicephorus Botaniates distributed after his coronation: "The whole senate, numbering thousands of men, was...rewarded."<sup>90</sup> Thus, it is quite clear from the sources that Constantine changed the nature of the senate by a wholesale incorporation of the βάνανσοι, the guildsmen.<sup>91</sup>

A further confirmation of the fact that members of the guilds had entered the senate is the *chrysobull* issued by Alexius Comnenus entitled, "Guildsmen and merchants may not take the oath in their homes."<sup>92</sup> This decree was issued either in 1083, 1098, or 1113, and was pronounced in a dispute over certain merchandise between two merchants and a woman named Anna. When the former were asked to testify under oath, they demanded to take the oath in their homes rather than in a public court, claiming this prerogative on the grounds that they were both senators.<sup>93</sup> But Anna protested that they were merchants and did not have the right to take the oath privately.<sup>94</sup> The case was deadlocked over this issue and so the eparch referred it to the Emperor. Alexius decreed that guildsmen who also had senatorial rank were required to take the oath in public, just as those guildsmen who did not have senatorial rank were required to do. For as members of the corporations, they were under the jurisdiction of the eparch.<sup>95</sup> The contents of this *chrysobull* make it quite clear that members of the corporations had entered the senate as a distinct group.

The motives of Constantine X Ducas in opening the senate to this group most probably lay in the fact that he wished to find stronger support for his family as the new dynasty, and support also in the struggle against the military element. It is probable that members of the more powerful and respectable guilds received senatorial rank.

The rebellion which broke out on the feast day of St. George in 1059 was largely engineered by the leaders of the army and navy, but the inhabitants

<sup>89</sup> Attaliates, 71.

<sup>90</sup> Attaliates, 275. "πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος, ὑπὲρ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν παραμετρούμενη... ἤξιοῦντο τιμῶν."

<sup>91</sup> Here βάνανσοι and οἱ τῆς ἀγορᾶς refer to the members of the trades and corporations rather than to the rabble. This is made clear by Attaliates, 275-276. Here these new senators, the βάνανσοι of Psellus, are carefully distinguished from the "...ἀργοὶ καὶ πένητες τῆς βασιλευούσης, οἱ ταῖς ἐπισκέπτει τῶν λεωφόρων, αἵπερ ἐμβολοὶ λέγονται, περινοστοῦντες καὶ ἐμφωλεύοντες, καὶ παρασίτων τάξιν ἢ κολάκων..." Βάνανσος was most often used to designate the lower trades. Theodore Studites, *Patrologia Graeca*, XCIX (Paris, 1903), 273, "...τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν... ὅθεν ὑφάνται τε καὶ ῥαφεῖς, σκυτοτόμοι τε καὶ σκηνοποιοί, λεπτοουργοί τε καὶ οἰκοδόμοι, κανοποιοί τε καὶ μαλακοργοί..." See also P. Koukoules, *op. cit.*, II, 221ff., "ὅς ἐν τοῖς ἀγενέσιν ἔργοις..." Psellus, I, 132, indicates that Constantine IX had already attempted to gain the favor of the commoners by similar concessions. "ἀμέλει τοι τάξιν ἐχούσης τῆς τιμῆς ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ὅρου τινὸς ἐπικειμένου ἀμεταθέτου τῆς ἀναβάσεως, οὗτος ἐκείνην μὲν συγχέας, τοῦτον δὲ ἀφελών, μικροῦ δεῖν τὸν ἀγοραῖον καὶ ἀγύρτην δῆμον ζύμπαντα κοινωνοῦς τῆς γερουσίας πεποίηκε, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ τισιν ἢ πλείοσι χαρισάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ μιᾶς φωνῆς ἀπαντας εἰς τὰς ὑπερφάνους μετενεγκὼν ἀρχάς." The senate seems also to have been opened to people on the basis of intellectual accomplishment, Psellus, ed. by Sathas, IV, 430-431.

<sup>92</sup> *Novellae*, ed. by I. Zepos and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I (Athens, 1931) (hereafter, *Novellae*), 645. "περὶ τοῦ τοὺς συστηματικούς καὶ πραγματευτὰς μὴ οἶκοι ὀμνύειν."

<sup>93</sup> *Novellae*, 645. "καὶ οἱ μὲν οἶκοι ὁμωμοκέναι προετίθεντο, τὸ εἶναι συγκλητικοὶ προβαλλόμενοι."

<sup>94</sup> *Novellae*, 645. "ἡ δὲ γυνὴ δημοσίᾳ τὸν ὄρκον αὐτοῦς ὑποσχέιν, πραγματευτὰς εἶναι τοὺς διατεινόμενῃ."

<sup>95</sup> *Novellae*, 645. "τοὺς δὲ συστηματικούς καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι βουλομένους, μὴ τοῦ προνομίου τούτου ἀπολαύειν... δημοσίᾳ τούτους ὀμνύειν, καθάπερ τοὺς μηδενὸς τετυχηκότας ἀξιώματος."

of the capital were also involved.<sup>96</sup> The head of the conspiracy within the city was the eparch, responsible for the maintenance of order in the capital, and in direct and immediate control over the city's guilds. Before the Caesar John Ducas was able to restore order, the citizens had thrown the city into chaos.<sup>97</sup>

The next reference to the political activities of the populace of Constantinople occurs during the revolt of Nicephorus Botaniates in 1078. The circumstances were quite similar to those of Isaac's revolt, as once more the conspirators gathered at St. Sophia where Botaniates was proclaimed the new emperor. Attaliates reports that present in St. Sophia at that moment were the synod, the more prominent members of the senate, the clergy, the more prominent monks, and people from the *agora*, the tradesmen.<sup>98</sup> After the acclamations at St. Sophia the people and those prominent persons involved in the rebellion were drawn up into some kind of military formations.<sup>99</sup> Letters were sent by the Patriarch to all those in the government who were not yet a party to the conspiracy, urging them to join, and whoever refused to join the rebellion was threatened with the destruction of his home and property.<sup>100</sup> This was the same weapon Cerularius had used in the revolution of 1057 when he turned the citizens loose on the properties of all those who had opposed the acclamation of Isaac. The rebel army of citizens then besieged and took the great palace. Michael VII had previously summoned Alexius Comnenus and asked his advice as to what should be done. Alexius replied that it would be possible to smash the rebellion, for most of the crowd which had gathered was βάνουσον and therefore inexperienced in warfare. That is, they were of the market place.<sup>101</sup> Michael disregarded the advice of Alexius, and at the end he was taken captive and the citizens took possession of the palace.

Botaniates had been able to enter the capital only because of the revolt which had opened the gates to him. At the same time the revolt of Bryennius in the western provinces posed a serious threat to Botaniates; so he was forced not only to reward those who had opened the city to him, but also to ensure their future loyalty in the face of his rival, Bryennius. This he did by a very liberal bestowal of titles and money. All taxes owed to the treasury

<sup>96</sup> Psellus, II, 148. "μέτοχοι δὲ τοῦ σκέμματος οὐ τῶν ἀγενῶν μόνον καὶ ἀνώνυμοι." Attaliates, 74, speaks of the ἀφανέστεροι in the rebellion.

<sup>97</sup> Attaliates, 73. "καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας συνεκροτεῖτο καὶ συνηθροίζετο, καὶ ταραχῆς ὑπῆρχον τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάμυστα..."

<sup>98</sup> Attaliates, 270. "κάκεισε μετὰ τῆς συνόδου συγκροτοῦσιν οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου λογάδες... πᾶς ὁ κληρὸς... καὶ ὅσοι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν Ναζιραίων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι." Zonaras, III, 719. "...τὸ τε ταύτης δημοτικὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐν ἀρχουσιν... καὶ τῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ... τὸ ἔκκριτον." Bryennius, 123. "...τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπόλεμον τέ ἐστι καὶ βάνουσον."

<sup>99</sup> Attaliates, 270. "καὶ τῆνικαῦτα κατὰ φατρίας διαιρεθέντες οἱ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπώνυμοι καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φυλῆς... συνταγματάρχαις τε αὐτόμολοι ἐχρήσαντο." Zonaras, III, 719. "διαίρεθέντες οὖν κατὰ φατρίας τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξοχοὶ καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγας συνασπίσαντες..."

<sup>100</sup> Bryennius, 122. "καὶ ἐμπιπρᾶν τὰς οἰκίας ἠπείλουν εἰ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγένοιτο καὶ τοῦ σκέμματος κοινωήσαιεν."

<sup>101</sup> Bryennius, p. 124. ἔφησε γὰρ ὡς τοῦ συναθροισθέντος πλῆθους τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπόλεμον τέ ἐστι καὶ βάνουσον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίεν καθωπλισμένους ἀνδρας ἰδόντες καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἐτοιμούς." Here the word admits of the more general meaning, i.e., the crowd. In any case, the passage refers to the political activities of the citizens.



before his accession were cancelled, and all the senate, now including a vast host of artisans (Attaliates says thousands), was rewarded.<sup>102</sup> The chronicle, in meter, of Constantine Manasses, describes this scene in very interesting detail:

“He (Botaniates) cloaked in garments gleaming with gold,  
and in purple raiment of golden brocade studded with pearls  
which gave forth a purple and golden brilliance

.....

sat high on a silver-studded throne  
bestowing ranks on all those who came forward:  
Blacksmiths, woodcutters, diggers, merchants, farmers,<sup>103</sup>  
cobblers, rope-makers, fullers, vineyard workers.  
He debased the things of honor and defiled things of illustrious nature,  
by sending down such glory to the craftsmen (βαναύσους),  
which rewards former emperors had bestowed  
to those achieving great deeds of glory  
and to those who were of illustrious lineage and blood.”<sup>104</sup>

Finally, during the revolution of Alexius Comnenus, Botaniates had been forced to supplant the garrison of the walls with levies of citizens. Zonaras states that the Emperor recruited them from the people of the market place and from the city mob.<sup>105</sup>

The events described in the preceeding paragraphs show that the inhabitants of Constantinople exercised considerable influence on the course of the internal history of the period. They were a force to be considered by both the bureaucrats and the generals. Further, the terminology employed in the sources to describe these activities indicates that the guilds were the leaders in the political activities of the Constantinopolitans.

Attaliates speaks of the δημοσίων συλλόγων, and of the σωματεία τῆς πόλεως<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Bryennius, 128; Zonaras, III, 719; Attaliates, 275.

<sup>103</sup> Γαιομάχος in D. Demettraku, Μέγα Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης, II, 1537, is defined as “ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς μαχόμενος.” But the Latin translation of the Bonn text, *agricola*, seems closer to the meaning intended here.

<sup>104</sup> Constantine Manasses, 285.

“αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπιπορπούμενος χρυσοεστίλβους πέπλους  
καὶ βύσσινα χρυσοῦφῃ μαργαροφόρα φάρη,  
καὶ βάμματι πορφυρανθεῖ λάμποντα καὶ χρυσίῳ,  
.....  
ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν ἐκάθητο θρόνων ἀργυροήλων,  
κοσμῶν τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πάντας, τοὺς προσιόντας,  
χαλκεῖς, δρυτόμους, σκαφευτάς, ἐμπόρους, γαιομάχους,  
κρηπιδοπώλας, σχοινοουργούς, κναφεῖς, ἀμπελεργάτας,  
καὶ χυδαίων τὰ τίμια, καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ῥυπαίνων,  
καὶ τηλικαύτην εὐκλειαν κατὰγων εἰς βαναύσους,  
ἦν ἐπαθλον ἐδίδουσιν οἱ κράτορες οἱ πρῶν  
ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ χειρῶν κατορθουσῶν μεγάλα,  
καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐξ αἵματος καὶ γένους λαμπροσπόρου.”

<sup>105</sup> Zonaras, III, 728. “σύγκλυδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πολέμων οἱ πλείονες ἄδαις ἢ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀγοραίων ἀθροισθέντες καὶ πληθὺς δημότιδος.” Ἀγοραίων again almost certainly refers to the craftsmen of the market place, as has been shown above in footnote 81. Notice that Zonaras seems to differentiate between ἀγοραίων and πληθὺς δημότιδος.

<sup>106</sup> Attaliates, 60, 70; Cedrenus, II, 641.

Cedrenus speaks of the *ἐταιρειῶν*.<sup>107</sup> And finally, Psellus and Bryennius mention the *βαναύσων*.<sup>108</sup>

*Σύλλογος*,<sup>109</sup> *ἐταιρεία*,<sup>110</sup> *σωματεῖον*,<sup>111</sup> *σύστημα*,<sup>112</sup> the terms used in the texts, all refer to the guilds. This is clear from their use in the legal literature of the tenth and eleventh centuries, i.e., in the *Basilica*, the laws of Leo VI, the *Book of the Prefect*, and the *Peira*. *Βάναυσος*<sup>113</sup> refers to the members of the lower guilds. As mentioned above, *βάνανσος* admits of two meanings. It specifically refers to artisans and craftsmen, but is also used in a less specific sense to denote a rabble. However, in our texts it generally implies the former, i.e., artisans and craftsmen. This is usually evident from the general context of the passages quoted.<sup>114</sup> Most illustrative in this respect is the text of Constantine Manasses quoted above (p. 312) where he employs the term *βαναύσους* and spells out the exact meaning by saying that the term includes, amongst others, blacksmiths, woodcutters, diggers, merchants, cobblers, rope-makers, fullers, etc.<sup>115</sup>

Thus, the heads of the guilds played an important role in the rebellion which overthrew Michael VI.<sup>116</sup> After Isaac Comnenus was crowned he rewarded the populace and took a certain interest in the guilds. When Constantine Ducas was crowned, he summoned the guilds of the city and addressed them. After the address many members of the guilds were made senators. The guilds again played an important role in the revolt that overthrew Michael VII Ducas. In the defense of the walls against the forces of Alexius Comnenus, Nicephorus Botaniates had to employ artisans. This review or summarization of the evi-

<sup>107</sup> Cedrenus, II, 635; Zonaras, III, 664.

<sup>108</sup> Psellus, II, 145; Bryennius, 123.

<sup>109</sup> Nicole, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

<sup>110</sup> *Basilica*, VIII, 2, 101, equates *ἐταιρεία* with *σύστημα* and *σωματεῖον*. *Basilica*, XI, 1, 14, equates *ἐταιρεία* with *σύστημα* and *κολλέγιον*. This word is missed by Stöckle, *op. cit.* Bury, *Selected Essays* (Cambridge, 1930), 207-208, makes the following remark on Cedrenus, II, 635, and Zonaras, III, 664: "... party organizations or clubs, *hetaireiai*. These clubs which Zonaras has fortunately mentioned, had politically somewhat the same significance in the eleventh century as the *demoi* or factions of the hippodrome in the sixth; though doubtlessly they were much smaller and possessed far less influence than the blues and greens." Bury seized upon the political significance of the *hetaireiai* but failed to identify them properly.

<sup>111</sup> *Basilica*, VIII, 2, 101. "οὐ πᾶσιν ἐφεῖται ποιεῖν ἐταιρείας ἢ συστήματα, ἢ σωματεῖα." *Basilica*, VI, 4, 13. "πάντα τὰ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σωματεῖα. . . τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως ὑποκείμεθωσαν." See also *Basilica*, LX, 32, 2. *Peira*, LI, 7, distinguishes between *σωματεῖον* and *σύστημα*. "ὅτι σωματεῖον καὶ σύστημα διαφέρει. σωματεῖον μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πᾶσα τέχνη, ἥτις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχει τὴν ἐργασίαν, οἷον σκυτοτομικὴ ἢ βαπτική. σύστημα δὲ ἢ μὴ ἔχουσα διὰ χειρῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν, οἷον οἱ πρاندιοπράται καὶ οἱ μεταξοπράται καὶ οἱ λοιποί, οἵτινες αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐργάζονται."

<sup>112</sup> This is the term used most frequently in the *Book of the Prefect* to signify guild. Nicole, *op. cit.*, IV, 5; VI, 6, 10, 12, 13; VII, 3, 6; VIII, 13; IX, 6; XII, 2, 6; XIII, 4; XIX, 4. *Basilica*, VIII, 2, 101; XI, 1, 14; LIV, 6, 16; VI, 4, 13; VII, 8, 10. *De Caerimoniis*-Vogt, I, 13, 498.

<sup>113</sup> Psellus, I, 148. "... τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐργαστηρίων, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ βάνανσοι τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐμπύριοι τὴν ξυντέλειαν ἔχουσι." A great number of these ἐργαστήρια were located on the Mese. Psellus, I, 96, speaks of the βαναύσων τεχνῶν.

<sup>114</sup> Psellus, I, 96, 148. According to the distinction made between the *σωματεῖον* and *σύστημα* in the *Peira*, the βάνανσοι would have belonged to the *σωματεῖα*. However, it is highly doubtful whether such a distinction is observed in the terminology of our chroniclers.

<sup>115</sup> See *supra*, note 104.

<sup>116</sup> The heads of the guilds are designated variously; προστάται, προστατεύοντες, προεστώτες, πρωτοστάται, πριμικήριοι, ἑξαρχοι, Stöckle, *op. cit.*, 78. Attaliates, 12, seems to refer to them as οἱ τῆς ἀγορᾶς προεξάρχοντες, and Cedrenus, II, 641, is possibly referring to them when he speaks of φροντισταί; Attaliates, 60. These ἑξαρχοι had considerable jurisdiction within the guild.

dence shows beyond a doubt that the citizens were active politically during the eleventh century, and that their activity was centered in the guilds.

Meager though the evidence of this period is, one can formulate a hypothesis. The guilds of eleventh-century Constantinople exercised some of the political functions of the old demes and circus factions. By political functions is meant that they were a vehicle of political expression of the people. At the same time their repeated use for garrison duty along the great walls of the city is reminiscent of some of the duties of the demes. A text from the eleventh-century provincial general Catacalon Cecaumenus furnishes what would seem to be a striking confirmation of the hypothesis that the Constantinopolitan guilds of the eleventh century were engaged in political as well as in economic endeavor. Cecaumenus exhorts his son: "Beware that you have extreme exactness in the affairs of the city, so that nothing may escape your knowledge; but have spies on every side and everywhere in all the guilds, so that whenever something is plotted, you shall learn of it."<sup>117</sup> With the suppression of the political life of the demes in the seventh and eighth centuries, the political life of the Constantinopolitans possibly became connected with the corporations. The sources of the ninth and tenth centuries indicate that these bodies played a significant role in the general life of the capital, though they do not say very much as to their political role. But if these sources are reticent in this respect, the sources of the eleventh century leave no doubt whatsoever. The appearance of the guilds as such important elements in the internal history of eleventh-century Byzantium is to be explained not only by their economic strength and organization, but also by the tense division between, and opposition of, the civil and military factions. The guilds (along with the church) were, therefore, often the decisive force in this struggle.

The emergence of the guilds as political factors in the life of the capital is doubly significant. First, as mentioned above, on the local scene it accounts, in part, for the successors to the demes. Second, in terms of mediaeval society generally, it shows that just as a certain relationship existed between urban political violence and the guilds at various times in the Islamic East and the Latin West, so also such a relationship existed in eleventh-century Byzantium. And even though this similarity may not have been due completely to common institutional ancestry and development, nevertheless it indicates a certain basic affinity among the three mediaeval societies.

<sup>117</sup> Cecaumenus, 5. "πρόσεχε οὖν καὶ ἔχε ἀκρίβειαν εἰς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἵνα μηδὲν σε λανθάνῃ, ἀλλ' ἔχε κατασκόπους πάντῃ καὶ πανταχοῦ εἰς πάντα τὰ σύστηματα, ἵν' ὁπόταν μελετηθῇ τι, μάθῃς τοῦτο." In the German translation of Cecaumenus by H. G. Beck, *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten*, in *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, V, 26, συστήματα has been translated as Zünfte.

# DUMBARTON OAKS

---

The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries

Author(s): Charles M. Brand

Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 43 (1989), pp. 1-25

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291603>

Accessed: 08/06/2013 00:40

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries

CHARLES M. BRAND

Πύργον γάρ σε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀκράδαντον λογιζόμενος. . . .

Michael Italikos, Letter to John Axouchos

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Byzantine Empire retained its power to attract and incorporate individuals of other nationalities, including Armenians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Westerners. Membership in the aristocracy, that is, those granted court titles and connected with the ruling dynasty by blood or marriage, was open to native-born and foreigner alike. For prudential reasons, rulers frequently sought to introduce outsiders into this elite.

Modern scholars, often writing from the perspective of the nationality in question, have investigated the foreigners who entered Byzantium, especially those who joined the aristocracy. One group, however, has been noted only in passing: the Turks. The barriers which hindered Turkish integration into Byzantium were formidable: Greeks and Turks have very different languages; Islam was not an acceptable religion for a Byzantine; the style of life of the Turkish raider contrasted markedly with that of the Byzantine subject; Turks would seem to have been mortal enemies of the Byzantines. This Greco-Turkish hostility was probably the least important of these hindrances in an eleventh-twelfth century context, when no enmity was viewed as permanent. Malikshah, son of the Turkish victor at Mantzikert, negotiated with Michael VII and twice suggested a marriage alliance to Alexius I.<sup>1</sup> Kilidj Arslan II

made peace with Manuel and paid a state visit to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> But the barriers of language, religion, and manner of life were serious ones. That a significant number of Turks made the transition proves that Byzantium had not exhausted its power to attract and absorb.

This study concentrates on those Turks who came from the East through Anatolia to enter imperial service. Byzantine authors had long applied the name “Tourkoi” to a variety of Asian peoples, including the Magyars and Khazars;<sup>3</sup> to include members of every such group would enlarge this

---

historical work. The spelling of personal names has occasioned difficulties; I have generally retained Byzantine spelling for Turks who entered Byzantine service, while giving Turkish equivalents at their first appearance. In spelling Turkish names, a compromise between *EP*<sup>2</sup> and Setton’s *History of the Crusades* has been attempted. The word “Perses” has normally been rendered as “Turk.”

I thank Bryn Mawr College for a sabbatical, part of which was used to write this paper. In the final stages of preparation, I benefited from the library of Dumbarton Oaks; I am grateful for a Fellowship there in the spring of 1988. Thanks go to Prof. Stephen Salisbury for editorial assistance, and very special thanks to my wife for copy-reading the manuscript. I am also grateful to the secretaries at Bryn Mawr College, Lorraine Kirschner, Deanne Bell, and Bunnie King, who typed a most difficult manuscript. Other debts will be acknowledged in appropriate places.

<sup>2</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), 118–21 (all citations are to vol. I); John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio [sic] Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, Bonn ed. (1836), 204–8.

<sup>3</sup>G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1958) (hereafter *BT*), II, 320–27, reviews the principal usages. The so-called Vardariote Turks were probably Hungarian: see Nicolas Oikonomides, “Vardariotes—W.l.nd.r—V.n.nd.r: Hongrois installés dans la vallée du Vardar en 934,” in his *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VIIe–XVe s.)* (London, 1976), Part XXII, with a review of the previous bibliography.

<sup>1</sup>On Michael VII, see P. Gautier, “Lettre au sultan Malik-Shah, rédigée par Michel Psellos,” *REB* 35 (1977), 73–97, with anterior bibliography. On Alexius I, see Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937–45), II, 65, 75–76.

It may seem rash for a non-Turkophone to attempt a study of Turks, but there are no Turkish sources for this period. I am indebted to Aslı Özyar for assistance with a modern Turkish

paper's scope to an unmanageable degree. While the numerous anonymous Turks who immigrated or were brought captive into the Byzantine Empire will be briefly mentioned, the purpose of this study is to examine the integration of Turks into the Byzantine ruling class, from the mid-eleventh century, when Turks first made serious inroads into Byzantine Anatolia, until the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

The paper commences with biographical sketches of the careers of known Turks, considers briefly some questionable cases, and glances at some Turkish leaders who temporarily sought refuge in Byzantium. Using this body of factual information, I will investigate the reasons why Turks entered Byzantine service, the questions of conversion, mechanisms of assimilation, and problems which confronted Turks who joined the Byzantine upper class. In a few cases one can follow a Turk's descendants for several generations and examine the extent of their integration into Byzantium. The attitudes of other Byzantines about the Turkish incomers will also prove of interest: anti-Latin feeling is well known in twelfth-century Byzantium, but anti-Turkish sentiments have only begun to arouse notice.

As early as the tenth century companies of Turks entered Byzantine service; Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Turks from Fergana in the palace guard.<sup>4</sup> But only after the advent of Seljuk raiders on the eastern frontier did Turkish individuals and bands begin to appear regularly in Byzantine service.<sup>5</sup>

The first of this group was called Amertikes by Attaleiates; Cahen suggests "Amir . . ." or "Khumartekin" as his original name, but identifies him as Harun, son of a Turkish khan, and alludes to him as Ibn Khan. Attaleiates says he boasted royal descent. He first appeared in Byzantium, apparently as a refugee, in the reign of Michael VI (1056–57), and was received with high honor.

<sup>4</sup>Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, ed. J. Reiske, Bonn ed., I (1829), 576; II (1830), 674–75. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudes dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Nancy, 1913), 15 note 1.

<sup>5</sup>For general surveys of the Turks and Byzantium in the 11th–12th centuries, see J. Laurent's work cited above; K. Amantos, *Σχέσεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ Τούρκων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνδεκατοῦ αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ 1821*, I (Athens, 1955), 19–45; S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 69–286 (hereafter Vryonis, *Asia Minor*).

Seemingly, he served Isaac I, but then attempted to assassinate Constantine X. Therefore, he was exiled, only to be recalled by Constantine and sent against the Turks in the Diyarbakr region. Because ca. 1063/4, the pay of his troops was suppressed, he transferred his allegiance to the ruler of Aleppo. In the reign of Eudokia (1067) he joined the Turks who had pillaged the eastern themes; in the following year he fought Romanus IV in the region of Membij.<sup>6</sup>

In 1070 Manuel Comnenus, eldest brother of the future emperor Alexius I, was captured by a Turkish leader whom the Byzantines called Chrysoskoulos, apparently Arisighi or Erisgen, brother-in-law of Sultan Alp Arslan. Chrysoskoulos, who was at odds with the sultan, anticipated the arrival of a Turkish army too strong for him to oppose. With little difficulty, Manuel Comnenus persuaded him to change sides, and had the pleasure of returning to Romanus IV leading his former captor as a voluntary adherent to Byzantium. Accorded splendid gifts, Chrysoskoulos received the title of proedros. In 1071 he accompanied the emperor's expedition to Mantzikert, but his activities in this disastrous campaign are unknown. He remained in Byzantine service, however, for in 1078 he acted as intermediary between Nicephorus Botaneiates, then seeking to usurp the throne, and Sulayman ibn Kutlumush, leader of the Turks in Bithynia.<sup>7</sup>

During the reign of Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078–81), a Byzantine general captured a young Turkish raider of undistinguished birth whom the Byzantines called Tzachas (from Turkish Çaka, Chaka, or Çaqan). His exploits must have been well known, for, when he was brought to Constantinople, the emperor offered him the title of pro-

<sup>6</sup>Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn ed. (1853), 94–95, 108–9; Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζη (*Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus*), ed. E. Tsolakes (Thessalonike, 1968) (hereafter *Skylitzes Cont.*), 120, follows Attaleiates closely; C. Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure (seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> s.)," in his *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974), Part I, 26 and note 2, who utilizes unpublished Arabic chronicles to identify and date Amertikes' career; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (from a still-unpublished French text) (New York, 1968), 27–28 (where he calls him Ibn Khan); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 66, has no suggestion about the origin of the Greek name.

<sup>7</sup>Nicephorus Bryennios, *Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, CFHB 9 (Brussels, 1975), 101–3, 239–41; *Skylitzes Cont.*, 141–42, who notes the youth, short stature, and dark, ill-favored appearance of Chrysoskoulos; J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), I, 178; Cahen, "Première pénétration," 27–28 (esp. 27 note 3), 43.

tonobellisimos and rich gifts. In return, Tzachas pledged his loyalty to the emperor. He apparently passed some time at court, for later he was able to call Constantine Dalassenos by name and felt no hesitation in proposing a marriage alliance between their families. But, Tzachas declared, when Alexius I came to the throne (1081), he lost everything. He then struck out on his own, using Smyrna as a base and gaining support from Christian shipwrights who constructed a fleet for him. His career as a pirate-emir, acting in cooperation with the Petchenegs, need not concern us. Ca. 1091 he claimed the title of emperor, used the imperial symbols, and planned to occupy the throne in Constantinople. A year or more later, Alexius convinced Kilidj Arslan I of Nikaia that Tzachas was really aspiring to the sultanate. Under pretense of friendship, Kilidj Arslan inveigled Tzachas into his camp at Abydos and killed him.<sup>8</sup>

The first Turk to achieve a position of high command in Byzantine service was Tatikios. His father had been a "Saracen" taken by John Comnenus,

<sup>8</sup>The details of Tzachas' career discussed in the text are found in Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 114, 157–58, 165–66; other aspects of his career can be followed through Anna's *Alexiad*: see vol. IV (Index, by P. Gautier, Paris, 1976), 128. The question of when Kilidj Arslan wedded the daughter of Tzachas (*Alexiad*, III, 13) cannot be solved. Anna Comnena, II, 165, speaks of the sultan as already son-in-law of Tzachas at the time of the coup at Abydos, but she may have been writing anachronistically. Anna is explicit that Tzachas was slain at Abydos; the "Tzachas" whom John Doukas rather easily expelled from Smyrna in 1097 (*Alexiad*, III, 23–25) was probably a son—Byzantine and western authors easily confused Muslim names and patronymics: S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I (Cambridge, 1951), 77 note 1. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, Bonn ed., III, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (1897), 736–37, stresses Tzachas' undistinguished origin. There is a brief mention of him as Tzakatzas in Michael Glykas, *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn ed. (1836), 620.

On Tzachas, see A. N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey: İzmir ve civarındaki adaların ilk Türk Beyi, M.S. 1081–1096* (Ankara, 1966), 34–35, 39, 51 (I am grateful to Aslı Özyar, a graduate student in Bryn Mawr's Archaeology Department, who read this work and discussed it with me); Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 211; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), 184–86; I. Mélikoff, Introduction to *La geste de Melik Dānismend* (Paris, 1960), I, 85–88, 122. The most recent work is A. G. K. Savvides, 'Ο Σελτζούκος ἐμίρης τῆς Σμύρνης Τζαχᾶς (Çaka) καὶ οἱ ἐπιδρομὲς τοῦ στὰ Μικρασιατικὰ παραλία, τὰ Νησιά τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ Αἰγαίου καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη (c. 1081–c. 1106), *Χρονικά* 14 (1982), 9–24; 16 (1984), 51–66 (the second portion of this article is not available to me). Savvides, 14:13, proposes a drastic reorganization of Tzachas' career, based on the thesis that Anna Comnena totally misdated and misorganized her material; his proof seems to be the references to a "Tzachas" in the *Dānismendname* (see the edition by Mélikoff, above). This work, however, is of late composition and legendary content. To abandon the data offered by a contemporary historian in favor of the material in the *Dānismendname* appears unjustified.

father of Alexius I. By "Saracen" Anna Comnena probably means a Turk, since the Turks were the principal Muslim foes of the empire in the 1050s and the most likely to be captured. Tatikios must have been born around 1057 and perhaps was seized as a child, because Crusader sources say his nose had been cut off. He was the same age as Alexius I and was nurtured alongside him. Growing up with Alexius, he became one of his most trusted generals and a member of his personal entourage. Tatikios first appears as a scout during Alexius' campaign against Basilakes, ca. 1078. After Alexius' coronation, he became grand primikerios; while there had been primikerioi of the court, Alexius seems to have invented this title for Tatikios. During the first campaign against the Normans (1081), Tatikios commanded the "Turks living around Ochrida," presumably descendants of the "Turks of the Vardar," who seem to have been Hungarians. From 1086 to 1095, he appears repeatedly, fighting the Petchenegs and the Turks who held Nikaia. Usually he was successful, and Anna Comnena praises his skill and foresight. Late in 1094, he participated in the Synod of Blachernai, with the title "Protoproedros and Grand Primikerios of the Inner Vestiarites." In the same year, he was responsible for frustrating the conspiracy of Nicephorus Diogenes, one of the most dangerous Alexius faced. As a guard outside the emperor's bathhouse, and later outside Alexius' tent, he prevented Diogenes from reaching the emperor. In 1097, after participating in the siege of Nikaia by the Byzantines and Crusaders, he was sent to accompany the First Crusade across Anatolia. He commanded a Byzantine force, acted as guide, and as Alexius' representative received places recovered from the Turks. At the siege of Antioch, in January or February 1198, according to Anna Comnena, Tatikios was deceived by Bohemund into leaving the army; she acknowledges he was also in despair over the famine and the grim outlook. Crusader sources blame his cowardice, but J. France argues that Tatikios had quarreled with both Bohemund and Raymond of St. Gilles, so that his position in the army became untenable. He departed on the pretext of finding food for the starving army, and may actually have arranged food shipments. His explanation apparently satisfied Alexius, for in 1099 the emperor appointed him to a naval command against a Pisan fleet. Thereafter, he disappears from history. A nephew, Constantine, served as tax-surveyor with the title

kouropalates and asekretes sometime before 1104. Tatikios apparently left descendants; a grandson seemingly married a Comnena, and the offspring of that union apparently included the Constantine Tatikios who plotted against Isaac II at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup>

Ca. 1086, after Alexius' defeat of the Normans, the Seljuk sultan of Persia, Malikshah, dispatched an ambassador to seek a treaty with Byzantium. The envoy, whom Anna calls Siaous (i.e., čauš or messenger), asked for a marriage alliance and offered the return of cities occupied by the Turks. "Siaous" possessed a letter from the sultan directing Turkish commanders to surrender their cities. It was to be used if Alexius accepted the marriage alliance. Alexius, anxious to utilize the letter, and impressed with "Siaous'" abilities, discovered that he had been born of a Turkish father and a Georgian mother. The emperor persuaded him to change sides. "Siaous" used his letter to induce the Turkish commander in Sinope to yield that city and others, then returned to Constantinople. He was baptized and presented with gifts, then ap-

pointed doux of Anchialos, far from the Turkish-Byzantine frontier.<sup>10</sup>

In 1092–93, during a period of confusion among the Turks of Bithynia, the region of Kyzikos and Apollonia, west of Brusa, fell into the hands of an Elchanes or Il-Khan. Anna Comnena has again taken a Turkish title for a name. Pressed by Constantine Opos, Elchanes surrendered, became Christian, gained numerous gifts, and took service under the emperor. Elchanes was accompanied by members of his family, and shortly thereafter, when his followers Skaliarios and another, whose name Anna Comnena left blank as she wrote, learned of the rich rewards Elchanes had obtained, they too entered Byzantine service. The unnamed individual received the rank of hyperperilampros. Skaliarios and apparently Elchanes participated in the war with the Cumans in 1094–95. At that time, they were under the command of Tatikios. In 1108, in the struggle with Bohemund, Anna Comnena records the death of "Skaliarios, a Turk who was formerly of the most distinguished leaders in the East, who went over to the emperor and received holy baptism."<sup>11</sup>

In 1097, during the siege of Nikaia, the crusaders captured a Turkish lad named Axouch, whom they presented to Alexius. Since he was ten, the same age as John, the heir to the throne, Alexius made Axouch or John Axouchos his son's companion. The two youths grew up as the closest of friends, and John Axouchos remained throughout his life devoted to the Comneni. When John acceded to the throne in 1118, Axouchos became grand domestikos or commander of the eastern and western armies. So great was his power that even the emperor's relatives, meeting him, would dismount from their horses to do him reverence. His abilities in warfare were equaled by his liberality and benevolence. At the outset of John II's reign, when Anna Comnena's property was confiscated, after her conspiracy in behalf of her husband, Nicephorus Bryennios, it was awarded to

<sup>9</sup> Tatikios is first mentioned in Bryennios, *Hist.*, 287–89; Anna Comnena is especially full on his life: *Alexiad.*, I, 151; II, 67–72, 83–86, 97, 109, 171, 182, 193; III, 12–13, 17–18, 20–21, 40–45. For his title in 1094, see P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094): Etude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971), 218. The principal Crusader narratives about him are the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, ed. R. Hill [and R. Mynors] (London, 1962), 34–35; Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades* (hereafter DHC) 9 (Paris, 1969), 54–56; Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, DHC 12 (Paris, 1977), 69–70. Sources based largely on these accounts are Baudry of Dol, *Historia*, RHC HOcc, IV (Paris, 1879), 44–45; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC HOcc, IV, 175–76; Albert of Aix, *Historia*, RHC HOcc, IV, 315; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, RHC HOcc, I (Paris, 1844), 107–8, 186–87, 252; see the new ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, under the title *Willelmi tyrensis archiepiscopi Chronicon/Guillaume de Tyr Chronique*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis, 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986), I, 193, 262–63, 321. On Tatikios' nephew, see P. Lemerle, ed., *Actes de Lavra*, Archives de l'Athos 5, I (Paris, 1970), 292.23–24, 28; the text merely says "nephew of the grand primikerios," but no other bearer of the title is known at that era: R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin, 1967), I, 307, 312–15. Dumbarton Oaks possesses two lead seals (nos. 58.106.2183 and 58.106.4145) of a Constantine "Tatekios" or "Tatekes," proto-nobellissimos, both dated 11/12th centuries; I am grateful to John Nesbitt, who confirmed the reading of these seals. On Tatikios' descendants, see Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 423, and the proposed genealogy in K. Barzos, 'Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν (hereafter Barzos, Γεν.) (Thessalonike, 1984), II, 254 note 38. The major article about Tatikios is J. France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusader Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), 137–47, but there are sketches of his career in Guiland (see above), Gautier, "Synode des Blachernes," 252–54, and B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), 287–92.

<sup>10</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.*, II, 65–66; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 274; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 280–81.

<sup>11</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.*, II, 79–81, 193; III, 105 (whence the quotation). I have tentatively accepted the reading of II, 193.28 proposed by G. Buckler and H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 4 (1927/28), 692. The Elchanes mentioned in *Alexiad.*, II, 211.2, as serving Kilidj Arslan I against Peter the Hermit was probably another person, since the title is not uncommon. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 281, has a brief biography of Skaliarios. On Elchanes, see Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 124, and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 81. Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 277, has no explanation for the name "Skaliarios."



Axouchos. The wise Turk successfully petitioned the emperor to return her wealth to Anna. Thereby he not only strengthened his reputation but avoided alienating an important branch of the Comneni.<sup>12</sup>

Since the reign of John II is only briefly dealt with by the historians Kinnamos and Nicetas Choniates, and dimly illuminated by contemporary poets and orators, we have few details of John Axouchos' activities in this period. In 1119 he participated in an attack on Laodikeia on the Lykos. An oration shows that Axouchos was wounded in the leg or foot in 1122, in battle with the Petchenegs; John II was deeply grieved thereby. Axouchos also participated in the campaign against Cilicia, Antioch, and northern Syria in 1137–38, and was again wounded. During his absence, Michael Italikos, a rhetorician and teacher in Constantinople, wrote Axouchos first to request his support against those who were slandering Italikos, and again to thank him for his effectual intercession with the emperor.<sup>13</sup>

Axouchos accompanied John II on his final campaign into Cilicia, and was at his side at the time of John's death, April 1143. He was evidently consulted by John about the succession; after the designation of Manuel, Axouchos organized the army to pledge allegiance to the new emperor. Immediately after John's death, Manuel placed his future in the hands of John Axouchos and Chartoularios Basil Tzintziloukes. They were sent to Constantinople to secure the imperial palace and prevent opposition from forming. John, who was clearly the leader of this mission, was eminently successful: the envoys outstripped the news of John's death, and seized Manuel's principal potential opponents, his brother Isaac and his brother-in-law

John Rogerios. Axouchos also had available chrysobulls of increasing generosity to use to win the support of the clergy of Haghia Sophia, but only needed the least costly one. In short, he very efficiently carried out his mission.<sup>14</sup>

The grand domestikos continued to be extremely active in the early years of Manuel's reign. He participated in the attack on Ikonion in 1146, and during the retreat, while the Byzantine army was hard pressed by Turkish forces, he tried to restrain Manuel's personal rashness. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe Axouchos was involved in checking the armies of the Second Crusade, ca. 1147. In the following year, he was appointed to command of the infantry used in the attack on the Normans who held the fortress of Kerkyra or Corfu. When the admiral Stephen Kontostephanos was killed, Axouchos assumed command until the emperor's arrival. During the siege, a riot broke out between the Byzantine troops and their allies, the Venetians. After attempting mediation, Axouchos sent his personal guards, apparently a substantial and stalwart body, and then some regular troops, who suppressed the trouble. After the recovery of Kerkyra, John Axouchos seems to have been given command of a fleet with a mission to go to Ancona. But he never got beyond the river Vjosë in Albania; Kinnamos suggests that he was hindered from proceeding either by lack of naval experience or by advice from the Venetians, who did not desire a restoration of Byzantine power in Italy. Allegedly, the fleet suffered severe losses in a storm. In late 1149 or 1150, Axouchos was sent back to Constantinople, nominally to report on Manuel's victories in the western Balkans. He does not again appear in history; in 1150 he would have been about sixty-three, then a fairly ripe age for an active man.<sup>15</sup>

John Axouchos was apparently well educated, with a good understanding of the rhetorical, clas-

<sup>12</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9–11; Nicephorus Basilakes, *Oration to John Axouchos, Orationes et Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Leipzig, 1984), 85–88, stresses the close companionship of Axouchos and the future emperor, and how Axouchos served as the prickly *akanthos* (a pun on his name) to bloody the hands of John's opponents. This oration was composed between 1138 (the end of John's first Syrian campaign) and John's death in 1143, presumably before John's departure in 1142. Axouchos' name is given as both "Axouch" and "Axouchos." I have chosen the Hellenized form. Axouchos was entitled "sebastos"; the "protosebastos" applied to him in a manuscript heading is probably an error: A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav gosподstvennogo klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), 112 and note 28.

<sup>13</sup>Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 5–6; Basilakes, *Orationes*, 89–91; Michael Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), 222–24 (no. 37), 228–30 (no. 39)—clearly, no. 39 preceded no. 37. Italikos' no. 39 also shows that Axouchos had campaigned on and beyond the Danube (probably in John's Hungarian wars) and toward the Tigris against the "Parthians" and "Medes" (i.e., Turks).

<sup>14</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 41, 46, 48–49; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 31–32, 37–38, avoids mentioning Axouchos by name in giving an account of these events. William of Tyre, *Hist.*, RHC HOcc, I, 695 (ed. Huygens, II, 705), suggests that Axouchos had supported Isaac for the succession, but this seems unlikely: Manuel would not have entrusted such a delicate mission to Axouchos if there had been any hint of lack of devotion. William wrote many years after these events, and had imperfect sources of information; he even gives the year of John II's death as 1137!

<sup>15</sup>Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 47, 51, 102, 113; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 77, 82, 85–86, 90. At the time of their deaths, Alexius I was about 61, John II, 55, and Manuel I, 61. P. Magdalino, "Isaac *sebastokrator* (III), John Axouch, and a Case of Mistaken Identity," *BMGS* 11 (1987), 207–14 has argued that the "grand stratarchos" who joined Isaac the Sebastokrator (Manuel's

sicizing Greek used by intellectuals of the day. During the eastern campaign of 1137–38, he received and understood Michael Italikos' elaborate letters, and acted in Italikos' favor. After that campaign, Nicephorus Basilakes addressed to him a lengthy oration, a good part of which is devoted to praise of John II, but which also depicts their mutual devotion in very attractive terms. About 1147 Axouchos posed questions to the theologian Nicholas of Methone as to how the Holy Spirit could *substantially* (*ousiodos*) visit and indwell the apostles, as Gregory of Nazianzen had stated, and, if this indwelling was in the same fashion as in Christ, why the apostles were not called *christoi*, and if not, how did it differ. Nicholas delayed a response until a directive from Manuel specifically required him to resolve Axouchos' inquiries. Nicholas noted that at the time, Axouchos was preoccupied with "the danger which hangs over all of us from the advance of all the western nations," evidently a reference to the Second Crusade. The theologian produced a short treatise to answer Axouchos' questions.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently, John Axouchos married about the time of John II's accession; his eldest son, Alexius, is believed to have been born around 1120, and a

daughter, Irene, around 1121. Since Alexius is specified to have been the eldest son, there were one or more additional sons. Another daughter, Eudokia, was born much later, around 1135, possibly from a second wife. Ca. 1135 Irene was betrothed to Alexius Comnenus, a grandson of Alexius I's brother Isaac Comnenus the Sebastokrator, but Alexius died before the wedding occurred. Ca. 1150 Eudokia was betrothed to Stephen Comnenus, also a grandson of Isaac the Sebastokrator, and thus a cousin of the late Alexius. Since it was forbidden for sisters to marry first cousins, the synod heard the case and permitted Eudokia's marriage, because Irene's betrothal did not constitute a marriage.<sup>17</sup>

Sometime in the late eleventh or first half of the twelfth century, there arrived in Byzantium a refugee who was, or claimed to be, a member of the ruling Seljuk house of Nikaia and Ikonion, which descended from Kutlumush or Kutalmish. He was known by the Byzantines as Koutlounousios. All that can be said about him is that he became a Christian and founded a monastery on Mount Athos, to which he presumably retired. The monastery is first attested in 1169, by the signature of its abbot on a charter of Rossikon. Unfortunately there are no twelfth-century documents from his foundation, nor any account of its origin. But the surviving, still-inhabited Monastery of Koutlounousios (or Mone tou Koutlounousiou) rises in the fertile center of the Athos peninsula, a few minutes' walk south of Karyes. It is probably the most permanent memorial of a Turk who entered Byzantine service in this period.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps in the 1130s, probably before 1143, Michael Italikos had an acquaintance, perhaps an ex-

brother) in belittling Manuel at Melangeia (Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 127–28) was John Axouchos, that the latter was indeed a supporter of Isaac, and that Axouchos was the one punished by Manuel, by loss of (the privilege of bearing) the imperial seals. But everywhere else Axouchos is given his correct title of grand domestikos by Kinnamos. There is no evidence that Axouchos had ever had custody of the seals. If it was Axouchos who was belittling Manuel, why did Andronicus verbally attack the Sebastokrator? Why was Isaac punished by temporary exclusion from the imperial presence? If Manuel had been in the slightest degree suspicious of John Axouchos, he would have done far more than remove the seals from him. As it was, Axouchos was clearly high in the emperor's favor. He appears repeatedly in command of troops in 1146–50, after the affair at Melangeia: see below. I am grateful to Prof. Magdalino for an offprint of his study, but I prefer the suggestions of F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912), 215 note 6.

<sup>16</sup>Nicholas of Methone, *Πρὸς τὸ μέγαν δομέστικον*, ed. A. K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, I (Leipzig, 1866; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 199–218 (quotation from p. 200); J. Dräseke, "Nikolaos von Methone," *BZ* 1 (1892), 471–73. Italikos' letters are cited in note 13 above; Basilakes, *Orationes*, 84–91. The fragment of an oration published *ibid.*, 116–19, which Garzya thinks may have been part of the speech addressed to Axouchos, and to fit on p. 89 of his edition, has no reference to Axouchos. Rather, it is addressed to an emperor who has created a navy, is involved with Russians, Serbs, peoples of the steppe, Turks, Germans, and above all, Sicilians, and whose speech is capable of winning support by the force of its eloquence. The author is probably not Basilakes, and the emperor sounds more like Manuel than John or Alexius.

<sup>17</sup>Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 278–80 (no. 53), 288–91 (no. 57); Balsamon, commentary on canon 69 of St. Basil, in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles (hereafter Rh.-P.), IV (Athens, 1854), 226–27. The career of John Axouchos is discussed by P. Gautier, in Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 41–44, but his version of the stemma of Axouchos' family must be corrected by comparison with Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 280 note 7, and 288. Birth dates are tentative, largely based on marriage dates and an assumption that girls married at about age 14. The fullest study on Axouchos is K. M. Mekios, *Ὁ μέγας δομέστικος τοῦ Βυζαντίου Ἰωάννης Ἀξούχος καὶ ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξιος* (Athens, 1932), 15–35, but he did not have available Italikos' letters or the speech by Basilakes, although he was aware of their existence (p. 33). By mistake, Mekios, pp. 27–28, makes Axouchos participate in the attack on Antioch in 1144, a confusion with Prosouch—see below.

<sup>18</sup>P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, Archives de l'Athos 2 (Paris, 1946), 4–5; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 171. The most recent contribution to the question of Koutlounousios' origin is D. Nastase, "Les débuts de la communauté oecuménique du Mont Athos," *Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Σύμμεκτα*, 6 (1985), 263–67.

student, with a Turkish name, Tziknoglos or something similar, in which the final syllable represents the Turkish -oglu, "son of." Tziknoglos is addressed as "dearest brother," and Italikos inquires about his sister's health. The existence of a sister argues that Tziknoglos was the son of a Turk who had married in Byzantium. Tziknoglos has been utilizing a magician or sorcerer to heal his sister; Italikos simultaneously protests horror at this and claims to know thoroughly such "Chaldaean" magic, but not to use it. In another letter he alludes to Tziknoglos' high admiration for the grand oikonomos, the administrator of Haghia Sophia's revenues. Possibly Tziknoglos was a former student of Italikos and had obtained a position within the clergy of Haghia Sophia.<sup>19</sup>

Among the officers who served their military apprenticeship under John II was Prosouch or Borsuq, who is stated by Kinnamos to have been "a Turk by birth, but who had shared in a Roman [i.e., Byzantine] upbringing and education."<sup>20</sup> Shortly after Manuel's accession, in 1144, the emperor dispatched an expedition against Raymond of Antioch. Command was given to the brothers Andronicus and John Kontostephanos, but they were apparently youthful and untried, for Manuel attached to them Prosouch, stated to be experienced in warfare. A few pages later, Kinnamos refers to this army as "those with Prosouch,"<sup>21</sup> thus suggesting that the Turk was the real commander of the expedition. The campaign enjoyed some successes. In 1147, at the time of the advance of the Second Crusade, Prosouch commanded a force sent to observe the German Crusaders as they marched through Thrace. Nicetas Choniates would have us believe that Prosouch negotiated with them and was substantially responsible for the achievement of peace between the Byzantine and German forces. While Prosouch is not again mentioned, he evidently married, for a son or grandson, Nicephorus Prosouchos, was praitor or gov-

ernor of Hellas in the reign of Andronicus I; he left favorable recollections in the mind of Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens.<sup>22</sup>

If the careers of most Turks hitherto noticed are fairly clear, that of Poupakes presents chronological problems. The name evidently derives from "Abu-Bakr," a not-uncommon Muslim one. Poupakes first appears as an aide to Manuel in 1146, during the retreat from Ikonion. He assisted the emperor in making forays and laying ambushes for the fast-moving Turkish cavalry, but also counseled Manuel against excessive rashness.<sup>23</sup> In 1149, during the siege of Kerkyra, Poupakes, then a member of the bodyguard of the grand domestikos, Axouchos, volunteered to ascend the ladder which had been erected against the wall. Crossing himself, he mounted first and reached the battlement just before the ladder collapsed and precipitated those behind him into the sea. Isolated, he frightened off the defenders and leapt out through a postern door, back to his companions.<sup>24</sup> Ca. 1164 Poupakes, specified to be the person who had distinguished himself at Kerkyra, was in the service of Andronicus Comnenus, Manuel's cousin, later emperor. When Andronicus escaped from prison, Poupakes met him at Anchialos and furnished him guides and supplies to continue his flight. Arrested by Manuel, Poupakes was flogged and paraded around as an example of the fate of traitors; he proudly protested his loyalty to his master.<sup>25</sup> So far we have a consistent picture of an individual distinguished by bravery and devotion. A difficulty arises because Kinnamos reports that in 1160–61, during a winter campaign, the emir of Sarapata Mylonos (perhaps Sandikli, southwest of Afyon), dispatched his nephew Poupakes to in-

The author argues that, as the price of recognition of his sultanate within the Byzantine Empire in 1081–82, Sulayman of Nikaia was constrained to found a monastery on Mount Athos, with a relative, probably a brother, as founder. This thesis is a tissue of suppositions, without documentary evidence.

<sup>19</sup> Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 201–3 (no. 31), and 227.4 (no. 38). In both letters, the spelling of the last syllable of the name is unclear; the abbreviation could be resolved "Tziknoglos," "Tziknogles," "Tziknogalas," or "Tziknogoulos." Only the Greek form "Tziknopoulos" is clearly ruled out, according to Gautier.

<sup>20</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 35.

<sup>22</sup> For Prosouch's career, see Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 33–35, 71–73, 77; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 52, 64; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 257; Barzos, *Гев.*, I, 292 note 9. Unlike "Axouch-Axouchos," Prosouch's name is always treated as indeclinable. The argument of Barzos, *op. cit.*, that Prosouch was a possible relative of the Borsuq or Bursuq who served the Seljuk sultans of Persia in invasions of Anatolia (Cahen, "Première pénétration," 44, 50–51) is unfounded: the name is common. On Nicephorus Prosouchos, see Michael Choniates, *Tὰ Σωζόμενα*, ed. S. P. Lampros (Athens, 1879–80; repr. Groningen, 1968), I, 142–49; II, 54, 66. In the text of the letters, Nicephorus is always called "Prosouch"; only in the lemma of the oration addressed to him (I, 142) is he called "Prosouchos," and the Laurentian MS reads "Prosouch" (*ibid.*, note).

<sup>23</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 48–50; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 256–57.

<sup>24</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 83–85. It is not certain that the Poupakes of 1146 and the Poupakes of 1149 are the same, but Manuel in 1149 was evidently well acquainted with Poupakes. In 1146 Poupakes might already have been in the service of Axouchos, who participated in that expedition.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 130–32.

investigate whether Manuel was at the head of the Byzantine force. This Poupakes, who was thoroughly familiar with Manuel, came up and spoke to him.<sup>26</sup> That this was the same Poupakes, entering Turkish service for a brief period after Axouchos' death (soon after 1150) and then returning (after 1161) to Andronicus' service, is improbable, because Andronicus was in prison from ca. 1155 to ca. 1164. Thus Andronicus was unlikely to have been in a position to hire retainers, much less secure the intense personal allegiance Poupakes showed in 1164. Poupakes probably entered Andronicus' service between 1150 and 1155, and the person of that name among the Turks in 1160–61 is someone else.<sup>27</sup>

During Manuel's reign, a certain Nicephorus Chalouphe gained some importance; the name comes from Turkish Halife, Arabic Khalifa, meaning caliph. Chalouphe may have been the son of a Turkish immigrant, since no source mentions his Turkish background. He first appears in 1147, when he signally failed in his defense of the Acrocorinth against a Norman expeditionary force. Nicetas Choniates presents the Norman commander as berating Chalouphe for failing to defend so naturally strong a fortress. Possibly about 1162/3, Chalouphe was married to Theodora Comnena, daughter of Manuel's sister Eudokia and her husband Theodore Batatzes; Theodora had been Manuel's mistress. Probably Chalouphe's background as an outsider, even of foreign descent, made him a desirable husband for Theodora. In the next years he executed a number of commissions with success. About 1164 he was sent as commander beyond the Danube into Hungary, to act with the Byzantine nominee for the Hungarian throne, István or Stephen IV, against his rival István III. When he realized that his protégé lacked support, Chalouphe cleverly extricated his forces and István IV was constrained to follow him back to Sirmion. In 1165 or early 1166, Chalouphe was dispatched as an envoy to Venice, to win the support of members of the Lombard League against Frederick Barbarossa. The subsidies he had to offer reinforced the will of the north Italian cities to oppose the German emperor. About 1166 Chalouphe was appointed *doux* or governor of Byzantine Dalmatia, but was abandoned by his own

troops and captured by a Hungarian army advancing into the region. In 1167 Manuel sought Chalouphe's release, and perhaps obtained it when the Hungarian wars momentarily halted in that year. But nothing further is heard of Nicephorus Chalouphe.<sup>28</sup>

During Manuel's reign, the most prominent Turk, or half-Turk, was Alexius, the son of the grand domestikos John Axouchos. (The sources do not call him Alexius Axouchos, but evidently the name "Axouchos" remained in the family, and it is convenient to use it to distinguish him from his many homonyms.) At some point, Alexius Axouchos wedded Maria, only child of Alexius Comnenus, eldest son and designated successor of John II. Barzos believes the marriage occurred about 1141; if so, John II presumably approved it in order to reward John Axouchos' faithful service and bind his family more closely to the dynasty. Alexius Axouchos would scarcely have been considered the eventual heir to the throne, as there was still hope that Alexius Comnenus might have a son and there were numerous other males among John II's direct descendants. Byzantium had no notion of primogeniture, or even of a hereditary throne, and females were considered only in case of default of male claimants from the imperial family: Zoe and Theodora, the last members of the Macedonian house, are the exemplary case. If the marriage of Alexius Axouchos and Maria occurred after Manuel ascended the throne, Manuel probably intended it as a disparaging match for Maria, to prevent her being allied to some powerful family who might use her as a pretext for usurpation. While Alexius Axouchos was not technically disabled from holding the Byzantine throne, his Turkish background was never forgotten and created hostility to him. A marriage arranged by Manuel seems slightly more probable than one sponsored by John II.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 196–97.

<sup>27</sup> On Andronicus' imprisonment, see *ibid.*, 130, 232–34; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 101, 103–8, 129–32. He had escaped briefly in 1158, but this flight was too short-lived to allow Andronicus time to enlist Poupakes in his service.

<sup>28</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 75–76; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 225–26, 228–31, 248, 263, 265 (because Kinnamos deals with topics and regions, his presentation of Chalouphe's career may not be chronological; possibly Chalouphe was appointed *doux* of Dalmatia before being sent to Venice); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 339; Barzos, *Γεν.*, II, 417–34 (esp. 430–34) (no. 150). Barzos, *Γεν.*, II, 417 note 3 (on p. 418) suggests that the text of William of Tyre, *Hist.*, RHC HOcc, I, 1070 (ed. Huygens, II, 1013), "Alexius quoque protostrator, Theodore Calusine neptis domini imperatoris, filius" be emended to read "Theodora Chalufinae," but Byzantine wives did not ordinarily take their husbands' names; there seems no MS warranty for altering two letters. The Old French translation does not include her name.

<sup>29</sup> On the marriage, see Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 103, 144–45; K. Barzos, 'Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσικὴ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι

Alexius Axouchos first appears at Pelagonia when ca. 1154/5 he reported to the empress Bertha-Irene a plot by Andronicus Comnenus to assassinate Manuel. Alexius was already protostrator, one of the highest military titles, but one which carried only such responsibilities as the emperor chose to assign. Alexius was apparently a capable military leader, and is stated to have been popular with soldiers and officers, but his real skills would seem to have been in diplomacy. In 1157 he was sent to Italy on a delicate mission. Simultaneously he was to wage war on the Normans of Sicily and engage in peace negotiations with their king. He was eminently successful: after a treaty had been concluded, he covertly removed the army's pay and left behind sealed weighted money-chests for his mercenaries. Ca. 1165 he was sent as governor to the surviving Byzantine lands in Cilicia; Kinnamos would have us believe that en route he stopped at Ikonion and negotiated with the sultan, with whom the Byzantines were then at peace. In Cilicia, although he was militarily unsuccessful, he did open discussions with the Armenian Church which led to efforts at Armeno-Byzantine reconciliation. In the next year, 1166, we find Alexius Axouchos as co-commander of a Byzantine force on the Hungarian frontier.<sup>30</sup>

In 1167 Alexius Axouchos accompanied Manuel on another expedition against Hungary, but at Sardika (Sofia) he was arrested, convicted, and imprisoned in a monastery on Mount Papykion. Nicetas

Choniates (a youth at the time) alleges that Alexius was the victim of the paranoia which beset all emperors and forbade them to leave unharmed an upright, prosperous individual. The specific charges against Alexius Axouchos, according to Nicetas, included sorcery (flying invisibly to attack his foes). His chief accuser was Isaac Aaron, an unsavory individual later punished for magical practices and for subverting imperial policy in his role as interpreter. About Manuel's motives, Nicetas is more specific. The emperor feared lest Alexius Axouchos was destined to succeed him; the Byzantine populace had noted that the initials of the first Comneni, Alexius, John (Ioannes), and Manuel, were AIM so the next emperor's name must commence with an "A," to make AIMA or "blood." Alexius' name fitted the sequence, and his marriage to Maria linked him to the dynasty. Manuel was also alarmed at Alexius' popularity among the soldiers and officers, and even, because of his generosity, among the people. Finally, Nicetas suggests that Manuel was greedy for the protostrator's wealth, most of which was confiscated. The historian considers the charges unfounded, the action of an arbitrary tyrant, and depicts Alexius Axouchos as devotedly loyal. By the time Nicetas wrote, Manuel was long dead and the Comneni dynasty had been displaced.<sup>31</sup>

John Kinnamos, who composed his history during the reign of Manuel's son Alexius II, with a strongly laudatory view of Emperor Manuel, charges Alexius Axouchos with varied crimes: (1) on his way to Cilicia, in 1165, he had treasonable converse with Kilidj Arslan II in Ikonion, and exchanged letters with him to obtain his support for usurpation; (2) thereafter he had murals showing the sultan's deeds painted on the walls of his suburban mansion; (3) he repeatedly met with a Latin wizard to discuss Manuel's lack of a male heir, and received drugs from the wizard to maintain this condition; (4) he made treasonable statements to Constantine Doukas and Kasianos, who reported his words; and (5) at Sardika he induced Cuman

ἀπόγονοί τους, Βυζαντινά 7 (1975), 137–39; Barzos, Γεν., II, 117–18 (no. 123) (largely reproduces his article). Barzos' date, ca. 1141, is apparently based on the probable ages of the couple. Barzos' view that if Alexius Comnenus (d. 1142) had lived and ruled, Alexius Axouchos would have been the empire's second personage and heir apparent, contradicts Byzantine ideas. Alexius Comnenus had a second wife, from whom sons might have been expected. Even without sons, it would have been difficult for Alexius Axouchos to obtain recognition as heir, in view of the difficulties Manuel I experienced in obtaining recognition for Béla-Alexius, his intended son-in-law: Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 137. That John II arranged Maria's marriage in the interval between Alexius Comnenus' death (1142) and his own (8 Apr. 1143) is unlikely; he was preoccupied with his campaign in Cilicia.

<sup>30</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 97–98; Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 129–30, 170, 227, 260, 268. In regard to the negotiations with the Armenian Church, see Barzos, Γεν., II, 125–26. Barzos, *ibid.*, 124, has Alexius Axouchos meeting Baldwin III of Jerusalem at Mamistra in 1158, but William of Tyre's text suggests Alexius Comnenus, later protosebastos. Barzos, *ibid.*, 118 note 9, is certainly right to suggest that Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 227.17 should be corrected from πρωτονοτάριου to πρωτοστράτορος; protonotarios is a most unlikely office for Alexius, who is elsewhere always called protostrator, even on his seal: Barzos, *ibid.*, 118 note 8.

<sup>31</sup>Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 143–46, 427. Nicetas does say that at his arrest Alexius Axouchos was snatched from his wife's arms. Possibly this is rhetorical exaggeration. Perhaps the protostrator had a mansion in or near Sardika; the region was relatively secure in the mid-12th century. Or, just possibly, Maria was allowed to come part of the way on the campaign: Empress Bertha-Irene had been with Manuel at Pelagonia, and in 1175 the child Alexius (II) accompanied Manuel I on the expedition to reconstruct Dorylaion: P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* (Amsterdam, 1980), 78. That he had his wife with him speaks against Kinnamos' allegation of a planned assassination of Manuel that night.

mercenaries to attack Manuel's tent. Supposedly Manuel had repeatedly reproved Alexius Axouchos for his disloyal actions: when a page of Alexius reported the planned assassination of the emperor to Manuel's eunuch Thomas, the emperor had to proceed against him. The eunuch Thomas, John Doukas, Michael the logothete, and Nicephorus Kaspax drew up charges, to which Alexius Axouchos at once pleaded guilty. He threw himself on the emperor's mercy.<sup>32</sup>

The two accounts are sharply opposed, in detail as well as in their views of the truth of the accusation. Kinnamos' allegations must be taken to represent the propaganda of the victorious faction in a court intrigue; Nicetas perhaps exaggerates Alexius Axouchos' virtues, but his depiction of an innocent man is more convincing than Kinnamos' allegations. For instance, the claim that Alexius Axouchos conspired with the sultan seems improbable: either he visited Ikonion as a private citizen and held covert discussions with the sultan, a fact which could scarcely have escaped the emperor's spies, or he was in Ikonion on official business. The alleged paintings either never existed or have been misinterpreted by Kinnamos: to flaunt the sultan's achievements, and his own Turkish sympathies would have been acts of someone seriously out of touch with reality. The same can be said of the treasonable words. The charges involving sorcery, echoed in both Nicetas (who derides them) and Kinnamos (who believes them), were banal in twelfth-century Byzantium. To credit Kinnamos' account is to see Alexius Axouchos as publicly acting in a self-destructive fashion; Nicetas more convincingly shows him as the victim of a faction at court, and of the necessarily unsleeping suspicion of a Byzantine ruler.<sup>33</sup>

According to Nicetas, Alexius Axouchos had formerly led a very luxurious life, and had been rather casual about observation of the forms of Christianity, especially the fasts. He now threw himself into monastic life with wholehearted enthusiasm, and died as exemplary a monk as he had been a soldier, courtier, and diplomat. For his wife,

Maria Comnena, matters went otherwise. She was at first distraught, and attempted suicide—a rare occurrence in Byzantium. Frustrated in the effort, she threw herself at Manuel's feet and besought mercy for her husband with tears and lamentations. Unable to move him, Maria wore out the short remainder of her life in fruitless grief.<sup>34</sup>

Manuel I's followers included Turks in low-level positions of command and responsibility. Ca. 1154/5, at the time of one of Andronicus' plots against the emperor, the empress Bertha-Irene sent Isach or Ishāq to lead a group of three hundred soldiers to protect Manuel from the trap Andronicus had prepared. This Isach is stated to have been of barbarian birth but greatly favored by the emperor. Later, in 1175, there appears a Michael Isach, who had formerly served in Manuel's household, perhaps the same person. At that time, the emperor was engaged in reconstructing forts on the Turkish frontier; he dispatched Isach to punish deserters from the Byzantine army. Kinnamos would have us believe that Michael Isach cruelly exceeded his commission, and came close to being harshly punished by Manuel. He escaped at that time, only to perish miserably later, before Kinnamos wrote his history in 1180–81. Isach's descendants were stated to have been imperiled by his disaster, but evidently survived.<sup>35</sup>

Several other officers are known from brief references. In 1156, when a Byzantine force was attacking Brindisi, a Norman relief-expedition advanced, led by the king. One of the Byzantine officers sent with a small force to hinder the Norman advance was Pairames or Bairam, stated to have been a Turk; he commanded Georgian and Alan mercenaries.<sup>36</sup> In 1165, on a campaign against the Hungarians, one of the subordinate commanders was John Ises (Īsā), who is explicitly stated to have been born a Turk but to have had a Byzantine education.<sup>37</sup>

The son of Alexius Axouchos, John Comnenus, called "the Fat," was reared in poverty. He apparently gained some standing at the court of the Angeli, where he appeared among the witnesses to a synod in 1191. But he was far from prominent. In

<sup>32</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 265–69. The persons Kinnamos mentions, together with Isaac Aaron, probably belonged to the faction opposed to Alexius Axouchos.

<sup>33</sup> It would not be necessary to discuss at such length the relative merits of Nicetas' and Kinnamos' stories, except that Barzos, in Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσική, 145–60, and in his Γεν., II, 127–34, has accepted many of Kinnamos' charges and striven to interweave them with those in Nicetas to produce a single story. Mekios, Ὁ μέγας δομέστικος (see note 17 above), 35–36, is much more cautious about Kinnamos' assertions.

<sup>34</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 144–46. Nicetas presents Alexius Axouchos and his wife as an ideal couple; the events occurred while the historian was a youth, and we must beware of his retrospective romanticizing.

<sup>35</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 129–30, 298–99; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 140.

<sup>36</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 167; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 243.

<sup>37</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 238; Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 141.

July 1200 he became the nominal leader of a conspiracy against Alexius III; he seems, however, to have been only the puppet of ambitious malcontents. His forces easily occupied the Great Palace, but John could only drink while his supporters pillaged. The emperor's guardsmen regained control of the palace, and John was slain as he fled. In an oration by Euthymius Tornikes, which celebrated Alexius III's triumph, the usurper's Turkish origin became the occasion for bitter aspersions against him. The line of Axouchos did not terminate with the disaster of John Comnenus the Fat: the third emperor of Trebizond was John Comnenus Axouchos. Possibly the wife of Alexius I of Trebizond was a daughter or niece of John the Fat, and so the name came into the family.<sup>38</sup>

A number of other persons have been suggested as being Turks who entered Byzantine service. In 1082 Anna Comnena records the arrival of a Turkish contingent from Nikaia led by Kamyres, who is stated to have been older and more experienced than the other Turkish leaders. In 1095 a Kamyres, identified as "a certain Turk," served as the executioner who blinded Pseudo-Diogenes. The second Kamyres is probably not the same person as the distinguished Turkish general of 1082. The issue has been further confused, however, by P. Gautier, who argued that in the case of the first individual, instead of "Kamyres," the reading "Kamytzes," offered by the manuscript of the epitome of Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, should be adopted. Thus, he says, this Turkish officer remained in Byzantium and was the ancestor of the distinguished Kamytzes family. But the manuscript of the epitome is comparatively late, thirteenth-fourteenth century, and has little weight against the twelfth-century manuscripts of the full-length version of the *Alexiad*. There is no evidence that the officer Kamyres remained in Byzantine service.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 526–28; Euthymius Tornikes, Speech to Alexius III, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès (1200–1205)," ed. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 (1968), 66–67; Barzos, Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός—Εἰρήνη ἢ Ῥωσική, 160–75; see my *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 122–24, but for the correct date, see J.-L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates: Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin, 1971), 123–28.

<sup>39</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 23, 201; P. Gautier first asserted the identification in "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969), 240, 256–57; he slightly modified his view in "Le synode des Blachernes" (see note 9 above), 259–60. On the slight value of the MS of the epitome, see B. Leib, introduction to Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, I, clxxiv. Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 148, has no suggestion about the name Kamyres; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 158–59, believes the Kamyres of 1082 and his homonym of 1095 were different persons.

A number of other individuals may have been Turkish. In 1083 one of the commanders of the Turks whom Sulayman of Nikaia supplied to Alexius I for use against the Norman invader was Migidenos. He participated in fighting Bohemund's army at Larissa. Ca. 1089 he reappeared in Alexius' campaign against the Petchenegs in Thrace, where he died of wounds.<sup>40</sup> A Byzantine officer named Tzitas was associated with Tatikios in aiding the First Crusade's attack on Nikaia (1097). In 1101 he commanded the Tourkopouloi or half-Turks, who accompanied Raymond of St. Gilles on the ill-fated march of the Crusade of 1100–1101 into Paphlagonia. Together with Raymond, he escaped the disaster and returned to Constantinople. Possibly Tzitas was Turkish.<sup>41</sup> Other officers may likewise have been Turks or part Turks.<sup>42</sup>

Various Turkish rulers made visits to Byzantine emperors; I shall briefly note some and discuss an important one at greater length. After a defeat in 1116 Kilidj Arslan I's son Shahanshah (sultan of Ikonion, 1107–16) went to Alexius I's camp to make peace. A rebellion by Shahanshah's brother Mas'oud was brewing; despite warnings from Alexius, Shahanshah elected to return to Ikonion. Mas'oud's forces intercepted and blinded him en route.<sup>43</sup>

Mas'oud (sultan 1116–55) soon found himself at odds with another brother, 'Arab, and ca. 1125–26 had to flee to John II. The Byzantine emperor, according to Michael the Syrian, welcomed Mas'oud and furnished him money. 'Arab, who failed to take Ikonion, fled when Mas'oud advanced with Danişmendid aid. 'Arab first sought Armenian help, then turned to the emperor, but perished among the Byzantines, ca. 1126–27. No Byzantine source reports on these events, but John II's reign is very thinly chronicled.<sup>44</sup>

Sultan Kilidj Arslan II (1155–ca. 1192) made peace with Manuel I and in 1162 paid a visit to Constantinople. He was received with extraordinary honors, although the populace took occasion to jeer at the Turks. The sultan desired to enter

<sup>40</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 30, 107–8; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 212–13.

<sup>41</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 12, 37–38; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 300, suggests he was Turkish.

<sup>42</sup> One such was Chouroup or Chouroupes, attested from 1146 to 1150: Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 44, 87–88, 98, 101, 105–6. None of these three officers is listed in Moravcsik, *BT*.

<sup>43</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 204–13; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, tr. J.-B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 194–95.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 223–24.



Haghia Sophia, but a fortuitous earthquake allowed the patriarch to prevent what he considered an abomination.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1170s, refugees from Kilidj Arslan's aggressive advance began to gather around Manuel. The sultan's brother, another Shahanshah, who had been expelled from Ankyra and Gangra, was joined by the Danişmendid prince Dhu' l-Nun. Both received Byzantine assistance to regain their territories, ca. 1175–76, but neither succeeded.<sup>46</sup>

The longest-resident and most important of the Turkish refugee princes was Ghiyath al-Din Kay Khusraw I. He was the youngest son of Kilidj Arslan II, by a Christian wife, and enjoyed his father's special favor and the consequent enmity of his brothers. Ca. 1194–95 he took possession of Ikonion, and severely ravaged Byzantine lands. But around 1197, his elder brother Rukn al-Din seized the Turkish capital and Kay Khusraw was driven to flight. After wanderings which apparently included an early visit to Constantinople, then refuge in Cilician Armenia and northern Syria, Kay Khusraw returned ca. 1200 to Alexius III. Everywhere, he seems to have been honored, but nowhere did he obtain assistance against his powerful brother. Ibn Bibi preserves an account of how Kay Khusraw intervened in a quarrel between a Frankish mercenary and the emperor, but the story seems to have been exaggerated. What is more certain is that he was baptized, apparently with the emperor standing sponsor for him. He wedded a daughter of Manuel Maurozomes; she became the mother of Kay Kubad I. The connection was a valuable one to Kay Khusraw in several respects. His bride's grandmother was apparently an illegitimate daughter of Manuel I, so that Comnenian blood entered the Seljuks of Ikonion. Also, his marriage won him the support of a powerful Byzantine family. According to Akropolites, Kay Khusraw left Constantinople along with his godfather Alexius III in 1203, but other accounts say Kay Khusraw lived with his father-in-law Maurozomes. If he did abandon Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, he probably took refuge with the Maurozomes family.

In 1205, after his brother Rukn al-Din's death, Kay Khusraw was recalled to Ikonion. With the help of eastern emirs he regained the position of sultan. His second reign endured until 1211. Be-

cause Alexius III's daughter Anna was his spiritual sister, Kay Khusraw assisted her husband Theodore Lascaris to establish himself in Bithynia. He also aided his father-in-law Manuel Maurozomes to create a buffer state in the central Maiander Valley. When war broke out between Lascaris and Maurozomes, the sultan assisted in making peace between them, assuring Maurozomes a territory. The Maurozomes family remained prominent in Ikonion during the thirteenth century. Kay Khusraw was more fully integrated into Byzantine society than any other Turkish prince.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the prominence of Kay Khusraw in Constantinople at the outset of the thirteenth century, the period after the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 evidences fewer Turks in Byzantium than previously. In part, this may be because with 1176 we lose the help of Kinnamos as a source and must rely on Nicetas Choniates alone. Kinnamos identifies more military commanders of the second rank than does Nicetas, and it was at that level that most Turks served. Nevertheless, Alexius Axouchos and Nicephorus Chalouphe were the last persons of Turkish descent prominent in the upper levels of Byzantine society. Perhaps Manuel Comnenus was more interested in attracting western Europeans into his service. Certainly after Myriokephalon, Byzantium ceased to be able to compete for dominance in Anatolia, and Turks no longer saw great rewards in becoming Byzantine.

The most numerous element of Turks in Byzantine service consisted of large, anonymous masses of soldiery, but they are also the most elusive, and we can say very little about them. After Mantzikert (1071), Michael VII and Nicephorus III were reduced to seeking the "alliance" of raiding bands of Turks, alliances which really amounted to hiring them to fight against a specific foe of the government. Thus the dangerous rebellion of Roussel de Bailleul was defeated by securing the services of Artouch (Artuq) and later Touthach.<sup>48</sup> From engaging such bands for a single

<sup>45</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 204–8; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 118–21.

<sup>46</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 291, 295; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 357, 368–70.

<sup>47</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 520–22, 626, 638; George Akropolites, *Historia*, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), I, 11, 14; [Theodore Skoutariotes,] *Σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 (Venice and Paris, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1972), 454; Gregory Abu al-Faraj, called Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), I, 350; Ibn Bibi, *Die Seldschukengeschichte*, trans. H. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), 21–31, 37–38; Barzos, Γεν., II, 499; Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 230 note 515.

<sup>48</sup> Bryennios, *Hist.* (see note 7 above), 179–81, 187–89; Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, 91–101.



action, it was but a step to enrolling larger forces for longer terms. Alexius I, soon after his accession, made a treaty with Sultan Sulayman of Nikaia, recognizing his boundaries. In return, the sultan supplied troops for the struggle with Guiscard, evidently on several occasions.<sup>49</sup> How many of these Turks, who fought in Europe, returned to Anatolia we cannot know, but probably some remained in Alexius' army and eventually settled. By the time of the First Crusade, the Tourkopouloi or sons of Turks formed a prominent part of the Byzantine army. Raymond of Aguilers defines them: "For they are called Turcopuli who either were nurtured among the Turks or spring from a Christian mother [and] a Turkish father."<sup>50</sup> Clearly this term covered full-blooded as well as half-breed Turks.

In addition to such mercenaries, the early Comneni captured many Turks and settled them inside the empire. After the passage of the First Crusade, Alexius took some two thousand Turks, whom he ordered to be scattered among the Aegean Islands.<sup>51</sup> In a campaign about 1124, John seized numerous Turks, converted them, and made them a substantial addition to the Byzantine army; presumably they settled within the empire. When John took Gangra, the Turkish garrison was allowed to depart, but many chose to remain in Byzantine service.<sup>52</sup> Under Manuel, according to a speech of Eustathius of Thessalonike in 1178, the captivity of numerous Turkish women and children attracted Turkish men to come over to the Byzantines. There were so many around Thessalonike, he said, that it might well be called "New Turkey, or the European land of the Turks."<sup>53</sup>

Among the most dramatic documents relating to the Turks in Byzantium, one which directly concerns the recruitment of Turks, is an alleged auto-

biographical statement by Tzachas. About 1090–91, the pirate-emir was contending with Constantine Dalassenos on Chios, and came to parley with him. According to Anna Comnena, Tzachas addressed Dalassenos by name, and said, "Know that I was that youth who formerly overran Asia and, fighting enthusiastically, out of inexperience was captured by stratagem by the late Alexander Kabalikas. Then, when I had been brought captive by him to emperor Nicephorus Botaneiates, I was forthwith honored with the rank of the protonobellisimoi and deemed worthy of great gifts; I promised him service [*douleia*]. But from when Alexius Comnenus assumed the reins of empire, everything collapsed."<sup>54</sup> Tzachas continued with demands for reinstatement and requests for a marriage tie with Dalassenos' family.

Tzachas is presented as declaring that he entered Byzantine service as a consequence of being captured. Other Turks also followed the path of captivity into Byzantium. Tatikios' father had been taken prisoner by Isaac I's brother John Comnenus about the middle of the eleventh century, and the young Tatikios passed into slavery with him. At least, such is a possible explanation for the allegation that his nose had been removed. A number of emirs ("satraps," in Anna Comnena's terminology) were included among the captives whom Alexius I settled on the islands.<sup>55</sup> The most successful of the captives was certainly John Axouchos, taken by the First Crusaders at the time of the siege of Nikaia.<sup>56</sup>

---

account of how Manuel paid slave-owners to liberate able-bodied slaves for incorporation into the army, and how newly captured groups were offered the choice of enslavement or military service; these included the Hagarenes (Muslims) as well as others. A portion of these captives must have been Turks. I am indebted to Prof. Richard Hamilton for his repeated assistance with this passage. Concerning it, see A. P. Kazhdan, "Odn netochno istolkovannyi passazh v 'Istorii' Ioanna Kinnama," *RESEE* 7 (1969), 469–73, esp. 473. On population exchanges in this period, see S. Vryonis, Jr., "Patterns of Population Movement in Byzantine Asia Minor 1071–1261," in his *Studies on Byzantium* (see note 50 above), no. VI.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 114. While Anna has certainly invented the words, the substance of the speech is probably correct. For this portion of the *Alexiad*, Anna's relatives Constantine Dalassenos and John Doukas seem to have been her sources. No special value would attach to falsifying the facts of Tzachas' service to Byzantium; Anna's readers could have verified the claims he made. Whether Tzachas' captor was an otherwise unknown Alexander Kabalikas or the well-known Alexander Kabasilas (S. P. Lampros, "Alexander Kabasilas," *BZ* 12 [1903], 40–41) is not important for our purposes. Savvides, Τζαχας (see above, note 8), 14:21–22, translates this speech, but does not examine Tzachas' period of service in Byzantium.

<sup>55</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 26.

<sup>56</sup> The exact place and circumstances of Axouchos' capture

<sup>49</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, I, 138, 146; II, 23, 134.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber* (see note 9 above), 55; *Gesta Francorum*, 6, 16. Examples of Crusader usage could easily be multiplied. On the recruitment of Turks, see S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and Their Sources of Manpower," in his *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies*, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 2 (Malibu, Calif., 1981), no. III, 126–40.

<sup>51</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 26.

<sup>52</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 9, 15.

<sup>53</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, in W. Regel, ed., *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, 1 (Petrograd, 1892–1917; repr. Leipzig, 1982, with introduction by A. P. Kazhdan), 77–79 (quotation from p. 79). I am indebted to Prof. Alexander Kazhdan for pointing out this citation. The literal Greek terms are "New Persia" and "Persians," but by this time these were conventional. A funeral oration for Manuel, by Eustathius, *Opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt/Main, 1832; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 200, has an

A number of other individuals may be suggested as possibly having begun as captives among the Byzantines. Prosouch and John Ises are both stated to have been Turks by birth but reared in Byzantium; they may have been captured as children.<sup>57</sup> The fathers of Tziknoglos and Nicephorus Chalouphe might have entered the empire in this way.

Of the voluntary enrollment of Turks in imperial service, we hear in general terms, but only occasionally in precise detail. "Siaous" was won over by Alexius' persuasions and generous offers. Alexius' success was made possible in that case by "Siaous'" Christian ancestry, and the like may have happened in other instances, since there was extensive intermixture in Anatolia. The emperor's effort was worthwhile because of the valuable letter "Siaous" bore. Elchanes, under Byzantine attack, agreed that he and his relatives would accept Alexius' offers and come over to the Byzantine side. When Skaliarios heard of Alexius' generosity, he followed Elchanes into the imperial camp.

Twice, apparently, captive Byzantines succeeded in wooing their captors to join them in flight to Byzantium. Manuel Comnenus (Alexius I's elder brother) discovered that Chrysoskoulos was in difficulties with the sultan and pointed out to him that he could never succeed in his ambition to become sultan himself unless he secured Byzantine aid. Despite the ensuing defeat at Mantzikert, Chrysoskoulos remained true to the Byzantine cause. Anna Comnena and Zonaras both report the escape of Eustathius Kamytzes from Turkish captivity ca. 1113. In Anna's version, he simply fled during the confusion of a running battle with Alexius' troops. Zonaras, however, declares that he persuaded his captors to flee with him to the emperor, who welcomed them with gifts. Since Anna is imprecise about how Kamytzes actually got loose, it is possible that Zonaras gives the full story.<sup>58</sup>

must remain slightly doubtful. Both Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9, and Basilakes, *Orationes*, 87, specify that he came from Nikaia, but the city was surrendered directly into the hands of Alexius' generals, so that the Crusaders had no opportunity to take prisoners there. Perhaps he was seized while escaping Nikaia, in a skirmish, or in a neighboring fortress.

<sup>57</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73, 238.

<sup>58</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 167–68, 170–71; Zonaras, *Epitome* (see note 8 above), III, 756–57; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 83–85. Anna (III, 168) reports that the principal Turkish emir (archisatrapes) Mouchoumet was acquainted with Kamytzes. The latter had been governor of Nikaia, and they could have encountered one another in the course of raids or in truce negotiations.

Reasons why Turks voluntarily joined Byzantium are not difficult to find. Some came because they were defeated in internal struggles, or felt threatened by powerful Turkish foes. Sultans of Ikonion and other Turkish rulers in Anatolia, temporarily excluded from power, turned almost spontaneously to Constantinople, and Kay Khusraw I stayed long enough to be integrated into Byzantine society. Only unexpected developments brought him back to Ikonion. Others were attracted to Byzantium by the gifts offered by the emperor. Skaliarios is depicted as rushing to share in Alexius I's lavish generosity to Elchanes and his relatives. While it is difficult to believe that Byzantine gifts and the salaries which went with titles exceeded the profits of plunder in Anatolia, the receipt and enjoyment of them might be more secure and long-lasting. We should not overlook the attractions of urban life and "civilized" luxury for Turks who were scarcely more than a generation removed from central Asia.

Several considerations which would seem to us to have hindered Turkish enlistment in Byzantine service had little force in the eleventh-twelfth century. The Turks' adhesion to Islam was evidently not very deeply ingrained. Only a few generations had elapsed since the Ghuzz Turks had become Muslim. Some of those born in Anatolia had Christian mothers, others were familiar with Christians of various sects and had grown up in an atmosphere of relative tolerance. No sense of Turkish "nationalism" or even ethnic solidarity troubled Amertikes, Elchanes, or others who came to fight for Byzantium. The Turks continuously fought one another; there was no reason not to do so and get paid for it. Finally, if we ask why any intelligent Turk would abandon rising Turkish power to join dying Byzantium, we must consider that the empire, at least from 1081 to 1176, did not seem on the verge of collapse. Whatever symptoms of internal decay the historian may detect, Byzantium under the Comneni preserved a splendid facade. The emperors were capable, even (in Manuel's case) magnificent individuals, success followed upon success, the gold hyperper was the standard of the Mediterranean, and wealth enough to hire mercenary armies and reward great generals was available in the treasury. Only with the defeat at Myriokephalon, and under the weak successors of Manuel I, was the attraction of Byzantium for its Turkish neighbors shattered.

Of the various activities Turks carried out within the Byzantine Empire, the greatest interest attaches to the role of two who served as playfellows

of future rulers. Of course, Tatikios was not chosen as a companion to an emperor-to-be; Alexius Comnenus was the third son of a cadet branch. He was presumably destined for a military career, and by the 1060s it was obvious that the Turks were going to be Byzantium's opponents on the eastern front for the foreseeable future. We do not know the exact age at which Tatikios and Alexius were brought together, but they were young enough that Tatikios could be called Alexius' *syntrophos*, indicating that they had grown up together.<sup>59</sup> The future John II and John Axouchos were ten years old at the time the Turkish captive was made a companion for the future emperor. In this case, the choice was evidently purposeful: a Turk was chosen to grow up alongside a future emperor. Manuel, to the best of our knowledge, never received a Turkish or any other non-Byzantine companion as *syntrophos*. But he was a fourth son, not an emperor designate, and his succession was unanticipated.

One reason for providing youthful Turks to Alexius and John Comnenus as companions may have been to give them some knowledge of Turkish. As a military commander, Alexius would constantly be in contact with Turkish mercenaries as well as Turkish opponents. His two elder brothers were at one time or another captured by the Turks. For John, as a future emperor, not to have to rely on interpreters was obviously important. Both Tatikios and John Axouchos as youths probably spoke Greek as well as Turkish: if Tatikios was born after his father's entry into the elder John Comnenus' household, this would be certain. Axouchos came from Nikaia, or near it; the city had been in Turkish hands since at least 1081, possibly earlier. If Axouchos was ten in 1097, he may have been the offspring of a Greco-Turkish union; in any case, some knowledge of Greek would have been normal in a city which had recently become Turkish. Thus the young people could have communicated from the beginning.

Another reason for utilizing a Turk of unfree status as a companion for a young Comnenus was that the lad had no connections in Byzantine society. Both Tatikios and John Axouchos grew up to become intensely loyal supporters of the Comnenian house; Axouchos seems to have been the most trusted companion of John II, deeper in his councils than any other. Such a relationship with the emperor raised the individual to the highest peak of the court hierarchy: other members of the no-

bility dismounted to do reverence to Axouchos. The danger of a future emperor having a childhood companion who came from within the established nobility is evident in the case of Manuel. His cousin Andronicus Comnenus is stated to have been reared alongside the future ruler, and they had shared in athletic competitions of every kind.<sup>60</sup> However badly Andronicus might behave, Manuel could never forget their past association and could rarely mete out the punishment Andronicus deserved. Alexius and John II had been more fortunate in their companions.

But of the numerous Turks who entered Byzantium, only a couple occupied the position of play-fellow for a future officer or ruler. The largest number were utilized as soldiers or military commanders. The background of the nomadic Turk prepared him for fighting or herding, but little else, and the Byzantines recruited Turks for their martial abilities. Most Turks whom we know by name were commanders: Amertikes, Tatikios, Elchanes, Skaliarios, Prosouch, and many more. In a few cases where the fact is not specified (Chrysoskoulos, Tzachas), their backgrounds allow us confidently to hypothesize positions of command. They often led foreign mercenaries because of the diminished numbers of native troops. Turks commanded Turks, but also we find Pairames in charge of Alans and Georgians alongside Ioannakios Kritoples, who appears to have been Greek.<sup>61</sup> In addition to officers we encounter an individual or two who served as a military aide or bodyguard. Poupakes is first seen close to the emperor, then specified to be a guardsman of John Axouchos, and finally appeared in the service of Andronicus Comnenus. Michael Isach had commenced his career as a favored member of the imperial household before being sent to round up deserters.

A handful of Turks, many of them second generation, engaged in non-military activities. "Siaous" arrived as an envoy from the Turks; after completing a delicate task in Pontus for Alexius I, he was appointed governor of Anchialos. While Alexius Axouchos commanded troops, his greatest ability seems to have been as a diplomat. He successfully executed a difficult mission in Italy, and opened friendly relations with the Armenian Church; he may have visited Ikonion to negotiate with the sultan. Nicephorus Chalouphe is first encountered as governor of Corinth, a position

<sup>60</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 127: the expressions are close to those used about Tatikios.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>59</sup> Bryennios, *Hist.*, 289.1.

which was evidently an entirely civil one, for he showed no military abilities or experience in defending the Acrocorinth. Later he succeeded as Byzantium's ambassador to Venice. Prosouch's son or grandson Nicephorus Prosouchos served as the civil governor of Greece. Tzikenoglos seemingly enjoyed a rhetorical education and entered the bureau of the *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia. Finally, Koutloumousios perhaps integrated himself more deeply into Byzantine culture than any other Turk, by becoming a monk and founding a monastery on Mount Athos.

The court was the focus of Byzantine social life, and a number of Turks had major roles there. Taktikos was in personal attendance on Alexius I when he frustrated Diogenes' plot. John Axouchos was wise enough to decline the gift of Anna Comnena's property and arrange its restoration to her, thus earning a reputation for fairness and avoiding the hostility of an important faction. Alexius Axouchos, despite his abilities as a diplomat, fell victim to an intrigue of his rivals. His son John was never more than a courtier, and foolishly allowed himself to be the front for an ill-conceived conspiracy. Nicephorus Chalouphes can be considered the quintessential courtier, becoming the husband of the emperor's mistress. Kay Khusraw I became so well established as a member of the court that he supposedly intervened in a quarrel between Alexius III and a Frankish mercenary and later fled from Constantinople in that emperor's company.

In the introduction of an individual Turk into Byzantine society, the necessary first step was baptism, whereby the individual abandoned his old, sinful, misbelieving life and was reborn a new person, free of sin, and (supposedly) believing in the truths of Orthodox Christianity. Since adherence to Christianity was the primary qualification for participation in Byzantine life and the receipt of the benefits thereof, those Turks who elected to enter Byzantine service showed no hesitation about accepting baptism. "Siaous" first carried out his agreement to secure Sinope for Alexius, then returned and received baptism. Elchanes, Skaliarios, and their followers were baptized, and Anna Comnena credits Alexius I with an intention to convert the whole East (Persia, Egypt, and Libya, in her terminology) to Christianity.<sup>62</sup> Poupakes, as he was about to ascend the ladder at Kerkyra, made the sign of the cross. Koutloumousios, who became a monk, must be considered the most thoroughly Christian of these Turks.

<sup>62</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 81; see *ibid.*, 66, on "Siaous."

Several circumstances made conversion (and specifically baptism) comparatively easy for Turks to accept. First, as we have stated, Islam was new to them, and in the eleventh-twelfth centuries they evinced few signs of fanaticism. Second, in Anatolia they were intermingled with a population still overwhelmingly Christian. In fact an interesting text reveals that baptism was in use among Turkish Muslims there during the twelfth century. Balsamon, writing late in that century, recorded an incident from the patriarchate of Loukas Chrysoberges, 1157–69/70:

In the days of the holy patriarch lord Loukas, Hagarenes appeared in the synod and, being required to be baptized, said that they were previously baptized in their lands. And being asked how, they responded that it was customary that all the infants of the Hagarenes were baptized by Orthodox priests. But they were not accepted, for they [the members of the synod] had heard that the baptism sought from Christians by the godless [Muslims] was not sought in good conscience and upright purpose, but for the sake of bodily healing. For it was deemed by the Hagarenes that their children would be subject to demonic possession and stink like dogs, unless they enjoyed Christian baptism; therefore they did not appeal for baptism as the purifier of every spiritual stain and giver of holy light and sanctification, but as a medicine or charm. But some of them said they had Orthodox mothers, and by their endeavor were baptized by Orthodox. But not even these were harkened unto, because there were no witnesses at hand attesting this. Rather, they were rejected, because they had not given a good presumption that they had correctly entered the faith. Therefore it was decreed that all these be baptized.<sup>63</sup>

While the text evidently exaggerates the universality of baptism for Muslim infants in Anatolia, it shows that the rite was familiar to some of them. Acceptance of at least the outward forms of Christianity was evidently not difficult.

A special case of more than passing interest is represented by Tzachas. He must have been baptized when he entered Byzantine service in the reign of Nicephorus III. Various considerations demonstrate this assertion. He accepted a court title from the emperor, and pledged allegiance (*douleia*) to him. Admission to the hierarchy of the court presupposed membership in Christianity and his promises of loyalty would only have been accepted if they were oaths of a Christian. Again, when he fled from Constantinople, he is explicitly

<sup>63</sup> Balsamon in Rh.-P., II (1852), 498; see Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 179 note 267, 441–42. These Hagarenes or Muslims appearing before the synod must have been some of the numerous ones mentioned in the orations of Eustathius of Thessalonike: see note 53, above.

stated to have secured assistance from a Byzantine (i.e., Christian) shipwright (and his workmen) in the construction of his fleet. He thus gained more cooperation from the native inhabitants than any other Anatolian Turkish emir of that turbulent period. Arguably, he was able to present himself to the people of Smyrna as a Christian, a rebel general not significantly different from Roussel before him. Then, during his discussion with Constantine Dalassenos, Tzachas requested a marriage between their offspring. The terminology is such that one cannot tell which family was to provide the groom, which the bride; we do know that Tzachas had a daughter who then or later wedded Kilidj Arslan I, and possibly a son, the "Tzachas" who appears after the death of our Tzachas. In any case, Tzachas must have known, from his period in Byzantine service, that the marriage would be impossible except between Christians. Finally, Tzachas claimed the imperial throne for himself: "calling himself emperor, he used the symbols pertaining to emperors and, inhabiting Smyrna as if [it were] a palace, he prepared a fleet to ravage the islands again and come up to Byzantium itself and be carried to the very throne of the empire, if possible."<sup>64</sup> His pretension to the Byzantine throne would be unthinkable if he could not at least claim to be Christian. Without this primary qualification he would have been unable to attract support; if he had taken Constantinople, he would have been utterly unacceptable to the Byzantines save as a Christian.

Tzachas' Christianity was barely skin-deep, and the same is probably true of a good many others who entered Byzantine service as adults. Tzachas easily returned to the Turkish world, and undoubtedly remained Muslim so far as his Turkish followers were concerned. Kay Khusraw, whose conversion was apparently no more profound than Tzachas', also experienced no difficulty in reestablishing himself among the Turks of Ikonion. Given the intermingled state of Anatolian populations,

and the cross-cultural usage of baptism attested by Balsamon, passage between the two religions was comparatively easy. Presumably in the case of boys incorporated into Byzantium at a youthful age, the depth of acceptance of Christianity was comparable to that of native Byzantines. John Axouchos certainly attests full belief and a rather profound understanding of Christianity. His questions to Nicholas of Methone show some reading in Gregory of Nazianzen, and go beyond idle curiosity. Koutloumousios, founder of a monastery, was apparently imbued with Christian ideals.

After baptism, Turks were integrated into Byzantine society through the reception of titles and the incomes and gifts which accompanied them. Indeed, from the Turkish point of view, the wealth the emperor could offer was a primary motive for abandoning the free life of a raider and becoming a Byzantine. Anna Comnena's account of Skaliarios and his unnamed companion is explicit: when they learned how much Elchanes and his family had received, they hastened to enjoy the like.<sup>65</sup> From the Byzantine point of view, the grant of a title was even more important. A title of honor gave an individual a recognized position within the ladder of court dignities, superior to some, inferior to others. Social status and recognition followed. One of the most valuable aspects of a title, so far as the emperor was concerned, was the possibility of promotion to another title. Once a Turk had received a title, with its appropriate salary, he would be anxious to obtain another one, higher up the ladder. Thus he would be encouraged to render loyal service.

Rewards for service could include landholdings. Nicetas Choniates complains that state-owned properties, together with the peasants working on them, were turned over to foreign mercenaries, including half-barbarians (*mixobarbaroi*), for exploitation. That the Turks received such grants is indicated by Eustathius of Thessalonike. After having been attracted into the empire, he says, "They do not possess property by verbal warranties alone, but by documents, on which hang golden finials, the imperial seals."<sup>66</sup> Such imperial documents, chrysobulls, were the means by which formerly tax-paying lands were transmitted to their new holders.

Baptism, ranks, and rewards were the first steps

<sup>64</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 158; on his title, oath, and plans for intermarriage, see *ibid.*, 114; on the Christian aid he gained, *ibid.*, 110. Tzachas' "Turks" were able to speak Greek well enough to call on God and hail the emperor in that language (*ibid.*, 111); perhaps a number were actually Byzantines who (like the master shipwright mentioned above) had enlisted under the pirate-emir. Alexius Comnenus was able to convince Kilidj Arslan I that Tzachas' real goal was the sultanate of Nikaia (*ibid.*, 165–66). Tzachas thus remained a Muslim so far as the Turks were concerned, while presenting himself as a Christian when it suited his convenience. Kurat, *Çaka Bey* (see note 8 above), does not discuss this problem. Savvides, Τζαχάς, 14:14, thinks Tzachas called himself emperor of Smyrna; he does not discuss the probability of Tzachas' having been baptized.

<sup>65</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 81.

<sup>66</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, in Regel, *Fontes* (see note 53 above), I, 78; Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 208–9, who specifically mentions the imperial documents which granted fields and peasants to newly enrolled soldiers.

in integrating adult Turks into Byzantium; for young ones, education was equally important. Kinnamos says of Prosouch that he was "a Turk by race but one who had shared in a Byzantine nurture and education."<sup>67</sup> He makes a nearly identical statement about John Ises. Evidently Tatikios and especially John Axouchos had the same experience, and Axouchos put the intellectual aspects of this instruction to good advantage. The education of foreigners in Byzantium in the early twelfth century centered in the school founded by Alexius I in connection with the orphanage and retirement home at the Mangana. In it, Anna Comnena declares, Latin and "Scyth" (Petcheneg, Cuman, Russian?) studied alongside "Roman" (Byzantine) and Hellene youths. The Turkish boys who had been brought back captive from Alexius' last expedition into Anatolia (1114) were entrusted to this institution to be brought up as free persons.<sup>68</sup> The intent of this education was clearly to acculturate foreigners into Byzantium. How long the school at the Mangana lasted is unclear. While we cannot point to any specific Turks trained at that school, Tziknoglos had received an advanced rhetorical education, since he could understand the letter Michael Italikos, perhaps his former teacher, addressed to him.

The fullest stage of incorporation into Byzantine society was represented by intermarriage. Turks generally did not bring their families with them when they entered Byzantium, although Eustathius reports that Manuel I's seizure of Turkish women and children had caused male Turks voluntarily to pass over into Byzantine service.<sup>69</sup> The individuals who came as slaves, refugees, or recruits into the empire had to find spouses as best they could, according to their personal circumstances. If the young Tatikios was taken captive with his father, he probably had a Turkish mother; if he was born after his father's enslavement, his mother was probably a fellow slave. We know nothing about the wives of many of these Turks, but some of them did marry, as witness the descendants of Tatikios, John Axouchos, the father of Tziknoglos, and Prosouch. It would have been interesting to know whether the emperor arranged marriages for such new arrivals in Byzantium as Elchanes, Skaliarios, and Prosouch. Intermarriage

bound a Turk more deeply into Byzantine society, supplementing baptism, rewards, and titles.

We do have information about the marriage of a few individuals, and in these cases the emperor was directly involved. Alexius Axouchos, a second-generation Turk, married the daughter of the emperor-designate Alexius Comnenus. This union certainly required the consent of the reigning emperor, whether John II or Manuel I. While the marriage tied the family of Axouchos closer to the dynasty, it also diminished Maria Comnena's claim to the throne. Even so, the relationship did not spare Alexius Axouchos from the emperor's suspicion. The marriage of Nicephorus Chalouphe, probably a second-generation immigrant, to Manuel's former mistress was certainly arranged by the emperor. By this marriage, Chalouphe rose from relative obscurity to a position which led to important posts as governor, envoy, and military commander. Only his unfortunate captivity cut off his promising career. The wedding of Kay Khusraw I to the daughter of Manuel Maurozomes connected the exiled sultan to the Comneni; it probably required the consent of Alexius III. Kay Khusraw apparently cared enough about his wife that he took her to Ikonion on his restoration—otherwise, he would not have defended the interests of his father-in-law. His second successor, Kay Kubad I, was the offspring of this marriage.<sup>70</sup>

By contrast, no Turkish women married into the dynasty or, so far as is known, into other aristocratic families. Maria of Bulgaria, Piroska-Irene of Hungary, Katae of Georgia, Bertha-Irene of Sulzbach, and Marie of Antioch are but a few of those of foreign descent who wedded Byzantine nobles or rulers. Byzantine princesses married Crusader kings and western rulers. To the Turks, cross-cultural marriage was within the realm of possibility: Malikshah requested a bride from the family of Alexius I,<sup>71</sup> and Tzachas desired intermarriage with the family of Constantine Dalassenos. But only those Turks who became assimilated by baptism and residence in Byzantium obtained Byzantine brides.

The number of Turks who entered Byzantine service cannot be known. The figures which Alexander Kazhdan developed for the ruling class in Byzantium in the eleventh-twelfth centuries permit a statement regarding the Turkish proportion at that level of society. Even incorporating such

<sup>67</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 73; for the statement on John Ises, see *ibid.*, 238.

<sup>68</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 214, 218.

<sup>69</sup> Eustathius, in Regel, *Fontes*, I, 77–78. Exceptionally, Elchanes is specified as having brought his relatives with him.

<sup>70</sup> Barzos, *Гев.*, II, 499.

<sup>71</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, II, 65, 75–76.

temporary residents as Amertikes, Tzachas, and Kay Khusraw, the total reaches only twenty-three, or just one percent of the 2,300 individuals Kazhdan surveyed. For comparison, Kazhdan found ten to fifteen percent of the ruling class to be of Armenian origin, although many of these families were thoroughly Byzantinized. The greatest numbers of Turks in high positions are attested in the 1070–1100 period and in the reign of Manuel I, although this distribution may in part be due to the nature of the sources. Even though the number of Turks and their descendants was small, some of them reached positions of great trust and influence.<sup>72</sup>

When we consider the impact the Turkish immigrants had on Byzantium, we must ask about knowledge of their language. Specifically, it has been argued above that Tatikios and John Axouchos were selected as companions for Alexius Comnenus and his son in order to impart some knowledge of Turkish. As military commander or emperor, Alexius and John did not require a thorough knowledge of Turkish: the imperial bureau of translators could handle formal negotiations. But for battlefield use, to give commands to Turkish mercenaries, receive information from Turkish scouts, and interrogate prisoners, a working knowledge of Turkish would have been desirable. Such an elementary knowledge a ten-year-old such as Axouchos would have been able to convey to his high-born playfellow. There is, however, no textual evidence that Alexius I or John II understood Turkish. But twice Manuel I is shown conversing with Turks. In the final phase of the disastrous retreat from Ikonion in 1146, the emperor caused a Turkish soldier to be summoned by shouts. Kinnamos presents Manuel as speaking directly to this Turk, entrusting him with an arrogant message for the sultan.<sup>73</sup> Again, ca. 1160–61, when Manuel was invading the region of Sarapata Mylonos, the emir sent his nephew Poupakes to investigate the situation. Poupakes rode up, dismounted, and approached the emperor. Manuel spoke to him and gave him proud words to take back to the emir.<sup>74</sup> In neither case is the language specified, but no

interpreter is mentioned. It is possible an interpreter was used, or the Turks in question may have understood Greek—although the Turk in 1146 seems to have been a totally random individual. But there is also the possibility that Manuel spoke Turkish.

Knowledge of Turkish at lower social levels would seem to have been very slight. In the reign of Alexius I, Anna Comnena mentions only Monastras and Rodomir (more correctly, Radomir Aaronios) as knowing Turkish. Monastras was a *mixobarbaros*, probably half-Cuman, and so knew a Turkic language from birth. Rodomir, Anna reports, knew Turkish well because he had long been captive among them.<sup>75</sup> There were other returned captives in Byzantine society—Eustathius of Thessalonike has a story of how a group escaped thanks to the aid of St. Demetrius, and the Turkish soldiers settled within the empire must have spread some knowledge of the language.<sup>76</sup> Andronicus Comnenus probably learned some in his long wanderings in Turkish lands. But only after 1453 was spoken Greek influenced by Turkish.

Among the unexpected aspects of the effects of Turkish culture on Byzantium was a Persian or Turkish-style building constructed within the Great Palace in the eleventh or twelfth century. Called the Mouchroutas (from *mahruta*, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish for cone or dome), it was situated just west of the Chrysotriklinos, from which it was reached by a monumental staircase. The stair seems to have been adorned with multi-colored tiles made in cross-shapes. On the stair or in the chamber were representations of “Persians” in their varied costumes. The domed ceiling of the great chamber had, apparently, stalactite decoration, set with gold mosaic. The brilliance and color of this building must have been extraordinary. The exact date of its construction is uncertain. It did not exist at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the description occurs in connection with John Comnenus Axouchos’ usurpation and death in 1200. Manuel I and Isaac II have been suggested as possible patrons of the building. The wealth of the empire under Manuel, and the ties

<sup>72</sup> Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav* (see note 12 above), 101, 200–218; A. P. Kazhdan, *Armiane v sostave gosподstvuiushchego klassa vizantiiskoi imperii v XI–XII vv.* (Erevan, 1975), 146–47, 167–68. The count includes: 5 Tatikioi, 3 Axouchoi, 3 Prosouchoi, Amertikes, Chrysoskoulos, Tzachas, Elchanes, Skaliarios, “Siaous,” Koutloumousios, Tziknoglos, Chalouphe, Pairames, Tzitas, and Kay Khusraw.

<sup>73</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 58–59.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 196–97. That this Poupakes (Abu Bakr) was probably

not the same as the guardsman in Byzantine service has been shown above.

<sup>75</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 15. On Monastras, see Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 192; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 213–15. On Rodomir, *ibid.*, 274–75.

<sup>76</sup> Eustathius of Thessalonike, In praise of St. Demetrius, *Opuscula*, 173–74.



with the Seljuks of Ikonion which then existed, suggest Manuel's reign as the more probable date. The visit of Kilidj Arslan II in 1162 may have been the occasion or the inspiration of the construction of the Mouchroutas. While there is no surviving Seljuk architecture from the twelfth century, there were certainly mosques and a palace in Ikonion. Probably any Muslim artists and architects brought to Constantinople for the construction of the Mouchroutas passed through Ikonion, even if they were Persian or Syrian in origin.<sup>77</sup>

The evidence of the Mouchroutas suggests that the Turkish and Byzantine worlds should not be seen as self-contained units, frozen into perpetual hostility. Rather they formed a continuum, with poles at Constantinople and Ikonion, between which persons and ideas flowed fitfully, as occasion allowed. The flow was not one-directional and not all Turks who came to Byzantium remained there. Amertikes returned to Muslim service in north Syria when pay for his soldiers was cut off. Tzachas, deprived of title and reward at the accession of Alexius I, shaped a career as a thalassocrator. Kay Khusraw, after having established a place for himself in Byzantine society, returned to Ikonion when fortune summoned him.

Did Turks in Byzantium retain contact with their compatriots in Anatolia? Certainly, those at the beginning and end of the period, Amertikes and Kay Khusraw, did. Chrysoskoulos was able to negotiate on familiar terms with Sulayman. Tzachas, who was only in the Byzantine Empire for a few years, evidently had not broken his ties with his fellow Turks. That "Siaous," Elchanes, Skaliarios, Prosouch, or others who joined after Alexius I's accession and before Myriokephalon kept up contact is doubtful. Youthful captives such as Tatikios and John Axouchos almost certainly did not. On the other hand, Alexius Axouchos, a second-generation Turk in Byzantium, was charged by Kinnamos with having maintained a treasonable

correspondence with the sultan. In all probability the accusation was unjust. In many cases, however, a Scotch verdict must be returned on this question.

Although this investigation is devoted to the question of Turks who came into Byzantium, the reverse aspect, Byzantines who passed over to the Turks, cannot be totally ignored. A number of prominent Byzantine nobles took refuge temporarily among the Turks. John II's brother Isaac fled in company with his son John ca. 1130, and passed through the courts of Gumushtegin Ghazi ibn Danişmend, Leo I of Cilician Armenia, and Mas'oud of Ikonion, before returning to Constantinople.<sup>78</sup> Isaac's younger son Andronicus also spent a lengthy exile in Syria and eastern Anatolia; he ended that period of his life as a raider under the protection of the Saltuqid emir of Erzerum.<sup>79</sup> But the most celebrated and permanent deserter from Byzantium was Isaac Comnenus' elder son John. After having accompanied his father on his wanderings, he was reconciled with John II. Then, during the latter's siege of Neokaisareia (Niksar) in 1139, John quarreled violently with the emperor and fled to the Turks. He declared himself a Muslim, settled at Ikonion, and married a daughter of the sultan.<sup>80</sup>

But most adherents to the Turks were of lesser rank. Michael the Syrian reports that ca. 1129 a Kasianos (the name is one known in twelfth-century Byzantium) surrendered his fortress in Pontus to Gumushtegin Ghazi and became his subject.<sup>81</sup> The most important of Byzantine landholders to enter Turkish service were members of the Gabras family, who held extensive lands in the interior of Pontus. While the family remained prominent in Byzantium, one branch of it sought employment with the sultans of Ikonion. A Gabras, said to have been of Byzantine descent, but raised among the Turks, was captured and executed by Manuel I during the retreat from Ikonion in 1146. Another Gabras acted as Kilidj Arslan II's envoy to Manuel before and after Myriokephalon.<sup>82</sup> After 1185, a series of pretenders who claimed to be Al-

<sup>77</sup>Nicholas Mesarites, Λόγος ἀφηγηματικός, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* (Würzburg, 1907), 44–45, 72, trans. in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 228–29, with the alteration suggested in note 235, which is evidently preferable. See P. Magdalino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *BMGS* 4 (1978), 101–14 (esp. 105, 108–9); Moravcsik, *BT*, II, 203; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1964), 122; Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration: Descriptions and Islamic Connections," in Michael Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX to XII Centuries*, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford, 1984), 138–56, suggests that Greek and Arabic craftsmen cooperated on the Mouchroutas.

<sup>78</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 230–31; Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 239–43 (no. 36). Isaac probably also visited the Holy Land; he apparently returned to John II ca. 1138.

<sup>79</sup>Andronicus' career is well known, but see Barzos, *Γεν.*, I, 517–30 (no. 87), on this period of wandering, ca. 1163–78.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 480–85 (no. 84).

<sup>81</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, III, 227.

<sup>82</sup>C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuques d'Asie Mineure," *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 145–49; A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980), Parts IIIa and



exius II gained assistance from sultans of Ikonion and other Turkish rulers. While they did not intentionally seek service under the Turks, they effectively aided the Turks in their renewed advance in Asia Minor.<sup>83</sup> During the latter part of the century, as insecurity and abuses of tax-collection grew on the Byzantine side of the frontier, the Turkish sultan, by liberal grant of tax exemptions, attracted Byzantine peasants to settle on his lands.<sup>84</sup>

While refugees, opponents, and would-be rivals of the emperor formed part of the traffic from Byzantium to Ikonion, there is evidence of a handful of other persons, including a few merchants, who made the journey. We know of a Latin (probably a Venetian trader) who was capable of introducing a pretended Alexius II to the sultan.<sup>85</sup> Amongst these travelers there went, apparently, confidential agents of the emperor. Manuel Comnenus, in particular, allegedly paid large sums of money to a handful of the greatest men in the sultan's court. Thus, when Kilidj Arslan II triumphed to the point of being able to annihilate Manuel's army at Myriokephalon, these advisers influenced the sultan to hold back and make peace.<sup>86</sup> Manuel's encouragement of a pro-Byzantine faction in Ikonion exactly parallels what he did elsewhere, especially in fostering supporters in the Italian city-states. It is possible that Manuel sent his messages through some of the humbler Turks in his service: Michael Isach, John Ises, and the like.

The advisers of the sultan who favored Manuel included, but probably were not limited to, Christians. J.-L. van Dieten, in his annotations to the *History* of Nicetas Choniates, added sentences from the hitherto unpublished Tomos 26 of Nicetas' *Armor of Dogma*. These say, in part, "A certain Emir Hasan, having been adopted by Gabras, who

was very powerful with Kilidj Arslan, sultan of the Turks in our times, approached our blameless faith, but while being instructed he heard the words of this anathematization [of Mohammed's god] [and] was no little displeased, inasmuch as God the maker of all was slandered by the Byzantines and subjected to anathema. Then, sending to the emperor—this was Manuel Comnenus—and presenting in a statement the things in the catechism at which he hesitated, he seemed to say things which did not disagree with what was right."<sup>87</sup> Brief as it is, this text offers several important details. The Gabras mentioned was certainly Kilidj Arslan II's envoy to Manuel before and after Myriokephalon (1175–76); that he remained a Christian was previously unknown. Hasan ibn Gabras was an important person in Kilidj Arslan's court in the sultan's later years; he twice served as ambassador to Saladin. That he was an adopted son of Gabras had not been known. That he became a Christian at the time of his adoption, and was able to communicate his difficulties to Manuel, are illuminating details. Probably Gabras and his adopted son were not totally isolated in the court at Ikonion. With some confidence, one may hypothesize around the sultan a small group of Christian advisers who were in contact with Manuel and probably received funds from him. That Hasan felt no hesitation about apostasizing from Islam (technically a crime punishable by death), in a way which could scarcely have escaped the sultan's notice, suggests the tolerant atmosphere of that court.<sup>88</sup>

The date of Hasan ibn Gabras' conversion would seem to have been about 1179, for his complaints about the catechism stirred Manuel to his last ma-

IIIb. The Gabrades mentioned are Bryer's nos. 6 and 9. At the start of the 13th century, the Maurozomes family entered Turkish service, for the reasons indicated above. See Vryonis, *Asia Minor*, 229–34, for an excellent summary of Byzantines who voluntarily entered Turkish service.

<sup>83</sup> Brand, *Byzantium Confronts* (see note 38 above), 86–87, 135–36; J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210)* (Munich, 1974), 39–43.

<sup>84</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 494–95; Brand, *Byzantium Confronts*, 137.

<sup>85</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 420. K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, II, *IstForsch* 31 (Berlin, 1976), 115–16, 204, knows of no caravansaries prior to 1200, but acknowledges that many of them succeeded Byzantine xenodochia. Some of the earliest caravansaries were on the route from Ikonion to Constantinople, others on the road west from Ikonion.

<sup>86</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 188.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 213 ann. On the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, see J.-L. van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia Dogmatike des Niketas Choniates* (Amsterdam, 1970). The integral text of this work remains unpublished, but van Dieten has included in his notes to this section of the *Historia* all parts of Tomos 26 of the *Panoplia* which differ from or supplement the *Historia*.

<sup>88</sup> On Gabras and Hasan ibn Gabras, see Bryer, *Empire of Trebizond*, IIIa, 180–81 (nos. 9 and 10 of Bryer's catalogue). Hasan ibn Gabras was murdered in 1192. In 1234 a Giovanni de Gabra, a Christian, served as the envoy of Kay Kubad I to the pope and to Frederick II (ibid., 181, no. 12). We do not know his relationship to the above-mentioned Gabrades. Any surviving Christian descendants of Hasan ibn Gabras would have been joined after 1205 by members of the Maurozomes family, who continued to be Christian until the end of the 13th century. The Christian wives of the sultans probably assisted this group of prominent Christians at the court of Ikonion. These women seem to have had some influence. Kilidj Arslan II favored Kay Khusraw, his youngest son, child of a Christian wife. Kay Khusraw protected his Maurozomes relatives-in-law, and later sultans also had Christian wives.

jor theological effort, in the early months of 1180. The issue evidently struck a responsive chord in the emperor, probably not only because he desired to ease the difficulties of one convert in Ikonion, but because he wanted to smooth the path of numerous Turks within the Byzantine Empire who were becoming Christians. The Tomos which was finally published stated that the Muslims who were coming to be baptized hesitated in part because they "were very rustic and ignorant of literature" and did not understand the issue.<sup>89</sup> These phrases presumably did not refer to Hasan, but to humbler converts.

A Muslim who became Christian was required to repeat a lengthy denunciation of Islam, which included in its final portion "In addition to all these things, I anathematize the god of Mohammed, about whom it says that he is one god, a *holosphyros* god; he begets not, nor is begotten, nor is anyone like unto him begotten."<sup>90</sup> The allusion is to the Koran 112:1–4, where the Arabic word *samad* ("unique" or "eternal") was rendered *holosphyros*, "solid," "compact," "uniform throughout." Would-be converts like Hasan apparently feared that they were condemning the true God, while Byzantine theology held that Mohammed's god, being without the Logos and the Spirit (*pneuma*), was without reason and breath, so was only dead matter (*holosphyros*). To ease the path of Muslim converts, Manuel proposed to remove the condemnation of Mohammed's god from the catechistical book. Spurred by his advancing illness, he acted precipitately, without consulting his theologians. The members of the Holy Synod, when they heard Manuel's decree, reacted strongly against the implication that the god proclaimed by Mohammed was the true God. Eustathius of Thessalonike spoke in particularly violent terms. Manuel was forced into a series of compromises. In the final decree, issued in April 1180, the anathema against Mohammed's god was removed, and a new one against Mohammed, his teachings, and all who followed them was imposed. In practice, however, no change occurred, probably because Manuel died soon after (24 Sept. 1180) and his opponents al-

lowed the decree to be forgotten. A text of it survives, but copies of the convert's renunciation of Islam made after the twelfth century retain the previous phraseology.<sup>91</sup>

That Manuel made the effort to respond to the needs of converts to Christianity, in Ikonion and inside the empire, indicates the importance he attached to both groups of Turks. The sultan's advisers had been crucial to his own survival at Myriokephalon, and Hasan was already powerful in Ikonion. The numerous Turks settled within Byzantium needed to be assimilated. The failure of his alteration in the catechism to endure beyond his death indicates the fading importance of the Turkish element within the empire. In part, their diminution was due to circumstances, but another aspect of their decline was the appearance of a group of Byzantines who were hostile to the Turks in imperial service.

There is no sign of animosity to such Turks in authors of the first half of the twelfth century; Anna Comnena, John Zonaras, and Michael Italikos all seem neutral or uninterested in the question. Nicephorus Basilakes, in his oration to John Axouchos, would have us believe he was extremely favorable, at least to John. Traces of antipathy begin to appear in the middle of the century. George Tornikes, metropolitan of Ephesos, complained, in a letter seeking the retention of his uncle in an official position, that barbarians, by nature slaves, were being raised above the Hellene, the lover of the Muses and of Hermes. In a funeral oration for Anna Comnena, he was more specific. Speaking about Anna's parents, Alexius I and Irene, he said, "For many from these [remote ends of the earth], the greatest occasion for fame was only that they had been called their servants and had come into their presence under their authority and heard their commands, barbarians from captivity or even slaves bought from the sales-room of the market who were introduced into the palace—how much [greater] should it be for her [Anna] that she was engendered and nurtured by them."<sup>92</sup> The allu-

<sup>89</sup> J. Darrouzès, "Tomos inédit de 1180 contre Mahomet," *REB* 30 (1972), 195. This article, plus van Dieten's discoveries, substantially replaces K. G. Mpones [Bonis], 'Ο Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐστάθιος καὶ οἱ δύο "τόμοι" τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Α' Κομνηνοῦ (1143/80) ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν ὁρθοδόξαν μεθισταμένων Μωαμεθανῶν, *Ἑτ.Ἑτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 19 (1949), 162–69.

<sup>90</sup> Darrouzès, loc. cit.; see also PG 140 (Paris, 1865), 133–34.

<sup>91</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 213–19, with the variants from the *Panoplia Dogmatike* given in the notes; Darrouzès, "Tomos inédit de 1180," 187–97; A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam: Textes et auteurs (VIII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Louvain, 1969), 187–93, 249–50; S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Attitudes toward Islam during the Late Middle Ages," in his *Studies on Byzantium* (see note 50 above), no. VIII, 272–73, whose particularly clear presentation of the theology I have followed.

<sup>92</sup> George Tornikes, in George and Demetrius Tornikes, *Lettres et discours*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1970), 235.4–8; see the letter to John Kamateros, *ibid.*, 129.1–10. Both date from ca. 1153 to

sion to those who have risen through slavery and service in the Great Palace must be to such Turks as Tatikios and John Axouchos.

The most virulent propagator of slanders against Turks of this type was John Kinnamos. In his history, written between Manuel I's death and the accession of Andronicus I, Kinnamos delights in denigrating such persons. John Axouchos is presented, in the description of the retreat from Ikonion, as being more interested in saving his own skin than in assisting the emperor or rescuing the army. Fearing his own capture, supposedly, he took some troops, who were on their way to aid Manuel, to form a bodyguard for himself at a spot he considered defensible. Later, Kinnamos blames Axouchos for failing to conduct a fleet he commanded to Italy. The historian alleges Axouchos was either corrupted by the Venetians or too inexperienced in naval matters to carry out his mission. Part of the fleet, he claims, was lost in a storm because Axouchos did not take appropriate precautions.<sup>93</sup> Against Michael Isach, Kinnamos fulminates at length, probably with exaggeration. In 1175 Isach was dispatched to punish deserters from Manuel's army. Supposedly he blinded everyone he met, whether runaway soldier, peasant, trader, or any other person. Isach's actions cannot have been excessive, for Manuel declined to penalize him, and indeed exonerated him from the accusations. Kinnamos, however, exhibits *Schadenfreude* in mentioning Isach's ensuing death and the disasters which overtook his descendants.<sup>94</sup>

The fall of Alexius Axouchos afforded an occasion for Kinnamos to unleash the full extent of his anti-Turkish sentiments. He rejoiced in the opportunity to vilify the former protostrator, attributing to him a variety of political crimes, not to mention acts of unbelievable folly. Alexius is stated to have plotted with the sultan, placed unpatriotic paintings on the walls of his villa, conspired with a magician to impair the emperor's virility, made treasonable statements to a number of persons, disdained Manuel's efforts to correct him, and finally assembled a band of mercenaries to attack the emperor.<sup>95</sup> While Alexius Axouchos' over-

throw was primarily the result of a struggle for power within the palace (his judges presumably represent the victorious faction), it gave a moment of triumph to the anti-Turkish group.

Kinnamos' younger contemporary, the historian Nicetas Choniates, was free of enmity to the Turks. Nicetas, who wrote in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, avoids using the term "Perses" ("Turk") in connection with most individuals. He specifies John Axouchos as a "Perses" the first time he mentions him, but afterwards simply gives his title. Alexius Axouchos is called Alexius the eldest son of the grand domestikos, and thereafter, Alexius the protostrator. Other Turks or their descendants (Poupakes, Prosouch, Nicephorus Chalouphe, John Comnenus Axouchos, Constantine Tatikios) are not so designated. (Kinnamos, on the other hand, uses the term "Perses" in most such cases.) Nicetas was extremely favorable to John Axouchos and his son Alexius. He praised John's character very highly; indeed, Axouchos is one of the few personages who emerges as wholly admirable in Nicetas' lengthy history. Nicetas regards Alexius as a noble-minded man, pulled down by petty jealousies and the paranoia of the emperor.<sup>96</sup>

The case of John Comnenus Axouchos "the Fat" allows an appraisal of the extent of hostility to the Turks in Byzantine service at the start of the thirteenth century. When his story was recorded, he was dead; as a fallen usurper, he was a "tyrant" in Byzantine terminology. There was no reason to spare him vilification; there was (in the immediate aftermath) every reason to flatter the triumphant Alexius III. We have five accounts of John's usurpation: Nicetas Choniates' *History*, written in final form after 1204, an oration by Nicetas, and orations by Nicholas Mesarites, Nicephorus Chrysoberges, and Euthymius Tornikes. All four speeches were composed shortly after the event. Nicetas' *History* contains no reference to John's Turkish origin, but mentions his Comnenian ancestry. Nicetas' oration declares that John was not pure-blooded, but, like ancient Ishmael, home-born of a noble stock. ("Ishmael" or descendants of Ishmael is a term constantly applied to Muslims.) Nicetas, however, introduces this only in passing. Nicephorus Chrysoberges avoids mentioning John's descent. Nicholas Mesarites holds back any allusion to that subject until the fugitive is depicted entering the Mouchroutas, when its construction by his grand-

1155. On the concepts of Hellene and barbarian, see K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner: Die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins* (Munich, 1954).

<sup>93</sup> Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 51, 102.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 298–99.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 265–69.

<sup>96</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.*, 9–11, 97, 143–46.

sire's relative is noted. But his Turkish descent is not stressed.<sup>97</sup>

While Nicetas Choniates, Chrysoberges, and Mesarites do not make a special point of John "the Fat's" Turkish ancestry, Euthymius Tornikes expatiates on the subject. Euthymius was the nephew of George Tornikes, and perhaps inherited his anti-Turkish feeling. He says:

Oh, that Turkish race, ill-intentioned, swollen, obdurate and stiff-necked like the Egyptians, as it was anciently spiteful against the Byzantines, raising conflicts against the Byzantines' realm and hostile to us from the beginning. For a descendant of that Turkish race, reared and nurtured here for his own evil fate—you know well that empty fellow, heavy-fleshed and useless, the graceless seed of Ishmael, whose God is his belly (I speak the divine and holy [word] according to Paul [Phil. 3:19])—he, although he was nigh the imperial race, although he had been warmed and nurtured in the merciful bosom of the emperor, yet he was not desirous to put aside his inborn baseness, the crooked serpent. A Turk is still a Turk—like an ape is an ape, according to the proverb—he did not reject his ancestral viciousness and haughty, Turkish spirit: "for eating he was filled and kicked, was fattened and broadened and forgot who nurtured him, and revolted from him" [Deut. 32:15, slightly altered], and like Jeroboam, another slave and rebel, assembling a foolish and unwise people, he usurped that great honor and renowned name, the empire.<sup>98</sup>

The faction which opposed the Turks in Byzantine service, to judge by the material we have, was not numerous. The chief evidence for its existence is the writings of a number of rhetoricians and of the historian Kinnamos, a bureaucrat. The triumph of the group lay in the destruction of Alexius Axouchos; perhaps, indeed, the group began as a reaction to the high authority attained by John Axouchos, and the successes of his son. George Tornikes saw the Turks as upstarts, to be suppressed in favor of free-born, native Hellenes. Kinnamos highlighted the ancestry of every Turk, and denigrated John Axouchos and his son. Euthymius Tornikes seized an opportunity to ventilate his spleen in the most extreme language. Nevertheless, the size and popularity of the group

cannot compare with that of the opponents of the "Latins," especially of the Italian merchants. The Turks occupied high positions at court and thus attracted the jealousy of courtiers and of writers who hoped to win positions in the bureaucracy. There must have been thousands of Turks settled in the countryside, to judge by Eustathius' remarks about "New Turkey" and "European Land of the Turks," but they were not concentrated enough to attract widespread popular hostility. The Latins formed visible colonies in the cities, and their economic power injured a great many persons. Anti-Latin feeling was largely inarticulate, but expressed itself violently in the great Latin Massacre. Nothing so bad befell the Turks.

The Turks were only one of many peoples whose members (voluntarily or involuntarily) became part of Byzantine society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Soldiers from England, Scandinavia, Normandy, France, Italy, Germany, and Russia voluntarily enlisted. Large numbers of Serbs and Hungarians were captured in the campaigns of John II and Manuel I and settled within the empire. Georgians and Armenians still appeared in Byzantine forces. The vast majority of Turks who entered Byzantium were humble persons, residing on the islands or in Macedonia, probably with military obligations. Because they were few compared to the total number of the population, and because there were many other ethnic groups within the empire, there was no great wave of popular hostility against them.

On the other hand, the number of Turks in the Byzantine army, and the high position of Turkish officers, probably contributed to the belief of Western Crusaders that the Byzantines were in alliance with the Turks. Tatikios was vilified by most of the historians of the First Crusade for his conduct at the siege of Antioch. Prosouch commanded the forces which strove to keep the Second Crusade in check. Hostility to Byzantium and suspicion of the emperors rose in the twelfth century, and the use of Turks contributed thereto.

Turks were not the only foreigners to ascend in the empire's service, and intermarry with the imperial family. John Rogerios, Boris of Hungary, and Renier of Montferrat were among the most prominent. But Alexius Axouchos surpassed them in wedding the only offspring of the emperor's eldest son. The Latins, Hungarians, and others who achieved high status in Byzantium and intermarried with the aristocracy or the reigning house generally came from noble or knightly back-

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 526–28; Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes et epistolae*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 3 (Berlin, 1972), 104; Nicephorus Chrysoberges, *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1892), 1–12; Mesarites, *Palastrevolution*, 45. The lemma of Nicetas' speech (*Orationes*, 101) alludes to John the Fat's descent "from the Grand Domestikos named Axouch, who was Turkish," but it may have been written by the scribe.

<sup>98</sup> Euthymius Tornikes, Speech to Alexius III (see note 38 above), 66–67. I am grateful to Prof. Samuel Lachs for the citation to Deuteronomy (the reference in the edition is incorrect).

grounds. They arrived in the empire with a claim of outstanding descent to support their pretensions. Ancestry carried great weight in twelfth-century Byzantium: Anna Comnena could excuse her father's preference for the incompetent Aspietes (Oschin) on grounds of his descent from the Arsacids of Armenia.<sup>99</sup> Only a handful of Turks who entered Byzantium could claim status by birth: Amertikes, Elchanes, and Koutlounousios, for instance. But most of the Turks who gained leading roles in the empire were of obscure origin. Tzachas is explicitly stated to have been of undistinguished background. Servile beginnings or captivity did not bar advancement. Tatikios and John Axouchos owed their rise first to the fortune which brought them into contact with the future emperor, but most of all to their personal qualities. With no claim to noble ancestry, in competition with members of the Byzantine, Western, and other aristocracies, the Turks mounted through ability and loyalty to the emperor to positions of high command and great influence at court.

Indeed, the early Comneni probably turned toward the Turks exactly because they had no connections with the established aristocracy. "Siaous," Elchanes, Tatikios, and John Axouchos could all be

relied on because they lacked ties in society, and were totally dependent on the emperor's favor. Alexius Axouchos, however, possessed a link to the reigning dynasty which could be made to seem a potential threat to Manuel. Hence Alexius was cast down from his high position. Nicephorus Chalouphe's obscure Turkish origin probably made him seem appropriate as the husband of Manuel's former mistress. During the period of their greatest prominence, the Turks' lack of social connections made them valuable to the emperor.

Byzantium benefited by their presence. Tatikios, John Axouchos, and Prosouch were capable generals. Alexius Axouchos and Nicephorus Chalouphe managed diplomatic missions with delicacy and success. John Axouchos rose highest, as the emperor's principal adviser. The disappearance of loyal and capable Turks from positions of command and influence after Manuel's death left leadership to aristocrats with largely civilian backgrounds, and to eunuchs. The only Turks then in Constantinople, John Comnenus Axouchos and Kay Khusraw, acted as courtiers rather than leaders. In a letter to John Axouchos, Michael Italikos called him "an unshaken tower of the Romans' realm."<sup>100</sup> The empire was weakened by the disappearance of the Turks in Byzantine service.

Bryn Mawr College

<sup>99</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, III, 58–59; Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 29–31. On the Latins who entered Byzantine service, see D. M. Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *BF* 7 (1979), 113–35; Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy: Some Suggestions," in Angold, *Byzantine Aristocracy* (see note 77 above), 202–10.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, 223.14–15 (no. 37), quoted at the beginning of this paper. On the nature of the elite from 1180 to 1204, see Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav*, 263–64.

# DUMBARTON OAKS

---

Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor

Author(s): Clive Foss

Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 56 (2002), pp. 129-151

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291859>

Accessed: 13/08/2013 21:02

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor

CLIVE FOSS

At first sight, pilgrimage in Asia Minor seems to decline drastically after the early seventh century. In terms of abundance and variety of evidence, medieval Byzantine sources have far less to offer than those of earlier centuries. No texts of the seventh through fourteenth centuries can compare with the rich detail of the miracles of St. Thekla or the lives of St. Theodore of Sykeon or St. Nicholas of Myra. Those allow a whole environment to be reconstructed, featuring the lives of holy men in a rural society or the vibrant activity of a major shrine that drew people from a wide area. In addition, long-distance travelers, whether from Byzantium or the West, reveal a whole network of famous late antique shrines and their activities.<sup>1</sup> For the following centuries, the evidence is quite different and far more limited. Lives of saints or scattered mentions of shrines in historical texts offer inconsistent though sometimes detailed information—much of it concentrated in one period, the ninth century—but accounts of long-distance travelers are few and uninformative. The detailed life of an eleventh-century saint, Lazaros of Mount Galesion, provides a valuable exception.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the archaeological evidence is much scarcer: the Isaurian shrines of St. Thekla and Alahan (which appears to have been a pilgrimage site) were abandoned, and only Ephesos presents continuing evidence for pilgrimage. Clay ampullae, used for the sacred oil gathered at some shrines, also appear to date only to late antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

The circumstances of the early Middle Ages, of course, were not very propitious for pilgrimage. The Arab invasions of the seventh to ninth centuries would have impeded long-distance travel, while the decline of cities and general reduction of the population

<sup>1</sup> For all this, see the excellent survey of P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'orient* (Paris, 1985), esp. 353–58, 363–89 for Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* (Washington, D.C., 2000), with comprehensive introduction and notes.

<sup>3</sup> For ampullae from Ephesos, see M. Duncan-Flowers, “A Pilgrim’s Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus,” in R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana, 1990), 125–39. On the other hand, lead ampullae were being made at Salonica in the 12th–15th centuries (C. Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki,” *ibid.*, 140–49), and lead and pewter ampullae from the Holy Land, normally dated to the 6th century, have now been assigned on convincing grounds to the 11th–13th centuries: D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), 187f. The whole question of dating ampullae from Asia Minor is perhaps to be revised. This and the study of lead seals, many of which bear images of patron saints of pilgrimage sites and are sometimes pierced for wearing, offer promising lines for future research. So, no doubt, do inscriptions, though a preliminary check revealed little direct evidence for pilgrimage.

meant fewer resources for travelers. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, most of the interior of Asia Minor was permanently lost to Byzantium. Everything seems to indicate that pilgrimage could only have continued on a greatly reduced scale. Yet a closer look at the sources suggests a more nuanced image, with far more pilgrims visiting far more shrines than are at first apparent. I propose to present this image here by investigating a few simple questions: what shrines were still functioning? what attractions did they have to offer? who attended them? and, in the process, to show the limits of our knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

In the late tenth century, a certain Leon, a native of a village near Magnesia on the Maeander who came to be known as St. Lazaros of Mount Galesion, set out on an ambitious pilgrimage. On his way to the Holy Land, he first visited the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel in Chonai in Phrygia. Years later, on his return from Jerusalem, he traveled through Antioch and Cilicia to the church of St. Basil in Cappadocian Caesarea, then to the shrines of St. Theodore the General in Euchania, St. Theodore the Recruit in Euchaita, back to Chonai, and finally to the church of St. John the Evangelist in Ephesos.<sup>5</sup> His pilgrimage took in most of the major shrines of Asia Minor; it also illustrates some of the problems of the available evidence and raises the question of changing goals of pilgrimage between late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Relatively abundant sources corroborate the importance of Ephesos, Chonai, and Euchaita as major goals of Byzantine pilgrimage. Euchania and Caesarea, however, are hardly ever mentioned, while Lazaros failed to visit three other places which clearly attracted large numbers of pilgrims: Myra, Nicaea, and Mount Olympos in Mysia.<sup>6</sup>

In terms of sacred capital—churches, tombs, relics, and sites of miracles—Ephesos was by far the richest place in Asia Minor and one of the greatest goals of pilgrimage in the empire. As one of the major Aegean ports, standing at the end of highways into the interior and across Asia Minor, it was in a convenient location to attract local, long-distance, and international visitors. Consequently, its pilgrims included royalty, officials, saints, and many foreigners. They came in a constant stream through the Byzantine period and into the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The city contained one of the most holy sites of Christendom, the church and tomb of St. John the Evangelist, so important that the medieval town was usually known simply as *Theologos*, the title of the Evangelist. The church was the scene of an annual miracle which will be described below. Second in fame was the tomb of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos whose miraculous awakening took place in the fifth century; they even found their way into the Koran.<sup>8</sup> In addition, there were the tombs of Mary Magdalene, St. Timothy, and St. Hermione, daughter of the apostle Philip. Local relics included the

<sup>4</sup> The following discussion operates within certain geographical limits: it includes Asia Minor west of the Taurus and Antitaurus—thus excluding Armenia, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (though these are within the boundaries of modern Turkey), and does not discuss pilgrimage to Trebizond or Mt. Galesion, the subjects of articles in this volume by J. O. Rosenqvist and R. Greenfield.

<sup>5</sup> Text in *AASS Nov.* 3:511, 518f. Neither St. Lazaros nor his monastic foundation and the pilgrims who frequented it will be discussed here, since they have been treated in full detail by R. Greenfield: see above, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Nor did he visit the shrine of St. Eugenios in Trebizond, whose widely famed cult attracted pilgrims from the 9th though the 14th century; it is discussed by J. O. Rosenqvist, in his article in this volume.

<sup>7</sup> See C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979), 119, 125–28, and below for some of the individual pilgrims.

<sup>8</sup> For the Islamic tradition, see below, 140ff.



red stone on which Joseph of Arimathea had washed the body of Christ (it was transported to Constantinople by Leo VI), a piece of the true Cross which St. John had worn round his neck, a shirt that St. Mary had made for St. John, and John's manuscript copy of the Apocalypse. The last three were still present when the Turks took the city in the early fourteenth century. On the mountain outside the city were the monasteries where St. Lazaros stood on a pillar in the eleventh century, attracting pilgrims from far and near.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the other sites were associated with only one holy figure. At Chonai, the Archangel Michael had performed an impressive miracle that transformed the landscape. A magnificent church, described on the occasion of a Turkish attack in 1070, burned in another in 1189, attracted visitors from the ninth through the thirteenth century. The icon it contained was the object of a pilgrim's veneration.<sup>10</sup> Those who traveled long distances to visit Chonai included an emperor, Manuel I, who came here on the eve of the fatal battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, holy men on long peregrinations who became saints, and a young man from Paphlagonia. The fame of the church redounded to the town which became an archbishopric around 860 and a metropolitanate a century later.<sup>11</sup>

Euchaita was the home of a martyr of the Great Persecution, St. Theodore the Recruit, who had killed a dragon there. His church, already famed in the fifth century, survived the attacks of Persians and Arabs. It contained a miraculous image of the saint, while another stood on the city gate.<sup>12</sup> St. Lazaros made his pilgrimage here on the way back from the Holy Land, as did a Georgian saint, George Hagiorites in 1059.<sup>13</sup> In the seventh century, Euchaita still had the body of the saint, but it (or another like it) eventually wound up in the similarly named town of Euchaina (or Euchania, also in Pontos) where the rival cult of St. Theodore the General grew up in the Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> This Theodore became so famous that John Tzimiskes dedicated a great church here in 971 to celebrate his victory over the Russians on the spot where he had received the saint's aid. This, too, became a goal of pilgrimage, but is only mentioned as such in the account of St. Lazaros. Euchania, then, represents typical Byzantine phenomena: a new cult of dubious origins, and a place of real importance that simply happens not to appear in the existing sources.

Similarly, the ancient shrine of St. Basil in Caesarea is nowhere else mentioned as a medieval pilgrimage goal,<sup>15</sup> yet it had a church whose rich decor was described on the occasion of its devastation in 1070. It had stood, as part of a complex built by Basil, since the

<sup>9</sup> See above, note 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Vita* of Cyril Philotes, ed. E. Sargologos, *Vie de s. Cyrille le Philéote* (Brussels, 1964), chap. 18.

<sup>11</sup> See K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *TIB* 7 (Vienna, 1990), 222–25 with full references.

<sup>12</sup> For the saint and his miracles, see *Vita, educatio et miracula S. Theodori*, *AASS* Nov. 4:49–55, dated to the 8th century by C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit," *REB* 46 (1988): 191–210. For the cult and its celebrations, see also the works of the 11th-century metropolitan John Mauroπους, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882). Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 376 discusses the late antique cult.

<sup>13</sup> George Hagiorites: F. Peeters, "Histoires monachiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36/37 (1917–19), 121f.

<sup>14</sup> The cults of identically named saints in similarly named towns have been the source of much confusion. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchanea," *AB* 104 (1986): 327–35, clears it away as far as possible. See also I. Hutter, "Theodorupolis," in *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart, 1998), 181–90.

<sup>15</sup> A Georgian monk, St. George the Hagiorite, went to Caesarea on his way to Euchaita in 1059, most probably to pray at this church, but the source gives no indication of his specific goal or motive: Peeters, "Histoires monachiques," 121.

fourth century.<sup>16</sup> The fame of Myra also was based on one saint, St. Nicholas, a renowned miracle worker who attracted pilgrims from home and abroad in all periods. They included pilgrims from England and Russia, a priest from Mytilene who regularly attended the saint's festival, and many locals. Nicholas's church, probably a work of Justinian reconstructed in the ninth century after an Arab attack, was further rebuilt under the patronage of Constantine X in 1042. Although it soon lost its major treasure—freebooters from Bari carried off the saint's body in 1087—pilgrims kept on coming.<sup>17</sup> All these shrines, except Chonai, featured the body of one or more saints.

Nicaea and Mount Olympos were different cases. The First Ecumenical Council of 325 gave eternal glory to Nicaea, which boasted of the Church of the Fathers where it was supposedly held. Pilgrims from the West came to see it, while the shrines of Sts. Tryphon, Neophytos, and Diomedes were of more local interest. Later, however, St. Tryphon became the patron of the city, with the most celebrated cult. The miracle that took place at his shrine was important enough to justify an encomium by an emperor, Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), while Tryphon's church received a new miracle-working saint, John the Merciful the Younger, in the late thirteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Mount Olympos, convenient for access from the capital, gained its fame as a monastic center, a base for resistance to the iconoclasm of the early ninth century. Its brief moment of fame came from living holy men and from the miracles that some of them wrought after their death. Although renowned during the ninth and early tenth centuries, it hardly appears in later years.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the others, it derived its fame not from great churches but from a group of individual holy men.

These eight sites—Ephesos, Chonai, Euchaita, Nicaea, Myra, Mount Olympos, Euchania and Caesarea—appear to have been the most important in medieval Asia Minor, possessing renowned spiritual capital that drew people, many of high rank, from long distances. They contained famed churches that often attracted imperial patronage. Beside them were a host of minor sites, primarily of local interest. At least they so appear in the haphazard survival of the sources that describe them, sometimes only in a few phrases. They seem rarely to have attracted pilgrims from long distances or people of more than local importance, but, as will be seen, they may represent only a part of a picture whose details can never be completely reconstructed. The following discussion includes only places where a specific miracle or cure is attested (or where closely contemporary sources mention miracles or cures, even vaguely) and where the sources give concrete reason to believe that pilgrims came, if only from a short distance.<sup>20</sup> Most of them are in easy reach of Con-

<sup>16</sup> Church described: *Michaelis Attaliothae Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1858), 94; its possible remains: M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna, 1979), 44f; earlier references: F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien*, TIB 2 (Vienna, 1981), 193–96. In late antiquity, the major local cult was that of St. Mamas, which does not appear in medieval sources: for that and other local saints, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 371f.

<sup>17</sup> See C. Foss, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age," *DOP* 48 (1994): 24, 30f, 34f, with further references.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1996), 6f. (martyrs), 97–120 (churches and cults).

<sup>19</sup> Comprehensively discussed in R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 126–91.

<sup>20</sup> In most cases, the cults cannot be closely dated; the texts that report them (usually *AASS* or *Synaxarium CP*) are often of the 10th–11th centuries.

stantinople by land or sea, or along the Black Sea coast.<sup>21</sup> Such a geographic distribution may reflect the nature of the sources, written primarily in the capital and therefore reflecting information available there, rather than purely local data which might reveal more obscure or remote shrines.<sup>22</sup> All these shrines are very poorly attested; little is known beyond the bare fact of their existence and general activities.

Nikomedea had three of the several active shrines in Bithynia. The churches of Sts. Panteleemon, Kosmas and Damianos (where a famous 9th-century bishop Theophylaktos was buried), and Diomedes are attested by local or roughly contemporary sources as sites of healing; in the case of St. Panteleemon, large numbers of people came from the city bearing offerings (the church lay outside the walls).<sup>23</sup> At the famous hot springs of Pythia Therma, Sts. Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora succeeded the ancient nymphs in working cures at their church.<sup>24</sup> The monastery of Medikion on the Sea of Marmara contained the bodies of its founder, St. Nikephoros (d. 813) and his successor, Niketas (d. 824). Their nearly contemporary biographies vaguely describe them as having a yearly cult and working cures.<sup>25</sup> Further west on the sea, in Mysia, the ancient city of Kyzikos contained the church of St. Tryphaena, built on the spot where she was martyred; it featured a miraculous spring frequented by women. The tomb of St. Rufus and eight other martyrs of the Great Persecution in the same city also offered cures.<sup>26</sup> The island of Aphousia in the Marmara, a common place of exile for iconodule monks, contained the tomb of St. Makarios of Pelekete, which was reputed to effect cures.<sup>27</sup>

The church of St. Michael in Katesia near Daphnousia on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia was built by the patrician Niketas, who attained sainthood after his death in 836. His tomb produced a miraculous oil that was much in demand by locals and travelers. In Daphnousia itself, the church of Sts. Photios and Aniketos had an annual celebration of its saints and provided cures.<sup>28</sup> In the interior, the shrine of St. Eleutherios in Tarsos, on the main highway that led east from Nikomedea, worked cures and miracles.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> I have excluded from this discussion sites in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople, including the Bosphoros, Chalcedon, the Princes' Isles, and Bithynia as far as Cape Akritas; for them, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 5–76.

<sup>22</sup> The chance survival of the miracles of St. George reveals several unknown shrines in Paphlagonia which will appear in the following narrative. The texts are published in *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J. B. Aufhauser (Leipzig, 1913); cf. the translation and commentary of A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean, S. Georges* (Paris, 1971), 259–334.

<sup>23</sup> Panteleemon: *Laudatio*, ed. B. Latyshev, "Hagiographica graeca inedita," *MASP* 8th ser., 12. 2 (1914): 65–75; for Kosmas and Damianos, see the *vita* of Theophylaktos of Nikomedea by Theophylaktos, ed. A. Vogt, *AB* 50 (1932): 71–82; Diomedes: L. Westerink, "Trois textes inédits sur S. Diomède de Nicée," *AB* 84 (1966): 161–227.

<sup>24</sup> See the references in Janin, *Grands centres*, 98.

<sup>25</sup> *Vita* of Nikephoros of Medikion, ed. F. Halkin, "La Vie de S. Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (d. 813)," *AB* 78 (1960): 401–25; *vita* of Niketas of Medikion, *AASS* Apr. 1: xviii–xxvii (at end of volume).

<sup>26</sup> For Tryphaina see *Synaxarium CP* 436 and *passio*, ed. C. Nikas in *RSB* 6/7 (1969–70): 160–64; for Rufus see his *passio*, ed. W. Lackner, in *JÖB* 22 (1973): 45–48.

<sup>27</sup> *Vita* of Makarios of Pelekete, ed. I. van den Gheyn in *AB* 16 (1897): 142–63.

<sup>28</sup> *Vita* of Niketas the Patrician, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 3 (1968): 327, 337, 349; for Daphnousia, see epitome of *passio* of Photios, Aniketos, et al., in *AASS* Aug. 2: 707–9. St. Photios had a church in Boanes, an unlocated place in Bithynia, where his relics drove away demons and worked cures: *passio* of Photios, Aniketos, et al., ed. B. Latyshev, "Hagiographica graeca inedita" (as above, note 23), 112f.

<sup>29</sup> *Passio* of St. Eleutherios, *AASS* Aug. 1: 326f; for the site, see C. Foss, "Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius," *AnatSt* 40 (1990): 180–82.

Further east on the Black Sea, Amastris could boast the church of St. Hyacinth where a miraculous curative dust issued forth, while one of its villages, Potamou, contained a shrine of St. George, the scene of a tenth-century miracle that will be discussed below. Another Paphlagonian village, Phatrynon, contained another church of St. George renowned for its miracles.<sup>30</sup> The great Black Sea port of Trebizond also had its share of shrines. Besides that of St. Eugenios (not discussed here), the monastery of St. Phokas worked miraculous cures that attracted important clients in the thirteenth century, thanks to the tomb of St. Athanasios the Wonderworker that it contained. The more famous church of St. Phokas at Kordyle, west of the city, featured an all-night service and *panegyris*. It was splendidly restored in 1361 and frequented into the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

Few shrines are attested in other parts of Asia Minor. Of them the most important was the monastic settlement of Mount Latros, with the tomb of its pioneering monk St. Paul, where a miraculous oil worked cures, and the top of the mountain where a great stone offered a site to pray for rain. It was frequented mostly by locals, but the future patriarch Athanasios, then a monk, came to visit it around 1250.<sup>32</sup> The most important city with a minor shrine was Pergamon, where the tomb of St. Antipas was still giving forth a curative oil in the tenth century.<sup>33</sup> Not far away on the coast was Atramyttium, where the miraculous oil that issued from the tomb of a local bishop, St. Athanasios, was working cures in the early fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The spectacular hot springs of Hierapolis in Phrygia were attributed to the prayers of St. Aberkios who was buried there under a stone miraculously transported from Rome.<sup>35</sup> This site is at a main road junction; north of it, on another cross-country road, was the crossing of the Asteles River where St. Therapon was viciously beaten. The tree that grew from his blood worked miraculous cures.<sup>36</sup> Not far away is Synaos where St. Agapetos was constantly working miracles in the time of Arab attacks.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, four sites were situated on the great highways leading from the capital to the eastern frontier. Most unusual, perhaps, was the shrine of St. Michael at the river crossing of Sykeon in Galatia, where the archangel worked miracles through the cross that had accompanied the emperor Herakleios on his campaigns.<sup>38</sup> In Ikonion, the long-lived cult of St. Amphilochios effected cures well into the Turkish period.<sup>39</sup> The church of St. Theodore

<sup>30</sup> For the church of St. Hyacinth, see *laudatio* of Hyacinth, *AASS* Jul. 4:230 or PG 105:438, and *Synaxarium CP* 827; for Potamou (an unlocated site), see Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 19; for Phatrynon (an unlocated site), see *ibid.*, 103.

<sup>31</sup> For St. Athanasios of Trebizond, see his *Synaxarium*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *VizVrem* 12 (1906): 139–41; for St. Phokas, see C. van de Vorst, “S. Phocas,” *AB* 30 (1911): 279; cf. Janin, *Grands centres*, 293f. for his churches in Trebizond.

<sup>32</sup> *Vita* of St. Paul of Latros, ed. H. Delehaye in *Der Latmos, Milet III.1*, ed. T. Wiegand (Berlin, 1913), chaps. 18 (stone) and 47 (oil); *vita* of Patriarch Athanasios of CP, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Zhitiiia dvukh vse-lenskikh patriarkhov XIV v., svv. Afanasiia I i Isidora I,” *Zapiski istor.-filol. fakulteta imp. universiteta* 76 (St. Petersburg, 1905): 7–9.

<sup>33</sup> Text cited at *BHG* 138c, *Synaxarium CP* 598.

<sup>34</sup> *Laudatio* of Athanasios of Atramythium, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 141–47; oil: 145. My thanks to Alice-Mary Talbot for this reference.

<sup>35</sup> *Synaxarium CP* 153–55.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 711; for the location, see Belke, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 194.

<sup>37</sup> *Vita* of Agapetos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 128f.

<sup>38</sup> Attested only in the 11th century: Michael Psellos, *Oratio in archangelum Michaellem* in his *Orationes hagiographicae*, ed. E. Fisher (Stuttgart, 1994), 230–56. My thanks to an anonymous reader for this reference.

<sup>39</sup> Text cited at *BHG* 74; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), 2:364f.

in Amaseia featured a column that was working miracles in the eleventh century, while the memory of St. Blasios was celebrated in his church in Sebaste with lamps, hymns, and great festivities.<sup>40</sup>

These shrines are mentioned with enough detail to indicate that they were functioning in the Byzantine period. There is another group, however, where the sources are so vague that there is no way to tell whether they are describing active shrines or simply employing formulaic language. These are cases where the source (usually the *vita* of a saint) makes the bare statement that cures (or miracles) are still being performed at the saint's church or tomb.<sup>41</sup> Without further information, it seems doubtful that these really indicate continuing activity, especially since the phrases in question may simply have been copied from an earlier manuscript. Other sources or sites present specific problems that illustrate the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory appraisal of pilgrimage in this period. They particularly involve shrines that logically should have attracted pilgrims, but are not attested as goals, and cults which are difficult or impossible to date.

Sailors spread the cult of St. Phokas whose martyrdom in Sinope attracted great crowds of pilgrims in the fifth century. The church is not mentioned in later sources, though the cult reappears at Trebizond in the tenth century and had a magnificent church near there in the fourteenth.<sup>42</sup> Does this mean that the cult at Sinope ceased to function in the Middle Ages, or simply that the rare surviving sources do not mention it? In other words, it would be reasonable to suppose that Sinope remained a pilgrimage site, but there is no evidence for it. There are many cases of late antique cults that attracted pilgrims but are unattested in the Middle Ages.<sup>43</sup> In such cases as St. Thekla's monastery in Isauria, historical circumstances make survival unlikely; this region was constantly exposed to Arab attacks. But many others in more sheltered locations may well have continued to function.

Attestation poses a different kind of problem in the case of the festival of St. Konon in the Isaurian village of Bidana. People from the whole district and all Isauria joined a torchlight parade and brought offerings of cattle, sheep, and goats. As they marched, they shouted "There is one god of Konon; Konon's god has triumphed," as they had done since his martyrdom in the third century. This is one of the most vivid descriptions of pilgrim-

<sup>40</sup> Theodore: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 124; *passio* of Blasios, PG 116:830.

<sup>41</sup> I have noted the following (the list, arranged by region, is certainly incomplete): *Bithynia*: monastery of Traianou, near the Sangarios (*Synaxarium CP* 727); the cell of St. Anthousa near Mantineon (*ibid.*, 848); *Capadocia*: Caesarea: tombs of St. Merkourios and Eupsychios: *passio*, ed. S. Binon, *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à S. Mercure de Césarée* (Louvain, 1937), 39 and *BHG* 2130; Tyana: monastery of St. Orestes on a mountain 20 miles from the city: *passio* of Orestes, *AASS* Nov. 4:399; *Mysia*: Lampsakos: church of St. Parthenios: *vita* of St. Parthenios, PG 114:1365; *Paphlagonia*: Gangra: S. Ferri, "Il *bios* e il *martyrion* di Hypatius di Gangrai," *SBN* 3 (1931): 87, and text cited at *BHG* 759f.; *Phrygia*: body of St. Tryphon in a village near Apamea: *passio* of St. Tryphon, ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Hagiographica*, ST 19 (Rome, 1908), 73f.; *Pisidia*: Conana (for the name of the city, which appears in variant forms in the manuscripts, see *TIB* 7.311): tomb of St. Zosimos: *passio* of St. Zosimos, ed. B. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini . . . quae supersunt* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 2:82; *Pontos*: villages of Amaseia: tombs of Sts. Eutropios and Kleonikos: *passio*, ed. H. Delehay, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 213; Comana: church of St. Basiliskos: *passio brevior*, ed. W. Lüdtke in *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 35 (1914): 51; Heliopolis (?) near Euchaita: tomb and spring of St. Barbara: *passio*, ed. J. Viteau, *Pasion des saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia* (Paris, 1897), 99.

<sup>42</sup> See N. Oikonomides, "Ο ἅγιος Φωκάς ὁ Σινωπεύς," *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.* 17 (1952): 184–219; cf. Janin, *Grands centres*, 293f.

<sup>43</sup> Compare the list of late antique cult sites in Maraval, *Lieux saints* with those discussed above.

age in any source.<sup>44</sup> The text, from a manuscript of the tenth century, recounts that the festival continues “up to the present day,” but when did the activities actually take place? The location of the cult seems rather to point to late antiquity when Isauria was densely populated and even very important, rather than to the early Middle Ages when it was a bitterly contested frontier area. Likewise, the chanted phrase *heis theos* has a definite late antique flavor. In this case, it seems most likely that the scribe simply copied an earlier text that may have had no relevance to his own day.

There are other cases where contemporary sources describe a shrine which should have been the center of cult and pilgrimage but make no mention of either. A prominent example is the tomb of St. George of Amastris, who died around 810.<sup>45</sup> He performed two quite striking miracles soon after his death. First, a great flood overwhelmed the whole city and even the church, but stopped just short of his tomb. More remarkably, when Russian invaders sacked Amastris and attempted to loot the saint's tomb, they were miraculously paralyzed and immediately converted to Christianity. According to the saint's contemporary biographer, the miracle was clear evidence of George's connection with God. Yet he makes no mention of any cult, visitors, or pilgrimage, nor do other sources add anything. This is another case where it would be reasonable to presume that pilgrimage continued, but without sources in support.<sup>46</sup>

Known pilgrimage sites include three major monastic centers, all on mountains: the Mysian Olympos, Mount Galesion near Ephesos, and Mount Latros (the ancient Latmos), in the vicinity of Miletos. The first two of these, easily accessible from the capital or a major city, attracted a stream of visitors.<sup>47</sup> Yet it seems that monastic centers as such did not necessarily attract pilgrims. Most striking, because of its modern fame as a center of tourism, is the great complex of rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. They apparently produced no noteworthy local saints and were not the object of any pilgrimage that can be discovered.<sup>48</sup> Equally surprising is the absence of Mount Boratinon, better known by its modern name Bin Bir Kilise, “The Thousand and One Churches,” in Lykaonia near Laranda (modern Karaman). Two sites on this mountain contain some forty-eight churches, mostly late antique, but many of them rebuilt in the Middle Ages. Detailed publication of these sites, with their buildings and publications, provides no indication of pilgrimage.<sup>49</sup> It

<sup>44</sup> See F. Halkin, “Publications récentes de textes hagiographiques grecques,” *AB* 53 (1935): 369–74.

<sup>45</sup> *Vita* of George of Amastris, ed. V. Vasilievskii, *Russko-vizantiiskiiia izsledovaniia* (St. Petersburg, 1893), 66ff; for the Russian attack, see most recently M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium* (London, 1996), 254f.

<sup>46</sup> There are many aspects of this subject that reach beyond the confines of the present discussion. One of the most important is propaganda: how far do the saints' lives represent an actual or a desired situation, and how much of them consists of advertisement for particular shrines? Prof. Paul Speck (to whom I am indebted for his comments on this paper) suggests that the life of St. George may have been intended to inaugurate a cult, but simply failed; hence the lack of attested miracles. I would be more inclined to subscribe to this notion if other sources about the site had survived. In any case, this aspect deserves further study.

<sup>47</sup> For the phenomenon of monasteries on mountains, see A.-M. Talbot, “Les saintes montagnes à Byzance,” in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en occident*, ed. M. Kaplan (Paris, 2001), 263–75.

<sup>48</sup> S. Kostof, *Caves of God* (New York, 1989) makes no mention of pilgrimage, while L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985), 253f. considers pilgrimage to these churches but gives no evidence for it.

<sup>49</sup> See W. M. Ramsay and G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909) and the detailed analysis of K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, *TIB* 4 (Vienna, 1984), 138–43, 145–48.

would seem that some monks were considered more holy or as offering more efficacious prayers (or were more conveniently located) than others.

Most of the sites that pilgrims visited were already ancient, but the Byzantine Middle Ages added substantially to Anatolia's stock of sacred sites. Of the eight major sites, Ephesos alone could claim a sanctity that went back to apostolic times. Two cults could trace their origins to the Great Persecutions (Euchaita, Myra) and two more to the fourth century (Nicaea, Caesarea), but Chonai, Euchania, and Mount Olympos were Byzantine phenomena. Although the Archangel is supposed to have worked his miracle at Chonai in apostolic times, the legend seems to have developed only in late antiquity, and the cult itself, with attendant pilgrimage, is apparently a phenomenon of the ninth century and later. The origins of Euchania are obscure, but it appears that the saint's body was discovered only in the ninth century, evidently as a rival to the more famous cult in Euchaita.<sup>50</sup> Both these were successful, with activity continuing as long as Byzantium controlled the areas.

The time when the Mysian Olympos became a holy mountain is unknown, but clearly there was nothing substantial there before the eighth century, when it became a notorious center of resistance to Iconoclasm. In the ninth-century heyday of Mount Olympos, local holy men and cults attracted a large following, but there is hardly any text that discusses them later than their (usually contemporary) biographers. The most prominent local saints, to judge by their surviving *vitae*, were Joannikios (d. 846), Peter of Atroa (d. 837), and Eustratios of Augaros (d. 867). Their memories seem to have faded surprisingly quickly: Joannikios, greatly famed in his own day, has no posthumous miracles or cult, while the others cease to be mentioned a generation after their deaths. A lone text indicates that Eustratios's monastery survived into the fourteenth century, but nothing else is known about it. Yet Leo VI and Constantine VII made pilgrimages to the mountain in the tenth century, indicating that it remained a prime holy site and some of its monasteries survived until the Turkish conquest, if not longer.<sup>51</sup> As a holy mountain, though, Olympos seems to have had a brief moment of glory.

Even shorter was the fame of a shrine in the theme of Charsianon. Its general Eudokimos, who had a reputation for sanctity, died and was buried there in the mid-ninth century. His body and the oil in the lamp that burned over it began to work miraculous cures and drive out demons. The saint's mother soon arrived and, with the help of a monk, opened the tomb to find the body perfectly preserved and giving off a sweet odor. She apparently thought this was too good for a remote village, so she and the monk absconded with the body at night (for the locals wanted to keep their sacred treasure) and took it to Constantinople. The shrine in Charsianon is never mentioned again.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, the life of one shrine can be defined quite closely. The cult of the Archangel Michael at Sykeon in Galatia centered on a cross that Herakleios had taken on

<sup>50</sup> See the article of N. Oikonomides, cited above, note 14.

<sup>51</sup> For the history and monasteries of Olympos, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 127–91 (which, however, embraces an area far wider than the mountain itself); cf. Talbot, "Les saintes montagnes" (as above, note 47); emperors' visit: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 463.

<sup>52</sup> Epitome of *vita* of St. Eudokimos, ed. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini*, 2:230–32; the name of the site is not mentioned. The sweet-smelling, perfectly preserved body is a commonplace of these stories, part of the miracle that identified a saint: see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 189.

his campaigns against Persia. Established here in 628, it was still working miracles in the late eleventh century when Michael Psellos described the cult.<sup>53</sup> Far less can be said of the other minor sites, but they seem to follow a similar pattern: many of them seem to have functioned continuously since the Great Persecutions, while a few clearly began in the Byzantine age. Among the latter are the cults of the victims of Iconoclasm, Nikephoros and Niketas of Medikion, Makarios of Pelekete, Theophylaktos of Nikomedeia, and the patrician Niketas. Like the cults of Mount Olympos, these appear from surviving sources to have had short lives. Yet, here too, lack of sources may not mean lack of a cult. On the other hand, Mount Latros, which started to attract monks in the seventh or eighth century and came into prominence only in the tenth, was still an active monastic center, worth visiting, in the thirteenth.<sup>54</sup>

The ninth-century Olympian saint, Peter of Atroa, set out on a pilgrimage to Ephesos and Chonai because he considered holy shrines to be the dwellings of God.<sup>55</sup> To experience the presence or see the manifestation of the divine was the essential reason for pilgrimage. Sites achieved holiness by association with apostles or saints, but especially because of miracles that took place there. The miracles took many forms, but were most often associated with healing or with attestation of the divine power. People visited them to see—and thus to confirm their faith—to pray, and most commonly to find cures for their ailments. Examination of the attractions that pilgrimage sites offered will reveal a great variety and reflect the motivation of the pilgrims.

A kind of pious tourism brought long-distance travelers to many sites. The richest was Ephesos which offered monuments and sites associated with figures close to Christ—St. John the Evangelist (whom many identified with the apostle John), St. Timothy the Apostle, and St. Mary Magdalene—as well as the scene of the later miracle of the Seven Sleepers. The eighth-century pilgrim Willibald prayed in the church of St. John and visited the tombs of Mary Magdalene and the Seven Sleepers, as well as the top of the mountain where St. John had been wont to pray and still kept free of storm and rain.<sup>56</sup> By the twelfth century, sites and relics seem to have multiplied, for the Russian pilgrim Daniel could see not only the tombs of St. John, Mary Magdalene, and the Seven Sleepers, but also the Magdalene's head and the body of St. Timothy, as well as an image of the Virgin that had been used to defeat the heretic Nestorius. He also visited sites associated with the life of St. John.<sup>57</sup> Spurious or genuine, the relics and sites offered inspiration. This kind of pilgrimage was common and long outlasted the Byzantine period, as shown by graffiti at Ephesos. Latins were coming to the tomb of the Seven Sleepers well into the fifteenth century and leaving there names with a simple "hic fuit."<sup>58</sup>

The fame of such sites as Ephesos, Euchaita, or Myra outweighed the attraction of in-

<sup>53</sup> See above, note 38 and E. Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos' Church of the Archangel Michael?" in *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988), 175–87.

<sup>54</sup> See Janin, *Grands centres*, 217–40. The future patriarch Athanasios made a pilgrimage here around 1250 on his way back from the Holy Land: see note 32 above.

<sup>55</sup> *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* († 837), ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1956), chap. 13, p. 101.

<sup>56</sup> Willibald, *Itinerarium*, in T. Tobler, ed., *Descriptiones terrae sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), 60.

<sup>57</sup> See *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land*, ed. Col. Sir C. Wilson, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 6 (London, 1895), 5f.

<sup>58</sup> F. Miltner, *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer* [= *Forschungen in Ephesos* 4.2] (Vienna, 1937), 201–11.



dividual relics, even of the bodies of the saints celebrated there. Pilgrims continued to visit Euchaita, even from long distances, though St. Theodore's body is not mentioned after the eighth century, and appears to have been moved to Euchania. The fate of St. Nicholas is better attested: his body was stolen by Italians and shipped off to Bari in 1087. Yet in both instances, pilgrims continued to frequent the churches. The case of Ephesos, which could afford to lose a few relics, is instructive in a different way. The relics of St. Timothy were taken to Constantinople by the sixth century, and Leo VI removed the bones of Mary Magdalene. But somehow, there were bones of both saints present in Ephesos to be admired in the twelfth century.<sup>59</sup>

Other places provided sacred attractions of different kinds. At Euchaita, it was possible to see the cave (conveniently located under the church) where St. Theodore had slain the dragon, as well as the very image for which he had posed.<sup>60</sup> Nicaea offered the church of the First Council, with an image of the Fathers who attended it, while Amaseia had the column where St. Theodore had been tied.<sup>61</sup> As in the case of Ephesos, some of these sites were dubious, to say the least. The First Council, for example, met in Constantine's palace (whose site had long been lost), not a church; in fact, it seems likely that the church "of the Fathers" that Willibald visited in the eighth century was not even the same one that delegates from Rome saw in the thirteenth. But authenticity was not a factor in establishing holiness.

In some cases, natural objects witnessed the divine power. Chonai was renowned as the place where St. Michael had cleft a mountain to divert a river and created a healing spring. This and the spectacular hot springs of Hierapolis, attributed to the prayers of St. Aberkios, were perhaps the most grandiose of all these sites. Springs, which have always had curative powers, were often associated with saints and taken as signs of their powers: in Bithynia, the famed Pythia Therma had a church of their patronesses Menodora, Nymphodora, and Metrodora, who took over the role of the ancient nymphs; St. Barbara's cult in Pontos was associated with a bath, while the spring that flowed from the blood of St. Tryphaena in Kyzikos offered specialized cures.

Some holy sites were on a smaller scale. Near Kybistra, a palm tree symbolized an obscure St. Paul who lived in a well where cures were effected after his death. An oak tree on the Asteles River in Phrygia that grew from the blood of St. Therapon bloomed continuously and cured all diseases. Local peasants praying for rain frequented a huge rock on the top of Mount Latros, called *hagios lithos*. Its origins were uncertain: some said it was one of the twelve stones that Joshua ordered moved from the Jordan, but the hagiographer preferred to believe that its fame rested on a miracle of a shepherd being cured there of an eye problem. Next to it was a sacred spring that had gushed forth in answer to the prayers of a monk.<sup>62</sup>

Evidence of miracles could be quite humble. In 917, Byzantium made a massive assault on Bulgaria. Soldiers were called up from all regions, including Paphlagonia, where

<sup>59</sup> Euchaita: see Zuckerman, "Reign of Constantine V"; Myra: Foss, "Lycian Shore," 35f.; Ephesos: Foss, *Ephesos*, 33, 84, 125, 127f.

<sup>60</sup> Cave: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 123; image: *Mirac.* 1, with the discussion of Zuckerman, "Reign of Constantine V," 201f.

<sup>61</sup> Nicaea: see Foss, *Nicaea*, 110–14. Amaseia: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 124.

<sup>62</sup> Wiegand, *Der Latmos* [= *Milet* 3.1], 116.

a certain officer named Leon lived in a village near Amastris. Since he was already well on in years, he sent his son George in his place. George duly participated in the great battle where the imperial forces were routed. Many were killed, but he was captured and forced into slavery to one of the barbarian chiefs. When the news reached his home, his parents were plunged in misery, while George could only long for his home. Finally, on the feast day of St. George (for whom the young man had been named), when everyone was gathered at their houses for a banquet, George and his mother, though far apart, both prayed to St. George for deliverance. At the very moment his parents were feasting, George was carrying a jug of hot water as part of his duties. Suddenly, St. George appeared, carried him off, and set him down in front of his home, jug in hand. His grateful parents dedicated the jug in the church as a witness to the miracle. People came from the whole region to see it and praise God as they witnessed sure evidence of a miracle.<sup>63</sup> The humble cooking pot (*koukoummion*), in other words, became the object of pilgrimage.

In one case at least, the venerated deceased did not even have to be a saint to work miracles. When the ephemeral emperor Theodosios III (715–717) was deposed, he was exiled to Ephesos, where he became an embellisher of manuscripts. He lived a life of piety and was eventually buried in the church of St. Philip where some of the locals claimed that his body worked miracles.<sup>64</sup>

The greatest goals of pilgrims involved miracles. Caves, trees, rocks, and springs all were witnesses of miracles in the distant past, but many sites also offered continuous miracles, repeated annually, that attested to their sanctity and to the active presence of the divine. Most often, these took the form of a miraculous dust or oil that had curative powers. The most famous of all took place at Ephesos.

Every year for almost a thousand years, on the 8th of May during the all-night festal service in honor of St. John, a miraculous dust called manna issued forth from his tomb under the high altar in the cathedral. It was explained by the words of John's Gospel: "Jesus saith unto him: If I will that he [John] tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die; yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die, but if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee."<sup>65</sup> Literal-minded Christians from the earliest time took this to mean (despite Christ's specific explanation) that St. John was not dead, but sleeping. Since he was asleep, he was breathing, and his breath naturally stirred the dust under the altar. St. Augustine already heard of this story and could not dismiss it outright. In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours in the far West knew of it and explained that the dust was called manna, had the property of curing the sick, and was transported through the world.<sup>66</sup> These aspects—the miracle, the dust, the cure, and the distribution—were the features of the greatest miracle a pilgrim could see in medieval Byzantium.

<sup>63</sup> Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 18–44; AASS Apr. 3:xxxii adds the detail about pilgrims coming to see the jug.

<sup>64</sup> Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1838), 787f; cf. *Origo Civitatum Italiae sive Venetiarum*, ed. R. Cessi (Rome, 1933), 109, which adds the detail that the church was in the old city, near the harbor. For this emperor, see C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A.D. 284–813* (Oxford, 1997), 537.

<sup>65</sup> John 21:22f.

<sup>66</sup> See Foss, *Ephesus*, 36 for the late antique cult, as well as the ampullae discussed by Duncan-Flowers, "A Pilgrim's Ampulla."

The Anglo-Saxon Willibald, later a bishop and a saint, was the first of many recorded medieval pilgrims to Ephesos, which he visited around 724. Like a host of later visitors, he marveled at the manna that bubbled up from the tomb. The calendar of the orthodox church, the *Synaxarion*, probably a work of the tenth century, explained that God not only blessed his apostles, martyrs, and saints, but made the places where they lived or were buried brilliant with many miracles. By the blessing of the Holy Ghost, the tomb of St. John brought forth a holy dust, which the locals called manna, suddenly every year on 8 May. It was distributed to the people who used it to ward off and cure diseases as they blessed God and St. John. Symeon Metaphrastes, writing in the tenth century, likened the brilliance of the crowded festival to that of the stars, and added that the fine dust that cured all ills sprang forth and was distributed to the vast crowd. No matter how much was needed, more always poured out. For the unhappy metropolitan George Tornikes (1155–56), the tomb with its inexhaustible dust was his sole consolation for having to live in what he considered a barbarous place with a dilapidated church.<sup>67</sup>

The most elaborate description of the miracle dates from the very end of the Byzantine period, written by the Catalan Muntaner who arrived in a mercenary force in 1304:

On Saint Stephen's day, every year, at the hour of vespers, there comes out of the tomb (which is four-cornered and stands at the foot of the altar and has a beautiful marble slab on the top, full twelve palms long and five broad) and in the middle of the slab there are nine very small holes, and out of these holes, as vespers are being sung on St. Stephen's day (on which day the vespers are of St. John), manna like sand comes out of each hole and rises a full palm high from the slab, as a jet of water rises up. And this manna issues out . . . and it lasts all night and then all Saint John's day until sunset. There is so much of this manna, by the time the sun has set and it has ceased to issue out, that, altogether, there are of it full three cuarteras of Barcelona. And this manna is marvelously good for many things; for instance he who drinks it when he feels fever coming on will never have fever again. Also, if a lady is in travail and cannot bring forth, if she drinks it with water or with wine, she will be delivered at once. And again, if there is a storm at sea and some of the manna is thrown in the sea three times in the name of the holy Trinity and Our Lady Saint Mary and the Blessed Saint John the Evangelist, at once the storm ceases. And again, he who suffers from gall stones, and drinks it in the said names, recovers at once. And some of this manna is given to all pilgrims who come there; but it only appears once a year.<sup>68</sup>

Visible, tangible proof of a saint's power was a prime attraction for pilgrims; so was the reward they received on the spot in the form of a panacea, in this case the miraculous dust that not only cured diseases, general and specific, but could even calm the storm. Ephesos was by far the most famous source of manna, but it was not alone. Another site offered a similar attraction, perhaps in direct imitation of the Evangelist. The martyr St. Hyacinth was buried beneath the church dedicated to him in Amastris on the coast of the Black Sea. Here, too, a miraculous health-giving dust issued forth every year on the saint's day, 18 July. It came from the depths with a roar, and in such quantities that the lamps were extinguished. The bishop gathered a mass of it and distributed it to the people for the care and cure of their souls and bodies. On one recent occasion, reports a source of the tenth

<sup>67</sup> Willibald, *Itinerarium*, 60; *Synaxarium CP* 665; *PG* 116:705; *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1970), 154, cf. Foss, *Ephesus*, 135f.

<sup>68</sup> *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Lady Goodenough, Hakluyt Society, Series 2, 50 (London, 1921), chap. 206.

century, a perfectly preserved finger of the saint came out with the dust, reassuring the people that he was really there and offering his blessings.<sup>69</sup> Apparently, there could never be too much tangible evidence.

The annual miracle took a very different form in Nicaea. That city was the scene of the martyrdom of St. Tryphon, a victim of the persecutions of Decius (249–251). The saint was actually buried in his home village in Phrygia, but his presence was manifested in his church in Nicaea every February 1st. On that day, at the morning service, while hymns were being sung in the saint's honor, a vast crowd witnessed the miracle: dried lily bulbs put in the martyr's lamp suddenly bloomed out of season amid the frosts of winter.<sup>70</sup> A thirteenth-century emperor, Theodore II Laskaris, described the miracle, the accompanying festival, and the great crowds of people who came to receive the blessings of the saint and experience his power to drive away demons and cure ills. Tryphon was the patron saint of the empire in exile, and his image and lily appeared on its coins. His miracle was the great attraction of its capital, Nicaea.

Miracles often had a practical aspect: the dust of Ephesos and the spiritual presence of St. Tryphon had the power to cure disease. In fact, seeking medical help was always a major factor in pilgrimage, especially pilgrimage to local shrines and holy men. In most cases, cures were effected by an oil that appeared miraculously or by the presence of the saint's body. The case of St. Nicholas in Myra is exemplary.<sup>71</sup> Here, too, great crowds gathered on the saint's day, 8 December. They came especially to collect the oil, called *myron*, that gushed forth from his tomb. This sweet-smelling oil, credited with the power of preventing and curing all kinds of diseases, was eagerly collected and carried off for future or distant use. Myra, whose very name proclaimed association with the *myron*, seems to have been the prototype for a great range of cults that involved curative oil, which could work its wonders on the spot or far away.

The tomb of Niketas the Patrician in Katesia near Daphnousia on the Black Sea in Bithynia from time to time exuded a perfumed oil that cured blindness and scrofula and worked as a panacea for those who gathered it. Sailors regularly stopped here on their way from Constantinople to Cherson to collect a jug of it. On one occasion, they discovered an unexpected benefit when they were caught in a storm and providentially poured the oil on the seas which immediately calmed.<sup>72</sup> *Myron*, like manna, had many uses.

Mount Olympos was especially renowned for its miraculous cures by oil. The tomb of St. Peter of Atroa exuded a perfumed oil, but only from time to time (apparently on the saint's day) rather than continuously. On one occasion, it poured out during the service on the saint's day and the congregation rushed up to anoint their faces with the oil. This oil had miraculous powers, curing a great variety of diseases either on the spot or far away wherever it had been taken. It even repaired the broken horn of a cow.<sup>73</sup> But the oil was not always available. Fortunately, pilgrims did not have to wait for its miraculous appearance, but could exploit a handy supply of oil that burned in the lamp over the saint's tomb.

<sup>69</sup> *Laudatio* of St. Hyacinthus, PG 105:417–40; cf. *Synaxarium CP* 828.

<sup>70</sup> See the text and discussions in Foss, *Nicaea*, 6, 105ff.

<sup>71</sup> Texts and discussion in G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1917), 516–18.

<sup>72</sup> *Vita* of Niketas the Patrician, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 3 (1968): chap. 30.

<sup>73</sup> *La Vita Retractata et les Miracles Posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. V. Laurent (Brussels, 1958), chap. 98 (service), chap. 101 (cow).

This was equally effective whether applied externally or drunk. The tomb of St. Eustratios of Augaros worked similar miraculous cures by means of oil, mostly, it seems, the oil in the lamp. The nearby tomb of St. Constantine the converted Jew, in Atroa at the foot of Mount Olympos, also exuded *myron* which, along with the oil in the lamp, had curative powers.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, in Mount Latros cures were effected by the oil that burned in the lamp over the tomb of St. Paul the monk. It could be used to anoint people or cattle, with satisfactory results, even against leprosy.<sup>75</sup> The tombs of St. Antipas in Pergamon, St. Athanasios in Atramyttium, and St. Eleutherios in Tarsos in Bithynia also produced a curative *myron*, but no details are recorded.<sup>76</sup> So did the tomb of the obscure St. Philotheos of the Opsikion theme, which produced a “spring of ever-flowing *myron*” in a location nowhere stated.<sup>77</sup> The holy oil of St. Amphilochios’s tomb in Ikonion is only mentioned in the Turkish period, when it was reputed to be an ancient phenomenon.<sup>78</sup> The fact that the saint was already effecting cures in the Byzantine period suggests that the oil had been continuously produced.

All these cases involve oil associated with the saint, whether from his tomb or lamp. But very often cures were worked by contact or association with a saint’s body, or sometimes by the appearance of the saint himself, usually in a dream. Direct contact could take a very concrete form: the withered hand of a nun was cured when she placed it inside the hand of St. Eustratios before his coffin had been closed.<sup>79</sup> Normally, people came to a shrine because they wanted the miracles worked by a known saint, but even anonymous saints could perform miracles. When the body of St. John the Merciful the Younger was brought to Nicaea in the late thirteenth century, no one knew who he was. Yet the body of the saint cured blindness, and so did the medallions of saints around his neck and the iron staff in his hand.<sup>80</sup>

Cures could be effected by various other means. Prominent among them were hot springs, which have the advantage of possessing real curative value. A few have already been noted: the spring at Chonai, the hot springs of Hierapolis, and Pythia Therma. The latter two have been constantly renowned since antiquity and continue, as Pamukkale and Yalova Kaplıcaları, to attract throngs of visitors seeking improved health. Since they still function without the saints, it seems safe to presume that the cult of a saint was attached to an existing attraction. In both cases, the information about the saints in question is very vague or dubious. The spring of St. Tryphaena in Kyzikos offered a more specialized cure; its clear waters were extremely helpful for women (or even female animals) who did not produce enough milk.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, certain trees associated with saints could somehow work cures, as could the holy stone on the top of Mount Latros.

<sup>74</sup> *Vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897), chaps. 54–61; *vita* of Constantine the Jew, *AASS* Nov. 4:653–55, chaps. 82–85.

<sup>75</sup> *Vita* of Paul of Latros, in Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, chap. 47.

<sup>76</sup> Antipas: *Synaxarium* CP 595; *laudatio* of Athanasios of Atramyttium, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 145; *Passio* of Eleutherios, *AASS* Aug. 1:326.

<sup>77</sup> *Synaxarium* CP 48, a brief text that supplies all the essentials of the wordy speech of Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. T. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1832), 145–51.

<sup>78</sup> See above, note 39.

<sup>79</sup> *Vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, 4:397.

<sup>80</sup> Foss, *Nicaea*, 82.

<sup>81</sup> *Synaxarium* CP 436.

Unique among wonder-working objects was the cross that Herakleios had taken on his Persian campaigns. When the emperor was returning to the capital in 628, he stopped at Sykeon, on the main highway to the East, and put the cross in the local church of the Virgin. When it came time to leave, the cross could not be budged. It then performed another miracle, as it and the whole church caught on fire. The fire, instead of consuming, purified, leaving cross and church intact. As a result, Herakleios built a shrine to the Archangel Michael on the spot, where the cross itself cured the sick and demented, saved the local bridge from a flood, and aided the emperor to put down a rebel. It was still working four hundred years later. By then, it and the archangel had replaced the local saint, Theodore, and appropriated aspects of his cult and legends.<sup>82</sup>

Whether pilgrims came to see sacred sites, witness miracles, or seek cures, they all prayed. Long-distance pilgrims, about whom something is known, traveled in order to pray at sacred sites, but the subject of the prayers of the mass of anonymous pilgrims is rarely attested. Help and protection were certainly important desires, as the numerous graffiti at the tomb of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos attest.<sup>83</sup> Protection on a grander scale was also a desire in many periods: saints could defend individuals and whole cities against attack. St. Amphilochios of Ikonion and St. Agapetos of Synaos in Phrygia were invoked for protection against the Arabs, as was St. John of Nicaea against the Turks.<sup>84</sup> St. Theodore of Euchaita saved his own body from the Persians and his city from the Arabs, just as St. George of Amastris caused paralysis to strike the Russians who were trying to desecrate his tomb.<sup>85</sup> When the prayers of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council saved Nicaea from Arab attack in 726, devotion to their church and image no doubt increased.<sup>86</sup> Some saints were described as the bulwarks of their cities, presumably reflecting special powers of defense and efficacy of prayer to them: among these are Sts. Neophytos of Nicaea, Diomedes of Nikomedeia, Hypatios of Gangra, and Eleutherios of Tarsos. Prayers, of course, could be said at a distance, but people also came to shrines specifically to pray for defense or victory. Manuel Komnenos stopped at the church of St. Michael in Chonai before the battle of Myriocephalon in 1176, most probably to pray for victory. On the news of an Arab attack in 863, St. Anthony the Younger set out from Constantinople to pray in the church of St. John in Ephesos. He was especially concerned with the fate of his spiritual son, Petronas, who was commanding the imperial forces.<sup>87</sup>

The prayers and blessings of living holy men were also good reasons for pilgrimage.<sup>88</sup> Toward the end of his life, the ailing emperor Constantine VII made the journey to Mount Olympos to ask the blessing of the fathers there. His father, Leo VI, had made the same pilgrimage.<sup>89</sup> Individual holy men of that mountain attracted a clientele for similar rea-

<sup>82</sup> See E. Fisher, above, note 53.

<sup>83</sup> See above, note 58; this was the common subject of the Greek graffiti.

<sup>84</sup> On Amphilochios: text cited at *BHG* 74; *vita* of Agapetos, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 129; for St. John of Nicaea, see Foss, *Nicaea*, 82.

<sup>85</sup> St. Nicholas had no such luck: see above, note 17.

<sup>86</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883), 406.

<sup>87</sup> On Manuel, see Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York, 1975), 178; for St. Antony, see F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944): 218, chap. 14.

<sup>88</sup> St. Lazaros of Mt. Galesion is a notable and well-attested example: see above, note 5.

<sup>89</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 463f.

sons. St. Joannikios received a stream of high churchmen and government officials (he seems to have specialized in the upper classes) who needed blessings or advice. He dealt with these matters more often than cures. His colleagues, St. Peter of Atroa and St. Eustratios of Augaros, however, attracted a humbler clientele who came for cures as well as blessings and advice.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, the mountain communities of Latros and Galesion were still attracting people who would travel long distances to visit the holy men who inhabited them as late as the thirteenth century.<sup>91</sup> Nicaea was unusual in that the monks of one of its monasteries, the church of Hyacinth, had an international reputation that brought St. Constantine the converted Jew there from Cyprus in the ninth century. He carried with him a sacred relic, the hand of the blessed Palamon, which he deposited in the church.<sup>92</sup>

Many cures, of course, were successful and many blessings efficacious. Hence gratitude was also a factor—though far less well attested than need—that brought people to shrines. Most of this no doubt was local and on a humble scale. In 753, a grateful Paphlagonian peasant brought a cow as an offering to St. Theodore during the spring festival. Since he arrived just at the time of an Arab attack, he found the church and the whole city surprisingly deserted. Not willing to leave without honoring the saint, he tied the cow to the chancel screen and went away.<sup>93</sup> On another occasion, a poor woman was saving a chicken for the saint when it was stolen, while a soldier returning victorious from the wars dedicated his sword.<sup>94</sup> Likewise, locals brought wagonloads of grain and offerings of sheep, meat, and wine to the shrine of St. Nicholas of Myra. One rich couple outdid their neighbors by offering 100 gold pieces every year.<sup>95</sup> Offerings also came in from long distances. Chonai was the goal of a young man named Manuel who was entrusted with the offerings of the village of Didia near Gangra in Paphlagonia, which amounted to a whole pound of gold. He came on foot and was almost murdered for his money. St. George rescued him, though, and the Archangel received the gold.<sup>96</sup>

Money was closely involved with pilgrimage in another important way, for the great pilgrimage shrines were also the site of fairs which brought buyers and sellers from whole regions. The most important was probably that of Ephesos, held to coincide with the miracle of the manna. It generated a great deal of business, for the emperor Constantine VI, when he visited the church in 795, remitted the customs duty that the fair generated, a total of 100 pounds of gold according to the chronicler.<sup>97</sup> Euchaita and Myra appear also to have been the site of fairs, an important phenomenon that continued through the Byzantine period. In the late twelfth century, the fair at Chonai was attracting huge crowds from

<sup>90</sup> *Vita* of Joannikios by Sabas, *AASS* Nov. 2:1, passim; *vita* of Peter of Atroa, ed. V. Laurent (as in note 55 above), chaps. 49–62, 67–72, 74–79; *vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 4:383f.

<sup>91</sup> For the visit of the patriarch Athanasios to Latros ca. 1250, see note 32 above; for his visit to Galesion, see *ibid.*, 9–10. On St. Meletios (d. 1286), who lived at Galesion in the 13th c., see his *vita*, ed. S. Lauriotès, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 5 (1921): 582–84, 609–24.

<sup>92</sup> *AASS* Nov. 4:637; for the church, see Foss, *Nicaea*, 97–101.

<sup>93</sup> See above, note 12, *mirac.* 9, and Zuckerman's article for the proposed date.

<sup>94</sup> Texts in A. Sigalas, “Ἡ διασκευὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χρυσίππου παραδεδομένων θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου,” *Επ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 1 (1924): 317, 328.

<sup>95</sup> Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1:286f.

<sup>96</sup> Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 107–13.

<sup>97</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 469f; cf. the commentary of Mango and Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 645f., and the discussion of P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (Munich, 1978), 260, according to whom the money went to the Evangelist's church.

all the neighboring cities and provinces and even from the “barbarian Ikonians”—the Seljuk Turks of Konya—who came to buy and sell.<sup>98</sup>

Whether in great crowds or as individuals, locals and foreigners made their way as pilgrims to the great and lesser shrines. For the most part, their identity is unknown; only a few prominent individuals and foreigners stand out, but it is clear that masses of people were involved in pilgrimage in all periods. The greatest numbers frequented the most famous shrines, but even the humble and local attracted people. Most of them, at all times and in all shrines, were certainly local people, overwhelmingly peasants. In this respect, Asia Minor, with its large number of shrines of local interest, differed from the Holy Land where pilgrims were primarily monks. Travel there, of course, involved vast distances and amounts of time not normally available to the lay population.<sup>99</sup>

The imperial family set the tone. Constantine VI and Maria, sister of Romanos III (1028–34), prayed at Ephesos; Leo VI, Constantine VII, and the in-laws of Nikephoros I (802–810) came to Mount Olympos; Manuel Komnenos prayed at Chonai, Theodore Laskaris at Nicaea.<sup>100</sup> The upwardly mobile St. Joannikios attracted a variety of generals, government and military officials, bishops, and abbots. They could consult him since he was conveniently located on Mount Olympos, easily accessible from the capital. Foreigners, some quite distinguished, also came to the shrines. In the thirteenth century, the wife of the Turkish emir of Sivas in central Anatolia was possessed by a demon. She sought help in Constantinople, where she was referred to the shrine of St. Phokas in Trebizond. A night spent next to the tomb of St. Athanasios in that church cured her.<sup>101</sup> Other foreigners included the soldiers of the Second Crusade (1147) and the army of Catalan mercenaries (1304) who visited the church of St. John in Ephesos, but for them pilgrimage was only an incidental motive. Similarly, the Latins who left graffiti at the tomb of the Seven Sleepers were most probably merchants who happened to be in the city, as perhaps were the Armenians who actually maintained a priest at the tomb.<sup>102</sup> The English pilgrim Saewulf, who prayed in Myra on his way to the Holy Land in 1102, was apparently a merchant, but most other foreign pilgrims were churchmen.<sup>103</sup> They included the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibald (723–724) who visited Nicaea and Ephesos, the Russian monk Daniel (1106) who enjoyed all the attractions of Ephesos as well as Myra, and the German priest Ludolf of Suchem (or Sudheim) who saw the church of Ephesos around 1336.<sup>104</sup>

The Byzantine pilgrims whose lives and journeys are best known are inevitably saints,

<sup>98</sup> S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σοφώμενα*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1879), 56; for the fairs in general, see S. Vryonis, “The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint,” in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 196–226.

<sup>99</sup> For the nature of pilgrims to the Holy Land, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 116–33.

<sup>100</sup> For Maria, see *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 408, and *Ioannes Zonaras: Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder and M. Büttner-Wobst, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1897), 594f. For the in-laws of Nikephoros I, see the *vita* of Joannikios by Peter, *AASS* Nov. 2.1:391, chap. 14; for the rest, see above, 127, 131, 136, 137.

<sup>101</sup> Synaxarium for Athanasios of Trebizond, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 12 (1906): 141.

<sup>102</sup> See above, note 58; the Armenian graffiti mention the “priest of the Seven Children” and date to 1354–1498.

<sup>103</sup> Saewulf in *Peregrinationes tres*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis* 139 (Turnhout, 1994), 61.

<sup>104</sup> Willibald and Daniel: see above, 131; Ludolf: J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople* (Istanbul, 1980), 30–37, 579–83.



the subject of substantial and often contemporary biographies.<sup>105</sup> They have been met already: Lazaros of Galesion, Constantine the Jew, Joannikios, Peter of Atroa, the Georgian George Hagiorites, and the thirteenth-century Athanasios and Meletios. Each of them traveled long distances to worship at one or more shrines, but they were not alone. St. Lazaros' biographer gives some details of the companions he met along the road. As he set out from Chonai for Jerusalem after the early morning liturgy, Lazaros met a Paphlagonian monk who was also headed for the Holy Land. They decided to join forces, but the Paphlagonian turned out to be a bad character, for when they arrived at the port of Attaleia, he tried to sell Lazaros to a ship captain. The saint was saved only by a miracle. The monk apparently was an Armenian (he addressed the captain in that language) and definitely a *kykleutes*, a vagabond monk attached to no monastery, but constantly wandering and living by his wits, usually at the expense of the local faithful. Lazaros witnessed the Paphlagonian's dishonest practices on the road: he would spend the day begging bread and whatever else he needed, then sell it all for a profit in the villages and markets. On his return from the Holy Land, Lazaros again visited Chonai. This time, he was accompanied by a band of *kykleutai* all the way from there to Ephesos. To judge by these incidents, vagabond monks were present in numbers on the roads and at the shrines. They were a recognized nuisance, regularly denounced by the church authorities from the time of Chalcedon till the fourteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

On his first trip to Chonai, St. Lazaros also met a group of Cappadocian pilgrims who included a young woman who had been cheated of her money but was anxious to preserve her honor. They appear to have been laymen, not clerics, and as such probably represent the majority of pilgrims. Accounts of the shrines constantly mention the crowds who attended them, especially at festivals. In the early ninth century, the all-night festal service of St. Nicholas of Myra was attracting great numbers, most of them local people. Other shrines boasted an international audience. John Mauropous, describing the spring and summer festivals of St. Theodore of Euchaita in the eleventh century, mentions the huge crowds from all the world who filled the streets and marketplaces, attracted by the miracles and cures.<sup>107</sup> Likewise, the festival of Chonai in the thirteenth century was drawing people from the region, from all the neighboring provinces, and even from Turkish territory. This crowd seems to have been largely lay, including many merchants, since the celebrations were also the occasion for a fair. When St. Peter of Atroa visited Chonai in the early ninth century, he found crowds of people tormented by demons. The demons were especially anxious since they had advance warning of the saint's arrival and knew he would drive them out. He in fact cured the whole lot of demoniacs. The biographer does not state whether Peter was there for the festival, but the life of his contemporary St. Joannikios makes it clear that great shrines attracted great crowds at all times. When he arrived at Ephesos in August (not the season for the miracle or the saint's day), Joannikios found such a throng that he only got in the church after hours by a miracle.

<sup>105</sup> See the paper of M. Kaplan in the present volume.

<sup>106</sup> *AASS* Nov. 3:511, 518; for the wandering monks, see the useful summary of Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 116f, as well as E. Herman, "La *stabilitas loci* nel monachismo bizantino," *OCP* 21 (1955): 115–42 (an excellent survey); cf. D. M. Nicol, "Instabilitas loci: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* (Oxford, 1985), 193–202. The term *kykleutes*, used by the 5th-century St. Neilos, seems not to appear elsewhere in medieval Byzantine sources.

<sup>107</sup> Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 131, 207.

Mount Olympos, with its rough terrain and scattered shrines, attracted not crowds but individual pilgrims who, as noted, were mostly local people in search of cures for themselves or their cattle. Mount Latros attracted a similar following. Only Joannikios of Olympos drew a high-class clientele. In all these cases, both churchmen and laity made the pilgrimage, with local peasants evidently forming the majority. Evidence for the minor shrines is more fragmentary, but here too it appears that the pilgrims were mostly local. All in all, the available evidence suggests that most visitors to shrines came from the nearby regions, in constant and often large numbers, and consisted mostly of ordinary people, from the city and especially the countryside.

Far less information is available about the means and conditions of travel or the way the shrines handled the crowds they received.<sup>108</sup> For the most part, pilgrims seem to have traveled by foot: that was certainly the case of Peter of Atroa, Lazaros of Galesion, the young Manuel from Paphlagonia, and others whose *vitae* support such detail. They wisely traveled in groups, for the roads and accommodations could offer unexpected dangers. The Paphlagonian Manuel, carrying the offerings of his village to Chonai, got tired as he passed through the Anatolic theme and decided to stop before reaching the village where he usually stayed. He wound up in a house of thieves who happily took him in, planning to murder him for the money he was carrying. Likewise, St. Cyril from Phileae in Thrace reached Chonai around 1075 and stayed in an inn (*pandocheion*) whose owner robbed him of his money and almost took his clothes.<sup>109</sup> More obvious dangers faced saints who insisted on traveling during times of troubles. St. Antony the Younger never reached his destination, Ephesos, because of the prevailing Arab danger; instead his friend Petronas took him off to the safety of a mountaintop fortress. The Georgian George Hagiorites was almost captured by the Turks as he headed for Caesarea in 1059.<sup>110</sup> International pilgrims, of course, traveled by sea, as did the sailors who stopped at Daphnousia for their supply of oil and no doubt many other visitors to maritime shrines.

The two dangerous pilgrimages to Chonai, incidentally, seem to be the only accounts that mention the places where pilgrims might stay. Those making long journeys, of course, need accommodation along the road as well as at their goal. To judge by these examples, there were villages that regularly received pilgrims, and the great pilgrimage sites had inns, as would naturally be expected. But only the imagination or comparison from the much more abundant evidence for late antiquity can fill in the picture. Likewise, there is virtually no evidence how the churches actually handled the crowds. Only the account of Joannikios, indignant at having to enter the church of St. John with the common herd, shows that the churches shut their doors at a certain time and allowed no one to enter outside the normal hours. These hours are not stated, but at Chonai Lazaros could pray in the narthex till nightfall and then attend an early morning service.<sup>111</sup> It seems probable that the pilgrimage churches were open from dawn to dusk.

<sup>108</sup> See Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 163–76, 211f, for information from late antiquity on these subjects. See also the interesting work of E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris, 1993).

<sup>109</sup> E. Sargologos, *Vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote* (Brussels, 1964), chap. 18.

<sup>110</sup> F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944): 218; for George Hagiorites, see F. Peeters, "Histoires monachiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36/37 (1917–19): 121f.

<sup>111</sup> *Vita* of Joannikios by Peter, *AASS* Nov. 2.1:409, chap. 43; *vita* of Lazaros, *AASS* Nov. 3:511; M. Kaplan's article in this volume offers another explanation for Joannikios's reluctance to enter the church with everyone else.

Asia Minor, then, was evidently the site of continuous and frequent pilgrimage throughout the Byzantine period. Pilgrims, both lay and cleric, flocked to the major sites, especially at festival time, when they often combined business with spiritual improvement. Yet there was also a network of lesser shrines, now only dimly perceived, that attracted the devotions of local people. These humble villagers probably formed the majority of pilgrims at all times and in all regions. Like their better-known brethren who traveled long distances, they came to renew their faith, pray, and especially to seek cures. Although the brilliant image of late antiquity cannot be reproduced for these long centuries, the evidence, however scattered, suggests that pilgrimage was a living vital force, an essential part of the lives of individuals and communities as long as Byzantium survived, and, in fact, for long after.

Anatolia also offered holy places to pilgrims of another religion. From earliest days, Muslims were accustomed to make an annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Many stopped on the way to visit other sites sacred to their faith.<sup>112</sup> Some of these were in Asia Minor, but for most of the Byzantine period peaceful travel there was not an option for Muslims whose states were as often as not at war with Byzantium. Inaccessibility posed a real problem in regard to a site especially dear to Islam, the cave of the Seven Sleepers whose legend forms part of the Koran.<sup>113</sup> So did identification. Although some understood Ephesos as the site of the miracle, many alternatives were offered, often after serious investigation.<sup>114</sup> Tradition traces the search for the cave back to the earliest years of Islam when a certain Ubayda ibn al-Samit was dispatched in 632 to the Byzantine emperor to urge him to convert or face war. Ubayda recounted that his party came to a red mountain that was supposed to contain the Cave. They inquired at a local monastery and were shown the site which he described in some detail. A century later, in 720, Mujahid ibn Yazid was returning from an embassy to Constantinople. He passed by Amorion and Laodikeia and came to a place called al-Hawiya where he found a cave with well-preserved bodies. Both descriptions (which probably refer to the same place) mention the feast day of the Sleepers when the locals wash the bodies. Al-Hawiya, evidently in Lykaonia, has not been identified. In the ninth century, the caliph al-Wathik (842–847) sent a famous scholar, Muhammad ibn Musa the Astronomer, to find the Cave. He determined that it lay in the district of Kharama between Amorion and Nicaea where a mountain had a passage that led to the chamber with its remarkably preserved bodies.<sup>115</sup> The geographer Idrisi visited this place in 1117; he confirmed that it, not Ephesos, was the correct site of the story.<sup>116</sup> In fact, there is a famous cave in a suitable location, at Inönü, so large that its entrance was blocked by a fortification wall.<sup>117</sup> Yet none of these efforts really resolved the problem, nor did they result in a reg-

<sup>112</sup> Full consideration of this subject would reach beyond the limits of this paper; for a general introduction, see J. Sourdél-Thomine, ed. and trans., *al-Harawi, Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1957), xxviii–xlii.

<sup>113</sup> Sura 18, *Al-Kahf*; for the Islamic version and full bibliography, see F. Paret, “Ashab al-Kahf,” in *ET*, s.v. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:309–19 discussed modern Greek and Muslim versions of the story and its location with his usual insights.

<sup>114</sup> For what follows, see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), 274–86, with long extracts from the sources.

<sup>115</sup> See the full text in ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. and trans. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), 106f. (text), 78f. (trans.).

<sup>116</sup> *Géographie d'Idrisi*, trans. P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836), 2:299f.

<sup>117</sup> For this site, see Belke, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 281; it contains no trace of Muslim or Christian pilgrimage.

ular pilgrimage. That was reserved for Arabissos whose Arabic name Afsus was conveniently similar to that of Ephesos, Afsis, and which lay safely in territory controlled by the Arabs since the seventh century. Their pilgrimage site a few miles from the city was long frequented.<sup>118</sup> So was a rival site near Tarsos, first mentioned in the tenth century and visited by both Christian and Muslim pilgrims in modern times. Barren women were supposed to be cured by sleeping in this cave.<sup>119</sup>

One of the visitors to Afsus was al-Harawi who traveled through Asia Minor around 1180, when most of it was safely in the hands of the Muslim Turks. He was a pilgrim in the same sense as the Christians already discussed, visiting sites both sacred and curious. Several were worth attention from a religious point of view.<sup>120</sup> After leaving Constantinople, he stopped in Nicaea where, surprisingly, he visited the church that had the image of the First Ecumenical Council. The site was of interest because of a belief that the Messiah himself had been present among the Fathers, for Christ is one of the prophets recognized by Islam (when Harawi was in the Holy Land, his pilgrimage included Christian as well as Muslim sites). From there, he proceeded to Amorion to see the tombs of the martyrs who had fallen in the successful campaign of al-Mu'tasim in 832. This city was famed among Christians for its own Forty-two Martyrs, who had been captured in the very same campaign; but they had been executed and buried in Iraq, and their cult was celebrated in the capital; there is no evidence for a local church or cult. For al-Harawi, the main attraction of Konya (Ikonion) was the tomb of Plato in the church next to the great mosque. This was the church of St. Amphilochios where both Christians and Muslims were making pilgrimage in the Turkish period. Muslims attributed magical powers to the "divine" Plato who was often accorded the devotion appropriate to a saint.<sup>121</sup> Kayseri (Caesarea) on the other hand had several worthy goals: the prison of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya, son of the caliph Ali; the mosque of the hero al-Battal who had fallen fighting the Byzantines in 740; the bath that the sage Apollonios had built for Caesar, and various antiquities. Nearby was Mount Asib with the tomb of the famous Arab poet Imru'l Kays.

Harawi proceeded east to Divriği (Tephrike) where he found a cave chamber containing, he was told, the bodies of martyrs from the time of the caliph Umar (634–644). In front of it were a church and a mosque, for the site was frequented by both Christian and Muslim pilgrims. The remarkably well-preserved bodies included a group of twelve resting on a bed. The Christians claimed them as their own, but the Muslims identified them with warriors martyred on the spot in the earliest campaigns of Islam. The description is so close to the early accounts of the Seven Sleepers that it can be taken as referring to the tomb of Hawiya, which evidently was revered throughout the Middle Ages. From there, Harawi stopped in Afsus which he thought was the most probable site for the Seven Sleepers (he had visited a rival cavern in Spain), then Malatya (Melitene) and Erzerum (Theodosiopolis), both with reminiscences of companions of the Prophet.

These brief accounts may supplement the image of Byzantine pilgrimage. Asia Minor

<sup>118</sup> See F. Babinger, "Die Örtlichkeit der Siebenschläferlegende in muslimischer Schau," *AnzW* 104 (1957): 87–95, and Hild, *Kappadokien*, 175, with the references there.

<sup>119</sup> See Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:315–18.

<sup>120</sup> For al-Harawi's account of Asia Minor, see his *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. Sourdél-Thomine, 130–36.

<sup>121</sup> See Hasluck's essay, "Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia Plain," in *Christianity and Islam*, 2: 363–69; cf. p. 17.

had sites that had long been sacred to a variety of religions. In the Middle Ages, at least until the late eleventh century, Christianity was dominant in the region, so pilgrimage is seen as primarily a Christian phenomenon. But Muslims always had an interest in some Anatolian sites, notably the cave of the Seven Sleepers. Unfortunately, for them, the real cave lay in enemy territory, so they had to exercise their ingenuity to find one more accessible. After they occupied most of the country, they could expand their own goals of pilgrimage to sites renowned both in Christianity and Islam. With their final conquest of the whole peninsula, of course, Turkish pilgrimage expanded to far more sites, but Christianity was by no means dead, and its pilgrims, too, continued to frequent goals old and new as long as there was a Greek population in Asia Minor.

Georgetown University

# REVUE

DES

## ÉTUDES ARMÉNIENNES.

---

### L'ARCHITECTURE ARMÉNIENNE

AUX VI<sup>E</sup> ET VII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES,

PAR

CHARLES DIEHL,

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

---

L'Arménie a conservé, plus ou moins intacts, de nombreux et importants monuments de son architecture religieuse. Beaucoup de ces monuments peuvent être datés de façon très précise, soit par les inscriptions qu'y ont fait placer les fondateurs, soit par le témoignage des textes historiques qui s'y rapportent. La plupart d'entre eux, par ailleurs, si l'on excepte la cathédrale d'Etschmiadzin et l'église de Tekor<sup>(1)</sup>, ont été, au cours des siècles, fort peu remaniés, de telle sorte que, malgré les restaurations partielles qu'ils ont pu subir, ils ont gardé, en général, assez exactement leur aspect et leur caractère primitifs. Ainsi, l'Arménie nous offre, pour l'étude des origines et de l'évolution de l'art chrétien oriental, une série de documents tout particulièrement précieux.

L'exposition qui fut faite en avril 1920, au pavillon de Marsan, des dessins et des aquarelles du peintre arménien Fetvadjan, a ramené fort opportunément l'attention sur les monuments de cet art. Tous ceux qui ont alors visité cette exposition savent l'intérêt

<sup>(1)</sup> STRZYGOWSKI. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, p. 30.

extrême que présentait cette incomparable collection de documents. Toute l'histoire de l'art arménien y apparaissait, depuis le <sup>vi</sup> jusqu'au <sup>xiii</sup> siècle, dans ses édifices les plus illustres et les plus caractéristiques; et pour chacun d'entre eux, à côté des vues d'ensemble, de nombreux relevés, admirables d'exactitude, faisaient connaître les multiples détails et la richesse de la décoration dont ces édifices sont ornés. L'exposition du pavillon de Marsan ne contenait du reste qu'une faible partie de l'œuvre de Fetvadjian : ses cartons, que j'ai eu la bonne fortune de feuilleter, sont pleins d'innombrables documents, rassemblés, pendant de longues années, au prix d'un infatigable effort : et le résultat fait autant d'honneur au talent qu'au patriotisme de l'artiste.

Vers le même temps, nous parvenait le considérable et important ouvrage que Strzygowski, en 1918, a publié sur l'art arménien (*Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienne, 1918, 2 vol. in-4°, de 887 pages). Grâce aux documents rassemblés par l'auteur lui-même au cours de deux voyages en Arménie (1889 et 1913), grâce à ceux surtout que lui a fournis en grand nombre le savant arménien Thoramianian, ce beau livre nous apporte la plus admirable collection qui existe de représentations des monuments arméniens. Mais on y trouve autre chose encore, et plus qu'un simple recueil de documents. Avec les riches matériaux dont il disposait, Strzygowski a construit les plus intéressantes théories sur les origines, les caractères de l'art arménien et l'influence qu'il exerça. Il est à peine besoin de dire combien, par l'ampleur de l'érudition et l'ingéniosité de l'esprit qui y apparaissent, ces théories méritent de retenir et de passionner l'attention; elles ne manqueront point non plus, sans doute, par les audaces d'imagination dont Strzygowski est coutumier, d'appeler la discussion et d'éveiller parfois l'inquiétude. Mais, quoi qu'on en puisse finalement penser, elles permettent, et c'est l'essentiel, de mieux comprendre tout à la fois la grande place que tient l'Arménie dans l'histoire de l'art chrétien d'Orient et de mieux connaître l'admirable trésor des monuments qu'elle nous a conservés.

# I

Au jugement de Strzygowski, l'art arménien aurait, dans l'histoire de l'art chrétien oriental, une importance toute particulière, et jusqu'ici très insuffisamment reconnue. Ce fut en effet, s'il en

faut croire le savant autrichien, un art puissamment original, qui, sous des influences en partie hellénistiques, mais davantage encore iraniennes, naquit et se développa vers le v<sup>e</sup> et le vi<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>(1)</sup>; un art créateur aussi, qui ne doit absolument rien à Byzance, mais qui tout au contraire lui a donné infiniment, en inventant quelques-unes des formes d'architecture — la combinaison de la nef longitudinale et de la coupole, par exemple, ou bien le triconque <sup>(2)</sup> — les plus caractéristiques de l'ancien art chrétien. « En Asie Mineure, écrit Strzygowski, dans la construction voûtée aussi bien que dans la construction des coupoles, c'est une influence étrangère, celle de la Mésopotamie et de l'Arménie, qui se fait sentir, et il en va de même en Syrie. A l'époque où naît l'Église, les pays d'origine qui tiennent le premier rang sont la Mésopotamie et l'Arménie, derrière lesquelles l'Iran apparaît de plus en plus comme la source la plus digne d'attention. C'est de là que vient la coupole arménienne sur plan carré; mais c'est en Arménie qu'elle s'est pleinement développée, de telle manière que le génie grec à Sainte-Sophie, le génie italien à Saint-Pierre, n'ont eu qu'à la réaliser plus complètement <sup>(3)</sup>. » Cet art arménien enfin a exercé une action puissante dans tout le monde oriental <sup>(4)</sup>, et fait sentir son influence jusque sur l'Occident. Ce n'est point ici le lieu de discuter ce dernier problème : on se contentera de remarquer en passant que, si la théorie de Strzygowski renferme une incontestable et grande part de vérité, il y a pourtant quelque exagération à proclamer, comme il fait, « la victoire des formes arméniennes de construction à coupole en Europe <sup>(5)</sup> », en citant comme preuves à l'appui Saint-Pierre de Rome et Chambord, et les idées de Bramante ou de Léonard de Vinci. On se bornera à examiner et à discuter ici les deux premières affirmations de Strzygowski, sans vouloir dissimuler, dès l'abord, tout ce qu'il y a d'inattendu et de paradoxal dans une doctrine qui prétend faire honneur à l'Arménie de l'origine de Sainte-Sophie elle-même. « En ce qui touche Sainte-Sophie, écrit l'auteur, on doit admettre qu'Anthemius de Tralles et Isidore de Milet, en techniciens élevés dans les écoles hellénistiques, ont compris la signification de la méthode de construction arménienne, de même que plus tard

(1) Strzygowski, p. 30.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 777.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 569.

(4) P. 332, 341.

(5) P. 861.



Léonard et Bramante l'ont reconnue<sup>(1)</sup>. C'est beaucoup dire sans doute, et un tel bouleversement des idées reçues, un tel rôle attribué au génie inventif de l'Arménie méritent assurément, avant d'être admis comme vérités démontrées, d'être examinés de fort près.

## II

Les édifices qui subsistent de l'art arménien appartiennent, pour le plus grand nombre, à deux époques. C'est d'une part le **vii<sup>e</sup> siècle**, le temps où s'achève la lente évolution qui s'accomplit au cours du **v<sup>e</sup>** et du **vi<sup>e</sup> siècle**, et de cette évolution le résultat se manifeste en une admirable floraison de monuments. L'époque des Bagratides, au **x<sup>e</sup>** et au **xi<sup>e</sup> siècle**, marque l'autre période glorieuse de l'art arménien : les monuments d'Ani, la capitale des rois d'Arménie, attestent alors en particulier le merveilleux développement de l'art. De ces deux périodes, la première, pour l'étude des origines et du caractère de l'art arménien, est, sans contredit, la plus importante. C'est elle, tout naturellement, qui a fourni à Strzygowski l'occasion de ses plus hardies et plus séduisantes hypothèses; c'est d'elle que l'on voudrait ici s'occuper principalement.

Considérons d'abord les monuments les plus anciens qu'ait conservés l'Arménie. La plupart d'entre eux sont des basiliques et ils datent de la fin du **v<sup>e</sup>** ou du cours du **vi<sup>e</sup> siècle**. C'est la grande église d'Eghiwad, dont une inscription attribue la fondation au catholicos Mowsès (574-604)<sup>(2)</sup>; c'est l'église d'Aschtarak, qui date du milieu du **vi<sup>e</sup> siècle**<sup>(3)</sup>; c'est la basilique de Tekor, qui, remaniée à une date ultérieure, semble, dans sa forme primitive, appartenir à la fin du **v<sup>e</sup>** ou au début du **vi<sup>e</sup> siècle**<sup>(4)</sup>; c'est surtout la basilique d'Ererouk, qu'on date de la fin du **v<sup>e</sup>** ou du commencement du **vi<sup>e</sup> siècle**<sup>(5)</sup>. Dans ce groupe d'édifices anciens, seule l'église d'Awan, bâtie entre 557 et 574, fait exception par les dispositions de son plan : elle était couronnée d'une coupole centrale appuyée sur huit niches demi-circulaires et peut-être de quatre

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 780.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 144-145.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 146-148.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 335 et suiv., et p. 25.

(5) *Ibid.*, 154 et suiv., 397 et suiv., et p. 25.

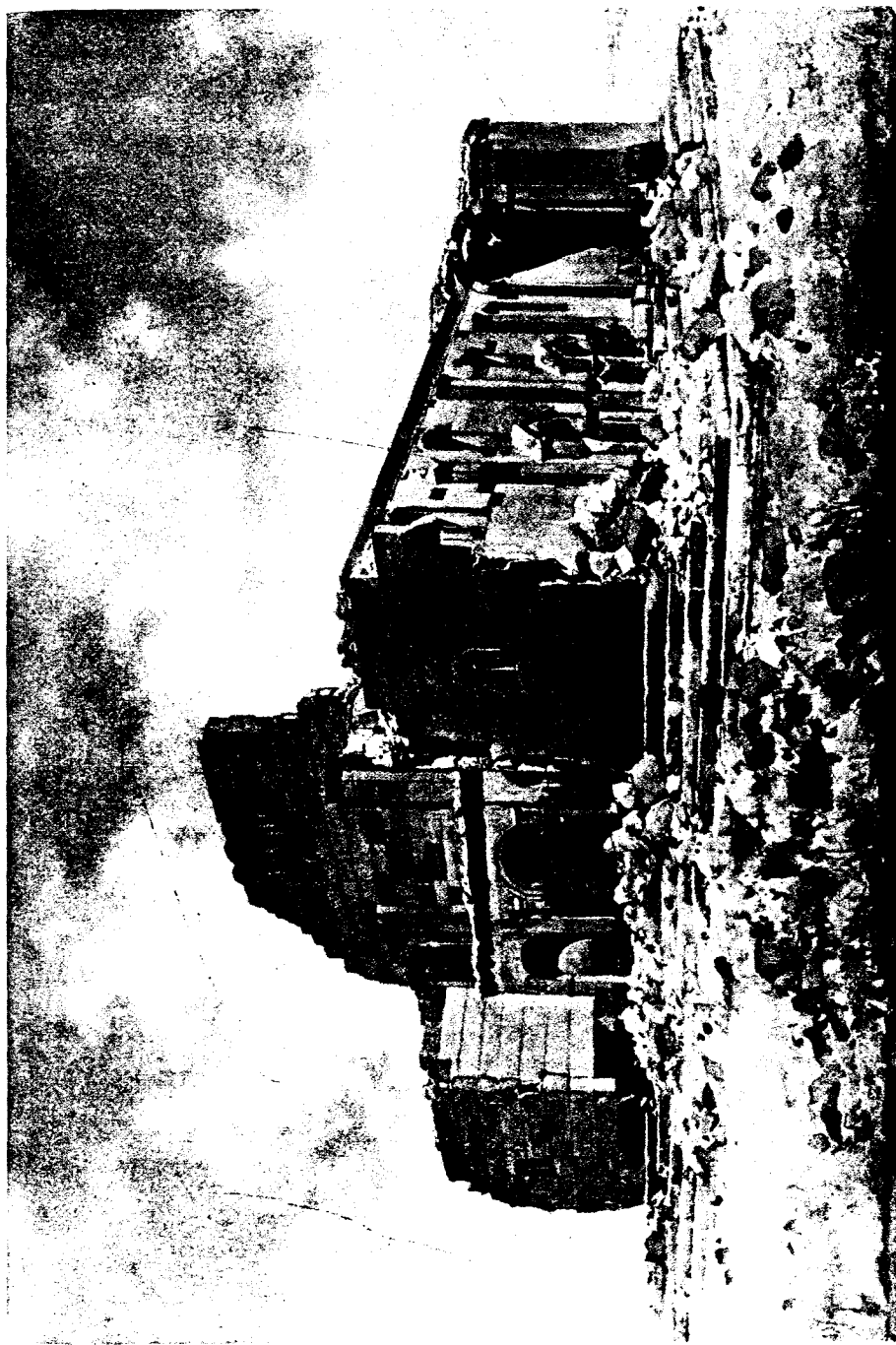


Fig. 1. — ÉGLISE de ERÉROUK (Guezal Goulé), ARMÉNIE, V<sup>e</sup> ou VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle.

coupoles aux angles <sup>(1)</sup>; mais l'état de ruine où elle se trouve laisse quelque incertitude sur ce dernier parti.

De ces monuments, le plus intéressant et le plus caractéristique est assurément l'église d'Ererouk (fig. 1). Si l'on regarde la belle aquarelle où Felvadjian l'a représentée <sup>(2)</sup>, on sera frappé tout de suite de la ressemblance qu'elle offre avec les basiliques de la Syrie du Nord, telles que Roueïha ou Qalb-Louzé, Bakirha ou Tourmanin. La façade occidentale, avec les deux tours qui la flanquent, la porte d'entrée au linteau surmonté d'un arc de décharge légèrement outrepassé, avec la triple fenêtre qui s'ouvre sous le fronton triangulaire et les moulures courbes se repliant en spirales qui encadrent les fenêtres, est, à cet égard, d'un aspect fort significatif. Et pareillement, la façade latérale du sud, avec ses porches au fronton triangulaire précédant les portes d'entrée et la décoration de ses fenêtres, atteste nettement la même parenté. La décoration des chapiteaux (fig. 2), avec ses cercles renfermant des étoiles ou des croix, procède de la même origine; et Strzygowski lui-même a dû reconnaître ces influences syriennes, quitte à déclarer que, dans l'art arménien, l'église d'Ererouk constitue une exception <sup>(3)</sup>. On ne saurait nier cependant — et Strzygowski l'accorde — sa parenté avec l'église de Tekor <sup>(4)</sup>. Celle-ci également, avant qu'elle eût été transformée par l'addition d'une coupole, offrait l'aspect d'une basilique, et l'intéressante aquarelle de Felvadjian (fig. 3), qui la représente telle qu'elle était avant la chute de la coupole, laisse clairement entrevoir tout ce qu'elle devait, en particulier dans sa façade occidentale, aux modèles syriens. Cette influence apparaît plus nettement encore dans la décoration des chapiteaux qui couronnent les colonnes ou les pilastres (fig. 4); des feuilles d'acanthé s'y développent, des pampres chargés de lourdes grappes s'y déroulent en rinceaux, et tout cet ornement sculpté est comme gravé à la surface de la pierre qu'il couvre d'une souple broderie. On ne saurait méconnaître dans tout cela — et Strzygowski lui-même le concède <sup>(5)</sup> — un puissant courant d'influence hellénistique, semblable à celui qui se manifeste en Syrie, et une étroite parenté avec l'architecture de cette région.

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 89 et suiv.

(2) L'illustration abondante qui orne le présent fascicule est due à la libéralité de S. E. Boghos Nubar pacha et de Madame A. A. Eknayan.

(3) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 397.

(4) P. 401-402.

(5) P. 407 et suiv., surtout 415 et 418. Cf. 668-678.

Il faut remarquer en outre que les plus anciens monuments de l'art arménien montrent des inscriptions grecques (à Ererouk, à Awan), et même syriennes <sup>(1)</sup>, ce qui nous ramène aux mêmes pays d'origine. Et si donc, dans l'art arménien du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle, on rencontre tant de ressemblance avec l'art syrien du même temps, si l'on y constate la même influence hellénistique se combinant avec des apports orientaux, on sera fondé à conclure que, dans les ouvrages les plus anciens qui nous restent de l'art arménien, il y a moins d'originalité sans doute et de nouveauté que ne l'affirme Strzygowski.

### III

Le vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, auquel il faut venir maintenant — car c'est à ce moment que parvient à son apogée l'art arménien de la première période — nous a conservé un très grand nombre d'édifices. Ils appartiennent à trois types : ou bien ce sont des basiliques, parfois couronnées d'une coupole, ou bien des constructions sur plan central, toujours surmontées d'une coupole, ou bien des églises bâties sur ce plan triconque, dont Strzygowski, sans raison démonstrative, attribue l'invention à l'Arménie. Il ne sera point inutile de dresser ici la liste chronologique de ces monuments, en marquant brièvement les traits caractéristiques qu'ils offrent.

Dvin, église de Saint-Grégoire, basilique à coupole, commencement du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle (entre 606 et 611) <sup>(2)</sup>.

Wagharschapat, église de Sainte-Hripsimè, construction sur plan central, datant de 618 <sup>(3)</sup>.

Ani, église de la citadelle, basilique à une seule nef, datée par une inscription de 622 <sup>(4)</sup>.

Mzchet, église de la Croix, construction sur plan central en forme de quatre-feuilles, achevée entre 619 et 639 <sup>(5)</sup>.

Wagharschapat, église de Sainte-Gaianè, édifice sur plan en forme de croix, couronné d'une coupole, datant de 630 <sup>(6)</sup>.

Bagaran, cathédrale, construction sur plan central, en forme

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 30-32, 89.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 163-165, 680.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 92-94, 680.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 137-138.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 84-87.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 179-181.

de quatre-feuilles, datée par une inscription entre 624 et 631<sup>(1)</sup>.

Alaman, église de Saint-Ananias, sur plan triconque, datée par une inscription de 637<sup>(2)</sup>.

Mren, cathédrale, édifice identique, par son plan, à Sainte-Gaïanè, datée par une inscription entre 638 et 640<sup>(3)</sup>.

Bagawan, église sur plan en forme de croix, datée entre 631 et 639<sup>(4)</sup>.

Mastara, construction sur plan central en forme de quatre-feuilles, datée par une inscription du milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(5)</sup>.

Artik, grande église, de même plan et de même date que Mastara<sup>(6)</sup>.

Agrak, église de même plan et de même date que les deux précédentes, les trois édifices étant peut-être dus au même architecte<sup>(7)</sup>.

Zouarthnotz, église de Saint-Grégoire, construction sur plan central, édifiée par le catholicos Nersès III (640-661)<sup>(8)</sup>.

Thalisch, cathédrale, basilique à coupole, datée par une inscription de 668 et bâtie par le prince Grégoire Mamigonian<sup>(9)</sup>.

Thalin, église de la Vierge, sur plan triconque, datée par une inscription aux environs de 690<sup>(10)</sup>, et cathédrale, peut-être du même temps, basilique à coupole<sup>(11)</sup>.

Un trait commun frappe dans tous ces monuments : c'est la place prédominante qu'y occupe la coupole. Mais cela dit, la question essentielle demeure : y a-t-il dans ces édifices quelque chose d'original qui appartienne en propre à l'Arménie?

Il est incontestable que les coupoles arméniennes sont presque toutes des coupoles sur trompes d'angle, et l'on admet volontiers aujourd'hui l'origine orientale de ce mode de structure.

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 95-99, 681.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 160-161.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 182-184, 506.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 177-178.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 76-78.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 101-103.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 108-118, 421-427, 682-687.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 190-193.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 161-163.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 167-173. Le texte de ces inscriptions a été publié par STRZYGOWSKI, p. 32-52. Sur le développement de l'architecture arménienne au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, cf. p. 679-689.

Les vieux architectes de la Perse savaient déjà couvrir un carré au moyen d'une coupole de cette sorte; et des palais du Servistan et de Firouz Abad, le procédé a, dès le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, passé dans l'art chrétien d'Orient : on le trouve appliqué dès cette date dans certaines églises d'Égypte et d'Asie Mineure. Il n'est donc nullement surprenant qu'il se rencontre dans les églises arméniennes du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toutefois, on remarquera qu'alors même, il n'y est pas exclusivement employé : la coupole de la grande église de Thalín est une coupole sur pendentifs, de type plus spécifiquement hellénistique et semblable à celles que l'on construisait à Constantinople vers le même temps.

Mais le caractère de la décoration des édifices arméniens du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle est plus digne d'attention encore. Que l'on considère en particulier cette église de Zouarthnotz que fit bâtir, vers le milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le catholicos Nersès III, surnommé « le constructeur ». S'il en faut croire Strzygowski, ce monument, un des plus importants de l'Arménie à cette époque, n'aurait, malgré l'éducation toute grecque et les sympathies politiques de Nersès, absolument rien de byzantin, et l'architecte y aurait appliqué en toute indépendance les procédés traditionnels chers à l'art arménien <sup>(1)</sup>. On accordera en effet que le plan de l'édifice est purement oriental et qu'il est apparenté de fort près au groupe des octogones asiatiques et syriens. Mais en revanche les chapiteaux qui couronnent les colonnes sont des chapiteaux en corbeille à volutes ioniques, de style nettement byzantin <sup>(2)</sup>, et les monogrammes qui y sont inscrits pour rappeler le nom du fondateur sont des monogrammes grecs. Sur un autre chapiteau, un aigle aux ailes éployées n'est pas moins caractéristique <sup>(3)</sup>, et pareillement le décor de pampres et de grappes qui se déroule à la courbe des archivoltes <sup>(4)</sup> (fig. 5). C'est en grec, enfin, qu'est écrite l'inscription où Nersès s'est présenté comme le fondateur <sup>(5)</sup>. De même, dans l'église de Dvin, bâtie par le même Nersès, les chapiteaux retrouvés parmi les ruines attestent, comme les mosaïques du pavement, l'influence byzantine <sup>(6)</sup>. On trouverait en bien d'autres

<sup>(1)</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, p. 682, 687.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318, 421-423.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114-116, 424-425.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30-31.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319-320, 680.

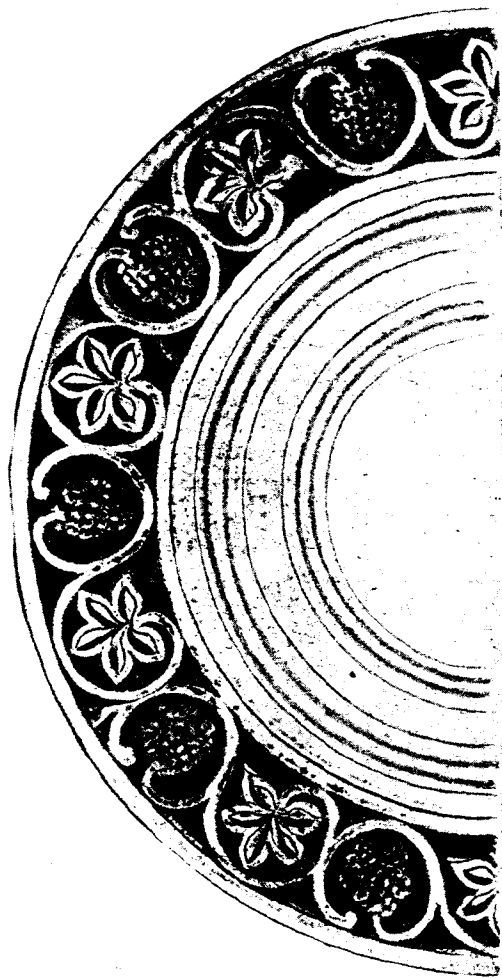


Fig. 5. — Zouarthnoz. Archivolle.  
(Dessin de M. A. Fetvadjan.)

monuments encore du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle cette même influence, que ce soit le chapiteau en corbeille d'Iroud <sup>(1)</sup> ou l'archivolte de Mren, l'archivolte d'Artik ou le curieux chapiteau de Kara-Kilissé (fig. 6), où la volute ionique se termine par une grappe de raisin ou une feuille de vigne. Assurément, dans tel ou tel de ces motifs, on peut saisir des éléments indigènes se mêlant aux éléments étrangers, et le vieil Orient se combinant avec Byzance. Il n'en demeure pas moins certain que l'influence byzantine se marque nettement dans cette décoration et que les chapiteaux de Zouarithnotz ne sont nullement, comme le veut Strzygowski <sup>(2)</sup>, un exemple isolé dans l'Arménie du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Aussi bien d'autres témoignages, empruntés à ces mêmes monuments, attestent la puissance de l'influence que Byzance exerçait en ce temps sur l'Arménie. Que l'on regarde les inscriptions relatives à la fondation de ces églises : beaucoup d'entre elles sont datées par les années du règne des empereurs byzantins. Celle d'Alaman mentionne « la 27<sup>e</sup> année du pieux empereur Héraclius <sup>(3)</sup> », celle de Mren, « la 29<sup>e</sup> (ou la 30<sup>e</sup>) année du victorieux empereur Héraclius <sup>(4)</sup> », celle de Thalisch, « la 29<sup>e</sup> année de Constantin <sup>(5)</sup> ». Ailleurs, dans l'inscription de Thalin, le fondateur Nersès se pare des titres byzantins d'apohypatos et de patrice <sup>(6)</sup>, et dans l'Arménie du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, on retrouve, employées de façon usuelle, les appellations de patrice, de curopalate, etc., que la vanité des princes arméniens acceptait ou sollicitait de la cour de Constantinople.

Ce ne sont point là des faits indifférents. Ils marquent — ce qu'aussi bien l'histoire atteste — une dépendance politique et artistique de l'Arménie à l'égard de Byzance. Et on est alors en droit de se demander si tout cela n'affaiblit pas quelque peu la thèse qui attribue tant d'originalité créatrice à l'art arménien du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et s'il n'y a point quelque paradoxe à voir, comme le fait Strzygowski, précisément dans cette époque le temps où se réalisa « la victoire de l'élément national <sup>(7)</sup> ».

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, 132-133, 320.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 421.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 43-44.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 47.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 679.



## IV

A examiner les choses sans esprit préconçu, sans désir de construire à tout prix des théories retentissantes, il semble que les faits se présentent plus vraisemblablement de la façon que voici. Au iv<sup>e</sup> et au v<sup>e</sup> siècle, il s'est produit en Arménie un mouvement en tout semblable à celui que, vers le même temps, on constate dans tout l'Orient, en Mésopotamie, en Syrie, en Asie Mineure. Et, de même que dans ces régions, il y a eu en Arménie, sous l'influence des vieilles traditions orientales se combinant avec les éléments hellénistiques, une période de préparation féconde, mais où l'Arménie ne paraît avoir eu nulle place qui lui soit particulière.

De ce mouvement est né un art fort analogue, dans ses monuments du v<sup>e</sup> et du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'art de la Syrie et de l'Asie Mineure<sup>(1)</sup>, un art qui s'est développé parallèlement à eux, et qui a contribué comme eux, mais point du tout exclusivement, à la formation de l'art byzantin. Il ne faut point oublier, en effet, que les problèmes essentiels de la construction, celui de la coupole en particulier, ont été, durant cette période, étudiés ailleurs encore qu'en Arménie, et résolus — en Asie Mineure par exemple — de façon aussi satisfaisante et aussi heureuse<sup>(2)</sup>. Et, quoi qu'on en puisse dire, Sainte-Sophie, avec sa coupole à pendentifs, ne doit rien à l'art arménien.

Cet art n'a donc, dans la période de ses origines, ni uniquement, ni particulièrement influencé l'art byzantin naissant. S'est-il du moins développé ensuite indépendamment de lui, et ses monuments du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle attestent-ils une inspiration originale? Je ne le pense point. Lorsque, dans la première moitié du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'art byzantin a atteint son apogée, il a, en Arménie comme ailleurs, puissamment fait sentir son influence, et l'art arménien du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré certains traits orientaux qu'on y peut relever, doit, en dernière analyse, beaucoup à l'art byzantin.

Sans doute, on ne contestera point que plus tard, par l'effet du contact plus direct de l'Arménie avec le monde arabe, l'art arménien, aux x<sup>e</sup> et xi<sup>e</sup> siècles, ait pris un caractère plus particulier et plus original. Et on ne niera pas davantage l'esprit d'invention et d'ingéniosité créatrice que semblent avoir possédé

(1) Cf. STRZYGOWSKI, qui l'admet au total, p. 668-678.

(2) Cf. mon *Manuel d'art byzantin*, p. 89 et suiv.

alors les architectes arméniens, non plus que l'aspect caractéristique qu'offrent les édifices de ce temps. Encore faut-il remarquer en passant, pour apprécier exactement la mesure de leur originalité, que ces maîtres, plus d'une fois, se sont contentés de répéter les modèles anciens du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle : l'église de Saint-Grégoire, bâtie en 1000 par le roi Gagik à Ani, reproduit exactement celle de Zouarthnotz <sup>(1)</sup>, et il en est de même de celle de Bana, qui date du commencement du X<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>(2)</sup>; l'église d'Aténi (X<sup>e</sup> ou XI<sup>e</sup> siècle) est une réplique de l'église de Mzschet <sup>(3)</sup>; Sainte-Hripsimè a été fréquemment imitée au IX<sup>e</sup> et au X<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>(4)</sup>. Enfin on admettra volontiers la large expansion qu'eut à ce moment l'art arménien, aussi bien, par la voie de la Géorgie, en Russie et chez les peuples slaves du Danube qu'à Constantinople même et dans le monde grec <sup>(5)</sup>; et c'est un problème qui mérite d'être attentivement examiné que la question de l'influence exercée par l'art arménien sur l'Occident, quoique, ici, l'étude des églises romanes ait, à mon sens, une bien autre importance que le rôle prêté à la coupole arménienne. Tout cela suffit à démontrer le très vif intérêt qui s'attache à cet art arménien : mais, cela dit, il faut avouer que, dans ses origines, il ne présente aucun trait assez significatif pour que l'on puisse, à la suite de Strzygowski <sup>(6)</sup>, se flatter de trouver enfin en Arménie « le terrain solide » sur lequel on édifiera l'histoire de la formation de l'art chrétien d'Orient. C'est là trop simplifier les choses, et faire trop bon marché de la Syrie et de l'Asie Mineure. Qu'il faille faire désormais à l'Arménie sa part dans cette période de préparation féconde qui, au IV<sup>e</sup> et au V<sup>e</sup> siècle, apparaît dans tout l'Orient, nul ne le contestera : il ne semble pas, cependant, que les résultats obtenus en Arménie aient eu ni une portée décisive, ni une particulière importance. Et si intéressant qu'apparaisse l'art arménien du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il n'est alors, par l'influence byzantine qu'il subit, qu'une province de l'art byzantin. Vouloir lui attribuer un rôle plus considérable, vouloir en faire un art original et créateur, dont tout le reste est sorti, c'est glisser vraiment au paradoxe, et à un paradoxe un peu puéril.

(1) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 119-121.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 121-125.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 88-89.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.

(5) Cf. le livre de MILLET, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*.

(6) STRZYGOWSKI, p. 877.

# THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

NEW EDITION

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF  
LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY AN EDITORIAL COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF  
**H. A. R. GIBB, J. H. KRAMERS, E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, J. SCHACHT**

ASSISTED BY S. M. STERN AS SECRETARY GENERAL (pp. 1-320)

**B. LEWIS, CH. PELLAT AND J. SCHACHT**

ASSISTED BY C. DUMONT AND R. M. SAVORY AS EDITORIAL SECRETARIES  
(pp. 321-1359)

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

VOLUME I

**A – B**

PHOTOMECHANICAL REPRINT



LEIDEN  
**E. J. BRILL**

1986

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*Former and present members:* A. ABEL, C. C. BERG, F. GABRIELI, E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ, H. A. R. GIBB, *the late* J. H. KRAMERS, *the late* E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, [G. LEVI DELLA VIDA], B. LEWIS, [*the late* E. LITTMANN], H. MASSÉ, G. C. MILES, H. S. NYBERG, R. PARET, CH. PELLAT, J. PEDERSEN, [*the late* N. W. POSTHUMUS], J. SCHACHT, F. C. WIEDER

*Former and present associated members:* H. H. ABDUL WAHAB, *the late* A. ADNAN ADIVAR, HUSAIN DJAJADINGRAT, A. A. A. FYZEE, M. FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ, İBRAHİM MADKOUR, KHALİL MARDAM BEY, NAJİ AL-ASIL, MUHAMMAD SHAFİ, HASAN TAGHIZADE, E. TYAN

*Former and present honorary members:* G. LEVI DELLA VIDA; *the late* E. LITTMANN

ON THE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE NEW EDITION OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM, THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE PAYS HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF J. H. KRAMERS AND E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEES, DECEASED IN 1951 AND IN 1956 RESPECTIVELY.

1st edition 1960  
reprinted 1967  
reprinted 1979

ISBN 90 04 08114 3

*Copyright 1960 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands*

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without written permission from the Editors*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

stones prove its antiquity. Arcos declared for 'Abd al-Rahmān I when the latter undertook his campaign against Yūsuf al-Fihri; it was subsequently sacked by Shakyā b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Miknāsī, leader of the most important and most dangerous Berber revolt against the first Umayyad *amir*. During the Arab-muwallad conflict at the end of the 3rd/9th century in the region of Seville, the rebel *castillos* of Arcos, Jerez and Medina Sidonia were assaulted by the troops of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh. Yūsuf b. Tāshufin stopped at Arcos on his way to Zallāka. The Almohad caliph Ya'qūb al-Manšūr, in his campaign of 586/1190 against Portugal, concentrated his troops at Arcos de la Frontera; from there he dispatched his cousin al-Sayyid Ya'qūb b. Abī Ḥafṣ against Silves, while he himself proceeded to lay siege to Torres Novas and Tomar. Ferdinand III took possession of Arcos in 648/1250, after having captured Granada; its Muslim inhabitants rose in revolt in 659/1261, and it was reduced to submission by Alfonso the Learned in 662/1264. In 739/1339, when the Marīnid *amir* Abu 'l-Ḥasan undertook his Andalusian campaign, which resulted in his defeat at the battle of the Salado or Tarifa, the Andalusian Councils routed the troops of prince Abū Mālik a short distance from Arcos, and put him to death on the banks of the Barbate, which marked the frontier between the two countries. Up to 856/1452, the Moors of Granada encroached on the territory of Arcos, which for two centuries was a frontier town, kept constantly on a war footing and thus deserving its name of Arcos de la Frontera.

*Bibliography*: Idrīsī, Arabic text 174, trans. 208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 14, trans. 20; *Dic. geog. de España*, 1957, ii, 697; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 336. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ARMAN [see ARMĪNIYA].

ARMĪNIYA, Armenia, a country of Hither Asia.

## I. Geographical Outline.

Armenia is the central and most elevated part of Hither Asia. Encompassed between two mountain chains, the Pontic chain to the north and the chain of the Taurus to the south, it lies between Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates, Āḡharbāyḍjān and the region south-west of the Caspian (on a level with the confluence of the Kurr [Kura] and the Araxes) to the east, the Pontic regions to the north-west, the Caucasus (from which the line of the Rion and the Kurr separates it) to the north, and the plain of Mesopotamia to the south (area of the Upper Tigris). To the south of Lake Van, Gordjaik (the ancient Gordyene, now Bohtan) and the land of the Hakkari Kurds (the region of Djulamerk and Amadiye) form geographically a part of Armenia, although they have not always been subject to the Armenians. Armenia thus embraces almost the whole of the territory extending between long. 37° and 49° East and lat. 37.5° and 41.5° North. Its area can be estimated at about 300,000 sq. kms.

The geological framework of the land consists of mountains having an archaean core and covered with sedimentary strata and tertiary deposits, but vast volcanic masses and lava flows of more recent date have modified its structure. High plains extend between the mountain ranges and vary in altitude from 800 to 2 000 metres (Erzerūm: 1,880 m.; Kars: 1,800 m.; Mūsh on the Murād Šū: 1,400 m.; Erzindjān: 1,300 m.; Erivān: 890 m.). The eruptions have produced a whole series of volcanic cones which are among the highest peaks in the land: Ararat (5,205 m.) to the south of the Araxes; the Sīpān

dāgh (4,176 m.), already known to al-Balādhurī (ed. De Goeje, 198. Cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67, 162; Le Strange, 183); the Bingöl dāgh (3,680 m.) to the south of Erzerūm; the Khoridāgh (3,550 m.), the Ala-dāgh (3,520 m.), and the Alaghöz (4,180 m.) which forms to the north an almost completely isolated massif.

Armenia is the cradle of great rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kurr (Kura). The Euphrates is formed through the confluence of two branches, the northern branch or Kara Šū (Ar. Furāt) and the southern branch or Murād Šū (Ar. Arsanas) which come from the Armenian plateau; the Tigris is born in the border range of the South called the Armenian Taurus. While the system of the Tigris and the Euphrates irrigates the lands inclined towards the Persian Gulf, the Araxes (Ar. al-Rass, [q.v.]) which comes from the Bingöl dāgh, waters the lands turned towards the Caspian Sea and, before flowing into it, joins the Kurr which, with its parallel prolongation, the river Rion, a tributary of the Black Sea, separates the Caucasus sharply from Armenia. The Euphrates and the Araxes cut deeply into the Armenian plateau and these breaches facilitate the drainage of water with the result that Armenia has but a small number of lakes, Lake Van (1,590 m.) called in Arabic the lake of Khilāt and Ardīsh [q.v.] and the Gök Çay [q.v.] or Sevanga (2,000 m.) mentioned already in 1340 by al-Mustawfi, and several smaller lakes.

The orographical and hydrographical systems of Armenia are such that the land is divided into a number of basins separated the one from the other by high mountains, a fact that helps to bring about the feudal disunion in which the Armenians have always lived.

The climate of Armenia is very severe. The winter lasts regularly for eight months on the plateau, the short and very hot summer rarely exceeds two months; it is very dry and crops have need of artificial irrigation. The region of the plains along the Araxes enjoys, however, a more favourable climate. The snow-line in the mountains of the South lies at 3,300 m., but rises to 4,000 m. in eastern Armenia.

## II. History.

### 1. — Armenia before Islam.

Armenia is thought to have been inhabited towards the 17th century B.C. by an Asiatic people, the Hurrites, who were neither of Semitic nor of Indo-European origin; this people was organised in the first half of the second millennium by a conquering Indo-European aristocracy and later became subject to the Hittite empire and thereafter to the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C. a people closely related to the Hurrites, the Urartians, also called Khaldi, established there the powerful kingdom of Urartu (the biblical Ararat), of which Lake Van formed the centre. This kingdom, which had to fight against the Assyrians, attained its apogee in the 8th century, but was destroyed towards the middle of the 7th century by the Cimmerian and Scythian wave that flowed over Hither Asia. During and after these changes an Indo-European people of the Thracio-Phrygian family, a branch, probably, of the Phrygians whose state had just been destroyed by the Cimmerians, came from the West and conquered Urartu. These new inhabitants were called Armenians by the Achaemenid Persians (Greek: Ἀρμένιοι), a name of

which the meaning and origin are still unexplained, and the region became known in the course of time as Armenia. The Armenians, however, call themselves Haik (from the name of the hero who led the Armenian people to the conquest) and refer to their land as Hayastan.

The Armenians, save in the time of Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great), have never played a dominant rôle in Hither Asia. The reasons for this were, to a large degree, the feudal régime favoured by the geographical nature of the country and itself a source of internal dissensions, and also the proximity of powerful empires. From the time of their settlement in Armenia the Armenians were vassals of the Medes and then of the Achaemenid Persians who placed the land under the control of satraps. These latter, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the death of Alexander the Great, became veritable kings who afterwards recognised the suzerainty of the Seleucids. When Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (189 B.C.), the two "strategi" who governed Armenia made themselves independent, took the title of king and formed two kingdoms, the one, Artaxias, in Great Armenia or Armenia proper and the other, Zariadris, in Little Armenia (Sophene-Arzanene). Great Armenia fell afterwards under the suzerainty of the Arsacids. In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great, threw off the Parthian yoke, dethroned the king of Sophene and united all Armenia under his sceptre; having achieved Armenian unity, he established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire and played an important political rôle. After him, however, Armenia was reduced more and more to the rôle of a buffer state between the two empires, the Arsacid Parthian and the Roman, each of which desired to impose a king of its choice, internal troubles furnishing a perpetual pretext for intervention and encroachments. In general, from the year 11 A.D. down to the fall of the Arsacids in 224, it was, for the greater part of the time, cadets of the Arsacid family who ruled in Armenia, now supporting their relatives in their wars against Rome, and now accepting the Roman protectorate. When the Arsacid Parthians were replaced by the Sāsānids, Armenia, continuing under the rule of Arsacid kings and embracing Christianity at the close of the 3rd century, became once more a new apple of discord between the two empires which in the end reached an agreement to share the weak vassal state. By a partition which took place about 390 Persia received the eastern portion, four-fifths of Armenia, over which Khosraw III reigned with Dwin (Ar. Dabīl) as capital, while Rome kept the western part where Arshak III ruled at Erzindjān. After the death of Arshak the Romans (Byzantines) entrusted to a count (*comes*) the administration of the land. The Persian part of the country or Persarmenia retained its national princes until 428-9 and was thereafter administered by a Persian *marzbān* residing at Dwin. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos, the most important native source for the period extending from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the Persian domination never succeeded in implanting itself solidly in Armenia, all the more since the Sāsānids persecuted Armenian Christianity. The Armenian lords (the *nakhharar*) availed themselves of every opportunity to shake off the detested yoke of the fire-worshippers and in their quarrels with the Persian *marzbāns* invoked frequently the aid of their co-religionists in Byzantine Armenia, a proce-

dure that led to frontier skirmishes and at times to real battles. A wide breach in the community of interests between Armenia and Byzantium was made, however, in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were condemned by the Armenians at the Council of Dwin in 506. This schism, which was definitive despite the efforts of the Greeks to restore union, facilitated political relations between the Armenians of Persarmenia and the court of Ctesiphon, now become more tolerant towards Christianity.

Under the emperor Maurice (582-602) the Byzantines, profiting by the troubles of the Persian empire, reconquered a part of Persarmenia. Armenia now enjoyed a period of peace, but Khosraw II Parwiz (590-628) resumed in 604 against the Byzantines a war which was to last until 629 and was marked by the celebrated campaigns of Heraclius (610-41) in Atropatene.

Throughout the Sāsānid period the intervention of the two great powers, the internal discords between the great families which vied with each other for pre-eminence and the incursions of the Khazars on the north-eastern frontier maintained a complete anarchy in the land. Armenia, ravaged and torn, found itself at the moment of the Muslim invasion in a state of weakness that did not allow it to oppose a strong resistance to the Arab assault. Favoured by this anarchy, there now developed in the region of Lake Van the power of the Rshuni family which had for its base the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van and whose chief Theodore played a great rôle at the time of the Arab invasions.

## 2. — Armenia under Arab domination.

The history of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs still presents in its details many uncertainties and obscurities, for the information found in the Arab, Armenian, and Greek sources is often contradictory. The Armenian account by Bishop Sebeos, who speaks to us as an eye-witness of these memorable events, is by far the most important source for this period; to this account there must be added, as a valuable complement, the work of the priest Leontius which constitutes indeed for the years 662-770 the only notable testimony. Among the Arab authors the first place belongs to al-Balādhuri who made use to a unique degree of accounts drawn from the inhabitants of Armenia.

After the conquest of Syria and the defeat of Persia by the Arabs, the latter began to make repeated irruptions into Armenia and to contend with the Byzantines for possession of the land. 'Iyād b. Ghānim, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, undertook between the close of the year 19 and the beginning of the year 20/639-40 a first campaign in south-western Armenia, where he penetrated as far as Bitlis. Al-Balādhuri (176), al-Ṭabarī (i, 2506) and Yāqūt (i, 206) agree on the date of this campaign, but differ in regard to its details. A second Arab attack took place, according to the accounts of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2666) and Ibn al-Athīr (iii, 20-1), in the year 21/642. In four corps, two of which were under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and of Salmān b. Rabi'a, the Muslims advanced into the frontier regions of north-eastern Armenia, but, driven back on all sides, soon had to retire from the land. Nor did the brief razzia carried out in the year 24/645 by Salmān b. Rabi'a from Ādharbāyджān into the Armenian border territory have any more enduring effect: see, on this raid, al-Ya'qūbī, 180; al-Balādhuri, 198; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2806.

According to the evidence of the Arab historians and geographers (see especially al-Ya'qūbī, 194; al-Balādhurī, 197-8; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2674-5, 2806-7; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iii, 65-6), the greatest invasion of Armenia, the one which for the first time reduced the country to effective Arab control, occurred during the caliphate of 'Uṡmān towards the end of 24/645-6. Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria, charged the same general Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had already distinguished himself in the battles of Syria and Mesopotamia, with the conquest of Armenia. The general marched first against Theodosiopolis (Armen. Karin, Ar. Kālīkalā, now Erzerūm), the capital of Byzantine Armenia and took the town after a short siege. He inflicted a heavy defeat on a great Byzantine army which, reinforced by Khazar and Alan auxiliary troops, had moved forward to stop him on the Euphrates. He turned next towards the south-east in the direction of Lake Van and received the submission of the local princes of Akhlāt [q.v.] and Moks. Ardīsh on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van also yielded to the Arab troops. Ḥabīb then marched to besiege Dwin, the centre of Persarmenia, which likewise capitulated after a few days. He concluded a treaty of peace and guarantee with the town of Tiflis in return for the recognition of Arab suzerainty and the payment of a capitulation tax (*dīziya*). At the same time, Salmān b. Rabī'a with his army of 'Irāḳī troops, subjugated Arrān (Albania) and conquered its capital Bardha'a.

The Armenian tradition differs from the Arab tradition in the matter of dates as well as in various details. On one point alone, the direction given to the great Arab invasion, is there complete agreement in Sebeos and al-Balādhurī, as a comparison of the routes indicated in each of these authors reveals.

According to the Armenian historians, an army entered Armenia in 642, penetrated to the region of Airarat, conquered the capital Dwin and then left the country by the same route, carrying off 35,000 prisoners. In the next year the Muslims made, from Ādharbāyḍjān, a new irruption into Armenia. They ravaged the region of Airarat and penetrated even into Georgia; a sharp defeat which the prince Theodoros Ršhtuni inflicted on them compelled them, however, to retreat. Soon after this event the emperor recognised Theodoros as commander of the Armenian troops. Armenia, spared the Arab incursions for a number of years, then recognised anew the suzerainty of Byzantium. When the truce of three years concluded between the Arabs and Constans II, the successor of Heraclius, who had died in 641, came to an end in 653, a resumption of hostilities had to be expected in Armenia. In order to prevent a threatening invasion by the Arabs, Theodoros surrendered the land voluntarily to them and concluded with Mu'āwiya a treaty very favourable to the Armenians and which imposed on them only the recognition of Muslim suzerainty. In the same year, however, the emperor, with an army 100,000 strong, appeared in Armenia, where most of the local princes ranged themselves on his side. He brought all Armenia and Georgia once more under his authority without much trouble. Yet scarcely had Constans II left the country (654), having wintered at Dwin, than an Arab army entered the land in its turn and took possession of the districts on the northern shore of Lake Van. With the aid of these Arab forces Theodoros drove the Greeks from the country once more and was thereafter recognised by Mu'āwiya as prince of Armenia, Georgia and Albania. The attempts of the Greeks, with an army under the

orders of Maurianos, to reconquer the lost provinces failed completely. In 655 the Arabs extended their domination over the whole of Armenia and the Greco-Armenian capital Karin (Kālīkalā) had also to open its gates to them. Two years later the Muslims saw themselves constrained, however, to renounce for the time being a possession that was ill assured. When, in the year 36/657, the first civil war between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī broke out, the former had need of his army of occupation established in Armenia and the country, empty of troops, fell back immediately under its old master, Byzantium.

It transpires from the account of Sebeos that all these events, merged by the Arab sources in the great campaign of Ḥabīb in 24-25/644-646, occurred only after the end of the three year truce; it is on this date, too, that the information in the *Chronography* of Theophanes is based. There is, in the Arab historians, no mention at all of the fact that Armenia, after the first Arab invasion which occurred in the reign of 'Umar, had been subjected anew to Byzantine domination, nor of the events which unfolded themselves in the land during the period before the accession of Mu'āwiya. That Theodoros Ršhtuni submitted voluntarily to Mu'āwiya, a fact attested not only by Sebeos, but also by Theophanes, would be incomprehensible, if, ever since the first invasion of the Arabs, the country had been subjected to their full authority. According to Ghazarian, who, in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.* (ii, 173-4), has made a close analysis of the divergences between the Arab and the Armenian sources, the contemporary account of Sebeos deserves more trust than the tradition of the Arabs; it is on Ghazarian that Müller relies (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 259-61); a different opinion is that of Thopdschian (*Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 70-1), according to whom there can be established in the Armenian and Arab historians a concordance of dates and facts relative to the first great Arab invasion. In the view of J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 90, 371, there were six Arab invasions between 640 and 651. H. Manadean, *Brèves Études*, Erivan 1932 (trans. by H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8) has submitted the traditional data to a close criticism and has arrived at the conclusion that until 650 there were only three Arab invasions: (i) in 640, a first invasion through the Taron region and the capture of Dwin on 6 October 640; (ii) in 642-3, a second invasion by way of Ādharbāyḍjān into Persarmenia; (iii) in 650, a third invasion carried out from Ādharbāyḍjān and marked by the taking of Artsap<sup>c</sup> in the Kogovit district to the north-east of Lake Van on 8 August 650.

The Arabs, who had carried off Theodoros Ršhtuni in 655 to Damascus, where he died in 656, had set in his place at the head of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian, a member of a rival family, the fiefs of which extended from the Taron to Dwin. Mamikonian took, however, the side of Byzantium and was nominated by Constans II to the command of the country in 657-8. The Byzantine domination did not last long. Mu'āwiya, after he had come to power (41/661), wrote to the people of Armenia, inviting them to recognise anew the Arab sovereignty and to pay tribute, and the Armenian princes dared not oppose this demand. According to the Armenian sources, members of the most notable families (the Mamikonians, the Bagratuni or Bagratids) assumed the government of the land under the first Umayyads down to 'Abd al-Malik. The Arab historians, on the other hand, describe Armenia as being under the

administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb (see al-Ya'kūbī, al-Balādhūri, al-Ṭabarī for the period extending from 'Uḥmān to the 'Abbāsīd al-Muntaṣir, and the list of governors in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 177-82, Laurent, *op. cit.*, 336-47, R. Vasmer, *Chronology of the governors of Armenia under the first 'Abbāsīds*, in *Memoirs of the College of Orientalists*, Leningrad 1925, i, 381 ff., in Russian).

The first century of Arab domination in Armenia was, despite the destructive wars, an era of national and literary efflorescence for the country. And yet Muslim rule, in the time of the Umayyads and still less in the time of the 'Abbāsīds, under whom the hand of the Arab governors weighed heavily on Armenia, was not able to implant itself solidly in the land. Disturbances and rebellions were therefore frequent. The greatest and most dangerous insurrection against the Arab yoke occurred in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The Caliph sent his most skilful general, the Turk Bughā the Elder, with a strong army which, after sanguinary and desperate battles in the year 237-8/851-2, succeeded in overcoming the rebellion. The entire nobility was then carried off into captivity. Al-Mutawakkil renounced his hostile policy only when he had need of his troops to fight the Byzantines and in order to prevent a new uprising fomented by the latter. He therefore freed the captive *nakhharar* and recognised (247/861-2) as the chief prince of Armenia the Bagratid Ashot (Ar. Aṣḥūt) who had already rendered to the Arab cause most important services. During the twenty-five years of his rule as the prince of princes Ashot won the affection of all his subjects as well as that of the local lords to such a degree that, on the request of these latter, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid conferred on him in 273/886-7 the title of king. He received the same distinction from the emperor, who concluded with him at the same time a treaty of alliance. The relations of Ashot with the Caliph were never troubled; he paid his tribute regularly, but administered and governed his possessions in his own fashion; the native princes likewise acquired during his reign an almost independent status.

After the death of Ashot (862-90) there reigned his eldest son, Smbat I (Ar. Sambāt), a man indeed of heroic character, but one who was in no wise capable of withstanding his external foes, the Shaybānīds of Diyār Bakr and the Sāqīds of Ādharbāyḍjān. He was unsuccessful in his conflict with the Shaybānīds. Nevertheless, a little later in 286/899 the intervention of the Caliph al-Mu'taqid brought to an end the Shaybānīd domination and delivered the Armenian provinces from these invaders. The Sāqīd Afshīn, however, in his thrust towards the west and the north menaced Armenia unceasingly. The situation of Smbat became still more difficult in the time of the astute Yūsuf, the brother and successor of Afshīn (d. 288/901). Yūsuf understood that above all else he must draw to his side the Ardzruni family which had become, since the reign of Ashot I, the most powerful princely house next to that of the Bagratids. About 909 he even conferred the royal crown on the head of this family, Gagik, the lord of Vaspurakan, a distinction that the Caliph al-Muqtadir renewed in 304/916 and 306/919.

Yūsuf, from the year 910, ravaged Armenia in the course of his expeditions and at length, in the fortress of Kapoit, besieged Smbat, now abandoned by all the princes. In 913 (according to Adontz in 911) the king of Armenia surrendered to his adversary, who, after having inflicted on him a year of imprisonment, had him put to death by cruel

tortures (914; according to Adontz 912). Anarchy ensued in Armenia after the fall of Smbat I. His vigorous son, Ashot II, the "Iron King" (915-29), succeeded in recovering the throne with the support of Byzantine arms; he was at first thwarted by Yūsuf who raised against him one of his cousins, but Yūsuf, seeing that Ashot was getting the better of his foes, granted him recognition and sent him a royal crown (about 917). After the capture of Yūsuf, who had risen in revolt, by the troops of the Caliph in 919, his successor Sbuk (Subuk) allied himself with Ashot II in order to drive out the Caliph's forces and bestowed on him the title of *Shāhānshāh*, a title which recognised as belonging to Ashot suzerainty over the principalities of Vaspurakan, Iberia, Georgia and other regions. Ashot II raised the Bagratid power to its apogee and ruled over the greatest part of central and northern Armenia where Smbat had already considerably enlarged the territory of this family. His reign ended in tranquillity after a reconciliation of the Armenian princes and the nominal recognition of his supremacy by his rivals, notably the Ardzruni. Dwin, however, remained in the hands of Yūsuf's lieutenant.

In southern Armenia the Ardzruni (see above) ruled over a less extensive territory (Vaspurakan, with Van as the capital). Apart from these two great kingdoms there still existed a series of smaller principalities which for the most part recognised only nominally the suzerainty of the Bagratids. Moreover, in the south, in the region of the Apahunik and Lake Van, there were several Arab emirates, independent but isolated from the Caliphate. The history of Armenia is not therefore conterminous with that of the Bagratids.

Throughout the entire reign of Ashot II and for much of the reign of his successor Abas (929-53) the war between Byzantium and the Arabs continued without interruption and was at times fought out in Armenia. The Greeks operated in northern Armenia as well as in southern Armenia against the Armeno-Arab emirates of Lake Van which, according to the Byzantine sources, were compelled to submit to the emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-44). The last Sāqīd amirs of Ādharbāyḍjān retained hardly any influence in Armenia. The Ḥamdānīds, who were the masters of Diyār Bakr, bordering on Armenia, and were in constant war against the Byzantines, succeeded for a time in exacting from all Armenia (according to the historians Ibn Zāfir and Ibn al-Azraq) a recognition of their sovereignty and established a more effective dominion over the Armeno-Arab emirates in the region of Lake Van. These emirates later recognized the suzerainty of Bādḥ, the founder of the Marwānīd dynasty [q.v.] of Diyār Bakr, and of his successors.

After the Ḥamdānīds, it was the Musāfirīds [q.v.] of Ādharbāyḍjān who exacted from the princes of Armenia a recognition of their suzerainty, imposed tribute on them (see Ibn Ḥawqāl<sup>2</sup>, 354, for the year 955-6) and became the masters of Dwin.

Ashot III (952-77) transferred the official capital of the Bagratid kingdom to the little fortress of Ani [q.v.] which he and his successor Smbat II, by erecting there magnificent buildings, transformed into a pearl of the Orient. It is during his reign that the territory of Kars was raised to the rank of a kingdom for the benefit of a prince of the Bagratid house and that Byzantium, moreover, in 968 annexed the region of Taron, the fief of another Bagratid.



Smbat II (977-89) and his brother Gagik I (990-1020) ruled with vigour and success but, in consequence of a ridiculous family policy, became involved in almost continual strife with the neighbouring Christian principalities; they were also in conflict with the neighbouring Muslim amirs who in turn took possession of Dvin, imposed tribute on the Armenians and were at times invited by the Armenians themselves to intervene in their quarrels. Thus the Bagratid of Kars called in a Musāfirid amir against Smbat. In 987-8 Smbat had to recognise the authority of the Rawwādid prince of Ādharbāyḍjān, the successor of the Musāfirids, and to pay him the tribute due in former years.

In the conflict against the Rawwādid Mamlān concerning the other emirates of southern Armenia Gagik allied himself with Davit' of Taik' who was the master of a great part of Iberia (Georgia) and, about 993, had seized Malāzgerd from the Marwānid prince of Diyār Bakr. Mamlān was twice defeated, the second time decisively, in 998, at Tsumb near Ardjīsh, and to take refuge in that place.

The emperor Basil II (976-1026) aimed, however, at gaining possession of all the Armenian principalities. Having succeeded in obtaining from Davit' of Taik', in 990, the promise that he would cede to him his territories after his death, the emperor annexed Taik' and also Malāzgerd in 1001 after the death of Davit'. Following the death of Gagik I, troubles arose in the Bagratid kingdom owing to the competition for the throne between his sons, Johannes-Smbat and Ashot IV, the younger brother, to the intervention of the king of Georgia and the king of Vaspurakan in this matter, and to the first Saldjūkid incursions. Basil II took advantage of these events and succeeded, partly through annexation and partly through mediation between the princes, in extending his authority over Armenia. Senek'erim, the last Ardzruni, abandoned Vaspurakan to Byzantium in 1021 through fear of a threatening Turkish assault and received in exchange the region of Sebasteia (Sivas), to which were added other territories in Cappadocia (Caesarea, Tzamandos). The Muslim amirates of Lake Van (Akhlat, Ardjīsh, Berkri) were annexed between 1023 and 1034. King Johannes of Ani, intimidated and seeing his lands encircled by Byzantium, proclaimed the emperor his heir, retaining temporary possession of Ani until his death. On the death of Ashot IV (1040), which was soon followed by that of Johannes (1041), with whom he shared possession of the Bagratid realm, the emperor Michael IV resolved at last to incorporate Armenia wholly within his empire, but his army was defeated and the son of Ashot IV, Gagik II, then only 17 years old, was proclaimed king by the Armenian nobles (1042). As soon, however, as Constantine Monomachos had ascended the throne, he decided to annex Ani and, in order to weaken Gagik, did not hesitate to launch against him the amir of Dvin, Abū 'l-Aswār, of the dynasty of the Shaddādids of Gandja (see SHADDĀD, BANŪ). Taken between two fires, Gagik allowed himself to be drawn to Constantinople and was obliged to cede Ani (1045). He received in recompense lands in Cappadocia in the themes of Charsianon and Lykandos. Thereafter the greater part of Armenia was governed directly by Byzantium and the discontent provoked by the centralising policy of the empire and the favours granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explain in part the success of the Saldjūkids in Armenia.

The Bagratid kingdom of Kars was only annexed by Byzantium in 1064 after the Saldjūkid invasion;

the last king Gagik-Abas surrendered it to the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who indemnified him with estates in Cappadocia.

Thus, following their kings, an important part of the Armenian people settled down in the territories of the Byzantine empire. Armenians, however, had long been found outside Armenia. It is well known that they furnished Byzantium with soldiers and a number of generals and even emperors. It was Armenians who, under the famous Melias (Arm. Mleh), colonised the regions of Lykandos, Tzamandos, Larissa and Symposion, when, at the beginning of the 10th century, Byzantium decided to reoccupy these territories of Cappadocia which had been devastated by the Arab raids, and who assured the defence of these lands and at the same time won renown in the Arab-Byzantine wars. There were Armenians, too, in the Muslim territories, serving the Caliphs, but converted to Islam, like the celebrated amir 'Alī al-Armanī who died in 863, not long after he had been named governor of Armenia and Ādharbāyḍjān. Armenians were also to be found in Egypt in the army of the Tūlūnids. It is above all in Byzantine territory, however, that the immigration was important and contributed, in the second part of the 10th century to the repopulation of the lands in Cilicia and northern Syria reconquered by Byzantium and evacuated by the Muslim inhabitants. The geographer Muḥaddasī (BGA iii, 189) states that in his time the Amanus was peopled with Armenians. Asoghik tells us that under the pontificate of Khaçik I (972-92) there were Armenian bishops at Antioch and Tarsus. During the course of the 11th century the rôle of the Armenians in these regions (Cappadocia, Commagene, northern Syria and even Mesopotamia, e.g., at Edessa) was considerable; numerous Armenian officers acted as governors of towns for Byzantium and, profiting from the troubles caused by the first Saldjūkid invasions, founded Armenian principalities (see ARMAN). During the same period Armenians were to be found with the Fātimids of Egypt. Following the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.] who, after being a slave, had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and then rose to the rank of wazīr at Cairo (1073/94), there entered into Egypt, first, the Armenians with whom he had already surrounded himself, and later all those whom he summoned there and who took service in the army and even in the administration. These Armenians furnished to the Fātimid Caliphate a number of wazīrs, of whom one, Bahrām [q.v.] remained a Christian. The introduction into Egypt of an important Armenian population led to the creation of numerous Armenian monasteries and churches and also of an Armenian catholicosate. The Armenians were regarded with favour by some of the Fātimid Caliphs. See on this subject M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, xii (1954) and *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque fatimite*, *ibid.*, xiii (1955). Cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoudides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, in *Annales de l'Est*, 28th year, fasc. 2, Paris, 1914 (1919). (M. CANARD).

## II(b). The Armenians under the Turks and the Mongols.

While these last events were taking place, the Turkomāns, before long led by the Saldjūkid dynasty, were conquering Muslim Iran as far as the Armeno-Byzantine borders. Although this thrust was probably not, as is sometimes alleged, the cause of

the first losses of Armenian territory to Byzantium (JA., 1954, 275-9 and 1956, 129-34) it nevertheless constituted a tragic threat to the Armenians in the middle of the 5th/11th century. After a period of Turkomān ravages, the battle of Manāzgird (1071) [see MALAZGERD] marked the end of Byzantine supremacy, and the Turkomāns settled in Armenia, Cappadocia and throughout most of Asia Minor. The Armenian territories on the borders of Ādharbāydyān were incorporated in the Saldjūkid empire, while those in the centre and west took shape as different principalities: that of Akhlāt [q.v.], founded by a Saldjūkid officer and vassal, Sukmān al-Kuthlī, who assumed the ambitious title of *Shāh-i Arman*; that of Ani [q.v.], assigned by the Saldjūkids to a branch of the former Kurdish dynasty of Arrān, the Shaddādids (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, 79-106); and finally the autonomous Turkomān states of the Saltūkids at Erzerum and the Mangudjakids at Erzindjān, while the Dānishmandids of Cappadocia and the Saldjūkids of Anatolia and the Taurus contended for possession of Malaṭya, and Diyār Bakr was eventually absorbed by the Artukids. The position changed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, when the greater part of Diyār Bakr and the principality of Akhlāt were annexed by the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria; later, following the temporary invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Kh̲wārizmians, the principalities of Erzindjān and Erzerum, together with that of Akhlāt, were incorporated, as the Dānishmandid territories had been earlier, in the united and powerful Saldjūkid state of Asia Minor. In the regions of Arrān and Ani however, the Armenians again became, if not independent, at least subjects of a Christian state (but of a different Church), as a result of Georgian expansion at the expense of the Atabeks of Ādharbāydyān and the Shaddādids.

Although some Armenians had made agreements with the invaders, and most in any case had tried to come to terms with them, the devastation caused in the early stages had accentuated and increased the emigration which had been set in motion by Byzantine policy, and which now took the direction of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain. For a time, after Manāzgird, all the territories from the Cilician Taurus to Malaṭya, including Edessa and Antioch, were reunited under the control of a former Armeno-Byzantine general, Philaretos, whose descendants still maintained their position in the Taurus at Edessa and Malaṭya, under Turkish suzerainty, at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders. The Armenian populations of the Syro-Euphrates borders were then incorporated in the free states of Antioch and Edessa, but, in Cilicia, a national dynasty, that of the Rupenians, gradually achieved freedom; its rise, sanctioned in 1198 by the recognition of the royal title of Leo the Great, attracted so many Armenians that the area could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia". We are not required here to follow its history, but only to draw attention to the fact that the struggle against his neighbours and hostile factions impelled Prince Meḥ temporarily (from 1170 to 1174) to become a Muslim in order to obtain the protection of Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], and that for a longer period, in the 7th/13th century, under the new Hethumian dynasty, the kingdom had to wage hard battles against the Saldjūkids of Asia Minor, to whom they were obliged at intervals to pay a vague allegiance (cf. a treatise by P. Bedoukian in course of publication for the Amer. Numismatic Society).

Nevertheless, once the initial devastation was over, and stable states had been organised, the lot of the Armenians under Muslim domination was no worse than it had been under earlier Muslim régimes. Quite apart from Malikshāh, whose generosity the Armenian historians are unanimous in praising, it is difficult to see major difficulties occurring in the principalities of Asia Minor, where there remained an ecclesiastical organisation, monasteries, some cultural activity (cf. for example S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard 1947, 133), and large Armenian towns, such as Erzindjān and Erzerum. The only dramatic events which occurred were due to special causes. There was first of all, about 1180, the massacre of the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, as a result of the disorders among the almost autonomous Turkomāns and Kurds of that region, and especially, the massacre of part of the Christian population of Edessa, at the time of the recapture of the city from the Franks by Zangī in 1144 and Nūr al-Dīn in 1146.

Fundamentally, in fact, it was not for religious but political reasons that the Armenians at different times suffered at the hands of their Muslim masters. Despite some friction, the Armenians of the west generally acted as "accomplices" of the Franks. This was the reason, moreover, for the frequent disputes in the Armenian Church, especially between the Armenians of the Muslim States of Great Armenia, who were primarily concerned not to incur the ill-will of their masters, and those of Cilicia, who were drawn more towards the Latin world; and it was similarly the attitude of the Armenians to the Mongol invasion which determined the reactions of the Muslim powers towards them.

The establishment of the Mongol empire heralded profound changes in the conditions of life in the different religious communities of the Near East. In the Muslim states conquered by them, the Mongols usually relied on the support of the religious minorities, Christians in particular. Favourably impressed by the news received from his eastern co-religionists, Hethum I acted as the precursor of the Mongols on the shores of the Mediterranean, against the Muslims of Syria and Asia Minor. But this action of the Armenians in itself provoked the wrath of the Muslims, with the result that, when the Mamlūks of Egypt took the offensive against the Mongols, the Cilician kingdom was one of their principal targets. The break-up of the Mongol empire in the 8th/14th century left the Armenians defenceless, and the capital of the Cilician kingdom, Sis, succumbed in 1375. The seat of the Katholikos was moved back to Etchmiadzin, near the Araxes, in the 9th/15th century.

In Great Armenia, however, the situation was not favourable for long. About 1300, the Mongols became Muslims, and, although their toleration was not affected, all the same there was no longer any question of special protection. Moreover, Mongol rule had increased in Armenia the size of the nomad element, primarily Turkomān, which inflicted great injury on the peasants, for the most part Armenians. Later Great Armenia, in common with all its neighbours, experienced the savage assault of Timūr, and the establishment in the 9th/15th century of a stable and well-organised principality under the Turkomān dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu [q.v.] was not sufficient to restore the former strength of the Armenian community; again many Armenians emigrated, this time mainly to the regions north of the Black Sea. The wars between the Ottomans and the Šafawids

were still to be fought on Armenian soil, and part of the Armenians of *Ādharbāyḡdīān* were later deported as a military security measure to *İsfahān* and elsewhere. Semi-autonomous seigniories survived, with varying fortunes, in the mountains of *Ārabaḡh*, to the north of *Ādharbāyḡdīān*, but came to an end in the 18th century.

**Bibliography:** (in addition to the general works): the general sources, in all languages, for the history of the Near East from the 11th to the 15th century will not be enumerated here; a study of these will be found, with regard to the period of the Crusades, in *Syrie du Nord* mentioned below, 1-100; special attention will be drawn here to the not inconsiderable number of 12th and 13th century Armenian historians, especially Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous "Royal Historian" used in the works of Alishan mentioned below (an edition of the text has been prepared by Skinner), and to the historians of Great Armenia at the time of the Mongol conquest; in connexion with the latter, the *History of the Nations of the Archers*, for long attributed to Malachi the Monk, has been restored by its editor-translators R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xii, 1949) to its real author Gregory of Akanc. For the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, only one noteworthy Armenian chronicle exists, that of Thomas of Medzoph, part of which has been made accessible in French by F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan* etc., Brussels 1860; for the *Şafawid* period, Arakel of Tabriz, trans. by M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'Auteurs arméniens*, i.

Modern works: J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjucides*, 1920; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Anatolie, Byzantion* 1948; idem, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940; the histories of the Crusades of de Grousset, Runciman, and the syndicated *History of the Crusades* of Philadelphia; L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, French trans., Venice 1899; the Introduction by Dulaurier to *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens arméniens* i. Among other special studies of recent date, O. Turan, *Les Seldjucides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953. (CL. CAHEN)

## II(c) Ottoman Armenia.

The Ottomans conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the 14th century, under *Bāyezīd I*, and eastern Armenia in the following two centuries under *Meḥemmed II* and *Selīm I*. They eventually became masters of the whole of Armenia, Great and Little (separated *grosso modo* by the upper reaches of the Euphrates), except the Khanate of Erivan (or rather Erevan), in Persian and Turkish *Revan*, a region containing the patriarchal seat of *Eḡmiadzin* (in Turkish *Üḡ Kilise*) and relics of the ancient capitals of the Kings of Armenia. This region, situated in Transcaucasia on the middle Araxes, for long disputed by Turks and Persians, was ceded by the treaty of *Türkmen-Çay* (1 February 1828) to the Russians, who have since created from it the Soviet Federal Republic of Armenia. In the south of this region is situated Mt. Ararat (in Turkish *Ağrı Daḡı*, in Armenian *Masis*), on which western expeditions periodically seek and claim to discover the wreckage of Noah's Ark. It is the point where the Turkish, Persian and Russian frontiers meet.

The province of Kars on the other hand, ceded to the Russians in 1878, was recovered by Turkey in 1918.

Ottoman administrative terminology—especially with respect to the programmes of reforms promised to the European Powers—adopted the term *wilāyat-i sitte* "the six provinces (*scil.*, populated by Armenians)": *vis.*, Van, Bitlis (alternating with *Muş*), Erzerum, Harput, Sivas and *Diyārbekir*. No account was taken by this convention of the *sandjak* of *Marāṣh*, forming part of the former *wilāyet* of Aleppo, or of the former *wilāyet* of Adana (Cilicia or Little Armenia in the strict sense of the term).

Turkish domination did not result in the assimilation of the Armenians, who were preserved by the difference of religion. Many Armenians, especially among the men and the Catholics, adopted Turkish as their second, or even as their first language.

After the capture of Constantinople an important change occurred in the life of the Armenian community. Up to 1453 it had at its head three patriarchs or *katholikos* (katholikos): (1) the patriarch of *Eḡmiadzin*, restored to this monastery since 1441; (2) the patriarch of Sis (now *Kozan*) in Cilicia, who had resided in this town since 1292 and did not recognise (1); (3) the patriarch of *Aghtamar*, (a small island in the Lake Van), since 1113. The Armenian bishop of Jerusalem also bore the title and ornaments of a patriarch.

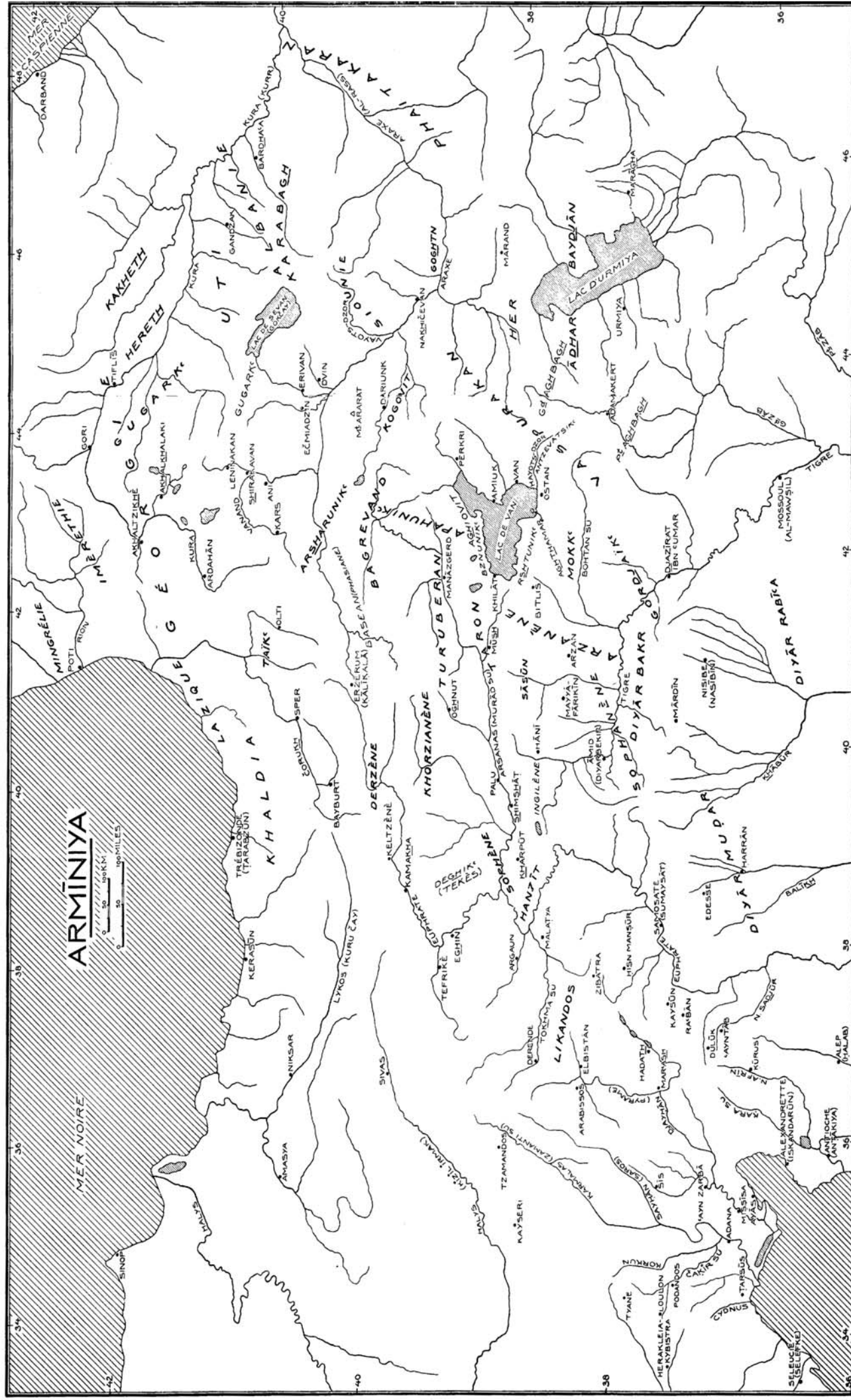
After the conquest of Byzantium, *Meḥemmed II*, true to his political views, summoned to Istanbul the Armenian bishop of *Brusa*, Joachim, and made him a patriarch with the same prerogatives the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Armenian "nation" (Turkish  *millet*) was formed. A council of the clergy and a council of the laity assisted the patriarch who was elected from the "prelates" superior to the ordinary bishops and called *markhassa*, properly "saint priest" (from the Syriac *mārkhassa*; the etymology through the Turko-Arabic *murakhhkhaṣa* must be rejected). The residence of the patriarch of Constantinople is in the *Kum Kapu* quarter.

From then on on a better footing, the Armenians succeeded in occupying an important position in Turkey, notably as bankers (*şarrāf*, properly "money-changers"). *Ubicini* (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1854, ii, 311-14) gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which they had achieved in their dealings with the provincial pashas and the Ottoman government in general. They were also merchants (often cloth merchants) and active caravan leaders who maintained connexions between Istanbul, Moldavia, Poland (Lemberg, *Lwów*), Nuremburg, Bruges and Antwerp. As artisans they were architects, house-painters, manufacturers of silk stuffs and gunpowder, and printers (Armenian printing-press at Istanbul in 1679). Like the Jews they were exempt from military service until the revolution of the Young Turks.

The most important events in the history of Ottoman Armenia are:

- 1) The religious schism, which resulted in the formation of a (Uniate) Catholic Community and internal persecution (Protestant propaganda played a less important part);
- 2) The revolutionary activity;
- 3) The repression and massacres.

Roman propaganda had been sporadically effective in Armenia since the 12th century. It was resumed by the oecumenical council of Florence (1438-45) and, in 1587, by the famous Pope Sixtus Quintus, among the Armenians of Syria, but found its greatest driving force in *Mechitar* (born at Sivas in 1675, died Venice 1749). Converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, he



succeeded in founding a remarkable order which bore his name. The Republic of Venice ceded in 1717 to the Mechitarists the small island of Saint-Lazare, near Lido, where their monastery was installed in an old leper hospital. After the death of Mechitar a schism occurred, and a certain number of clergy retired to Trieste and then to Vienna (1810). There was also a subsidiary branch of the order at Padua which, transferred to Paris, continued to exist there for twenty years. The Mechitarists possessed rich libraries (numerous oriental MSS.), and printing-presses; from these they published historical and philological works which gave a place to Turkish as well as Armenian studies.

Even during the lifetime of Mechitar the over-zealousness of Catholic propaganda, which was gaining ground in the richest and most enlightened section of the Armenian community, provoked a lively reaction among the patriarchs of the Gregorian persuasion. The latter were supported by the Ottoman government, which regarded with disfavour these "Frankish plots".

There were martyrs among the Armenian Catholics who refused to abjure their faith, as in the case of Der Gomidas or Don Cosme and two of his followers (1707). He was the grandfather of Cosme Comidas of Carbo gnano, an interpreter at the Spanish embassy and author of a Turkish grammar in Italian (Rome, 1794). The Catholics suffered further persecutions in 1759, and even during the reign of the reforming Sultan Mahmūd II, in 1815 and 1828.

They found allies, on the other hand, in the French ambassadors and the Jesuits. Thus the imprudent M. de Ferriol secured from the Porte the banishment of the patriarch Avedis, who was hostile to the Catholics, after which the latter was abducted and incarcerated in the Bastille. He died in 1711 at Paris in the house of François Pétis de la Croix. The Jesuits at the same period secured the closure of the Armenian printing-press.

In 1830 General Guilleminot, who also was a French ambassador, secured for the Catholics a separate ecclesiastical organisation, and in 1866 Mgr. Hassun, already patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, assumed the title of Catholic-Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia for all the Ottoman empire.

To what cause are the Armenian revolts to be attributed? Certainly not to utilitarian considerations. "The Armenians", wrote the impartial Ubicini (*op. cit.* ii, 347), "are of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which has most interests in common with the Turks and is the most directly interested in preserving them". See also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (Abdulhamid II), 1897, 149. In the official texts, and when compared with the Greeks and Macedonians, the Armenians were termed *millet-i şâdiqa*, "the loyal nation".

The causes of Armenian discontent were as follows:

- 1) The vexatious and troublesome behaviour of, and the acts of brigandage committed by, the Kurdish and Circassian immigrants.
- 2) The negligence, exactions and extortions of Ottoman officials.
- 3) Russian incitement, especially from 1912 onwards.
- 4) A keen love of independence in a generally courageous people which prides itself on being one of the most ancient known, and which still looks back nostalgically to the short periods during which it succeeded in maintaining its autonomy. Certain districts even succeeded in remaining virtually in-

dependent; for example the unconquerable mountaineers of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı, in the present *wilāyet* of Maraş), Haçin (now Saimbeyli, in the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan) and Sasun (Kabilcoz, in the present *wilāyet* of Siirt).

5) The activities of the revolutionary committees, sometimes particularly audacious, as in the case of the armed attack in broad daylight by 24 Armenians, and the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26 August 1896). The extremist or terrorist revolutionaries were called *Taşnakçuluk*. There existed a more moderate committee, the Hinçak, formed in 1867 at Paris by Avedis Nazarbek, an Armenian from the Caucasus.

All these factors served as reason or excuse for a violent campaign of repression which took the form of mass deportations or massacres. With the connivance or at the instance of the authorities there occurred, among a people who were by nature kindly and even chivalrous, a long and contagious outburst of religious fanaticism and racial hatred. The calvary of the Armenians in Turkey began with the Erzerum affair (25 February 1890), went through numerous crises, notably in 1895-6 and in 1909 (Adana), and reached its culmination during the First World War, in 1915, during the systematic suppression of the Armenians organised by the government of the Young Turks.

*Armeno-Turkish war of 1920.* — After the collapse in 1917 of the Bolshevised Russian front, which in Turkey passed to the west of Trebizond and Erzincan, it was in the main the Armenian corps formed by the government of Transcaucasia which had to contain the Turkish counter-thrust. It was defeated and driven from Turkish territory (Turkey concluded the treaty of Batum with the Armenian Republic on 4 June 1918). In 1920 Mustafa Kemal Paşa, in order to put an end to a state of undeclared war, appointed General Kâzım Karabekir Paşa, commanding the 15th army corps, to the command of the north-east front. The troops of the "United Armenian Republic" of Taşnakist allegiance, were again defeated, and the treaty of Alexandropol (in Turkish Gümrü, now Leninakan) of 2 December 1920 confirmed the gains won by the Turks, the most important of which was the recovery of Karş.

*Bibliography:* As far as is known, no works specially devoted to Turkish Armenia exist in any western language (the works in Armenian are not accessible to me). Such information as exists, often bearing the imprint of a strongly partisan bias, is to be gleaned here and there in the general works on Turkey. The following should be mentioned: Amédée Jaubert, *Voy. en Arm. et en Perse*, 1821; Comte de Cholet, *Arm., Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, 1892; André Mandelstamm, *La Soc. des Nations et les Puissances devant le problème armén.*, 1923; Aghasi, *Zeytoun depuis les orig. jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, translation by Archag Tchobanian, preface by Victor Bérard, 1897.—There is a copious bibliography on the massacres. The following only will be mentioned: *Le traitement des Armén. dans l'Emp. Ott.* (1915-1916), extracts from the "Blue Book" with a preface by Viscount Bryce, 1916; René Pinon, *La suppression des Armén.*, 1916, *Les massacres d'Arménie; témoignages des victimes*, preface by G. Clemenceau, 1896; *Khâfirât-i Şadr-i esbak Kâmil paşa*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 2nd ed, 184 ff.; *Sa'îd paşanın Kâmil paşa Khâfirâtına Dîwâbları*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 78 ff. (J. DENY)

### III. Division, Administration, Population, Commerce, Natural Products and Industry.

#### Division.

Since the size of Armenia, in its territorial delimitation, has varied much in the course of the centuries, the regions into which the lands designated under this name were divided have not always been the same. In ancient times the Armenians (see the *Geogr. of the Pseudo-Moses Xorenaci*, 606) separated the land into two unequal sections: Mez-Haik (Armenia major) and Pokr-Haik (Armenia minor). Great Armenia, i.e., Armenia proper, extended from the Euphrates in the west to the neighbourhood of the Kur in the east and was divided into 15 provinces; Little Armenia ran from the Euphrates to the sources of the Halys. The Arabs also were acquainted with this twofold division (see, e.g., Yākūt, i, 220, 13). Yet, in contradistinction to the Armenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, they extended the name Armīniya to the whole of the land situated between the Kur and the Caspian, i.e., to *Djurzān* (Georgia, Iberia), *Arrān* (Albania) and the mountainous regions of the Caucasus as far as the pass of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb), the reason being that the history of this country, especially in the struggle against the Muslims, reveals itself as closely linked with that of Armenia. By Armīniya al-Kubrā, "Great Armenia", the Arabs (see Yākūt, *ibid.*) understood particularly the districts which have *Khilāt* (Akhilāt, [q.v.]) as their centre, whereas they applied the name Armīniya al-Ṣuḡhrā, "Little Armenia", to the region of Tiflis (i.e., to Georgia). Ibn Ḥawkal (ed. De Goeje, 295) was acquainted with yet another division of Armenia proper (excluding Albania and Iberia) into Inner (Armīniya dākhila) and Outer (Armīniya khāridja); to the former belonged the districts of Dabil (Dwīn), Naṣhawā (Nakhčawan) and Kālīkalā, later Arzan al-Rūm (Karin) and to the latter the region of Lake Van (Berkri, Akhlāt, Ardīsh, Waṣṭān, etc.).

Apart from this division there existed also another of ancient date which was adopted by the Byzantines (partition of Justinian in 536) and which, with the changes introduced by Maurice (591), remained in force until the Arab invasion. This system (Armenia prima, secunda, tertia, quarta) was also taken over by the Arabs; but, in the classification of the various districts among these four groups, the Arabs deviate so markedly from their predecessors that the explanation of this divergence can only be found by supposing a new distribution of districts to have occurred after the conquest. The data given by the Arab historians and geographers differ, moreover, greatly among themselves. Here, in essentials, is a table of the Arab division: (1) Armenia I: Arrān (Albania) with the capital Barḡha'a and the land between the Kur and the Caspian (Shirwān); (2) Armenia II: Djurzān (Georgia); (3) Armenia III: comprising central Armenia proper with the districts of Dabil (Dwīn), Basfurraḡiān (Vasurakān), Baghravand, and Naṣhawā (Nakhčawan); (4) Armenia IV: the south-western region with Shimshāt (Arsamosata), Kālīkalā, Akhlāt and Ardīsh.

Furthermore, when mention is made in the Arab authors (al-Sharīshī, ii, 156 ff., and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 387 = al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 364, 5, 12) of a threefold partition of Armenia reproducing very exactly the division that existed before Justinian, it transpires, from the enumeration of the districts included therein, that this division is obtained only by the complete exclusion of Armenia II.

See, on the pre-Islamic divisions of Armenia, H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1889, 66 and, by the same scholar, the edition of George of Cyprus (Lipsiae 1890), xlvii ff. (ed. E. Honigsmann, Brussels 1939, with the *Synecdemus* of Hiéroclès, 49-70); and, for the Arab period, Ghazarian in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 207-8, Thopdschian, *l.c.*, ii, 55 and in the *Mitteil. des Semin. für orient. Sprachen*, 1905, ii, 137, J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 299 ff., and R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 239.

#### Administration.

In regard to the internal situation in Armenia during the Arab period (see especially Ghazarian, *loc. cit.* ii, 193-206; Thopdschian, *loc. cit.*, ii, 123-7; Laurent, *op. cit.*, *passim*) this land did not always constitute a separate province, but was frequently united with Ādharbayḡiān or with the Djazīra under a single government. The governor ('*āmīl* or *wālī*), usually appointed by the Caliph himself, resided to the south of Erivān, near the Araxes, at Dwīn, which had already been, before the Muslim conquest, the seat of a Persian *marzbān*. The principal task of the governor consisted in protecting the country against its external and internal enemies; he had at his disposal for this purpose an army which was garrisoned, not in Armenia itself, but in Ādharbayḡiān (Marāḡha and Ardabil were the general headquarters). The governor had above all to see to the punctual payment of taxes. For the rest, the Arabs did not concern themselves with the internal administration; this was left to a number of local lords (Arm. *ishkhān*, and *nakhharar*, Greek *arcbōn*, Ar. *batrik*, patrikios) who, after the Arab invasion, retained all their possessions and enjoyed within their domains a certain independence. Each of these lords, from 'Abbāsīd times onward, was also obliged, in case of war, to furnish a contingent of troops without receiving any indemnity.

Armenia was, among the provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, a land taxed only moderately. In place of the various kinds of taxes (*dizya*, *kharaḡī*, etc.: capitation tax, land tax, etc.) the system of *mukāṭa'a* was applied from the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., the Armenian princes had to pay a fixed sum. The list of contributions given by Ibn Khaldūn, which relates to the period of greatest prosperity for the Caliphate, notes for Armenia (taken in the broad sense of the Arabs) the sum of 13 million dirhems, i.e., more than 15½ million gold francs, as the revenue of the years 158-70/775-86; in addition to this there were also the revenues in kind (carpets, mules, etc.). Kudāma gives as the average figure for taxes during the years 204-37/819-52 no more than 9 million dirhems only. The treaties, in respect to taxation, were scrupulously observed by the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsīds and were violated only by Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sāḡī. See, in regard to financial matters, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients*, i, 343, 358, 368, 377; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 203 ff.; Thopdschian, *op. cit.* (1904), ii, 132 ff. The Arab monetary system was also introduced into Armenia; under the Umayyads, coins were already being struck there (see Thopdschian, ii, 127 ff.).

According to Yākūt (i, 222, 12) there were in Armenia not less than 18,000 localities great and small, of which 1,000 were situated on the Araxes alone (according to Ibn al-Fakīh). In Arab mediaeval times the most important towns of Armenia proper were: Dabil (Dwīn) which, as the residence of the

Muslim government, filled the rôle of a capital throughout the period of the Caliphs — while it had a large population at this time, it became, in the modern period, nothing more than an insignificant village; in addition, Kālīkalā, later called Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerūm), Arzindjān (Erzindjān), Malāzjdjird (Manazkert, Mantzikert), Badlis (Bitlis), Akhlāt (Khilāt), Ardjish, Nashawā (arm. Nakhčawān), Anī and Karş (see the separate articles).

The native Armenians formed, in the time of the Caliphs, the main part of the population; but there were strong Arab colonies at Dabli, Kālīkalā, and likewise at Bardha'a in Arrān and Tiflis in Djurzān, which were the chief bases of Arab power. Outside these great towns there existed also more extensive settlements of Arab tribes, notably to the south-west in the region of Alznik (Arzan in the Arzanene); the old district of Badjunays (Arm. Apahunik) with its capital Malāzjdjird was controlled by a branch of the famous tribe, the Kays, who also held a number of places on the northern shore of Lake Van. The growth of the Bagratid dominion was "like a thorn in the flesh" to these Muslim colonies, since it hindered the consolidation and extension of their own power (see especially, on these colonies, Thopdschian, *op. cit.*, 1904, ii, 115 ff.; Markwart, *Südarmerien*, 501 ff.; and, on their situation in the 10th century, M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, 471-87).

After the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century, Turkey, Russia and Persia shared possession of the Armenian territory and, until the war of 1914-18, there existed a Persian, a Russian and a Turkish Armenia.

(1) Persian Armenia: the smallest of the three sections, with an area of about 15,000 sq. km.; it embraces only a few districts and forms, as it were, an appendix to Russian Armenia; politically, it is joined to the province of Ādharbaydjān. To the west it touches the Turkish wilāyet of Van, while to the north, facing Russia, the Araxes serves as the frontier over a distance of about 175 km. from the eastern foot of Ararat as far as Urdābādh (Ordubādh). The chief town is Khoy. In addition, Maku, Čors and Marand should be mentioned. In general Persian Armenia corresponds to the eastern part of the old Armenian province of Vaspurakān (Ar. Basfurrajdjān). There exists, moreover, an Armenian population at Işfahān, resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of Djulfa [q.v.] by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1605.

(2) Russian Armenia: before the war of 1914-18 it formed the southern and south-western part of the province of Transcaucasia and covered an area of about 103,000 sq. km. It embraced the regions bordering on Persia and Turkey and, in particular, the whole of the governments of Erivān (27,777 sq. km.), Karş (18,749 sq. km.) and Baštūm (6,976 sq. km.). The governments of Elizavetpol and Tiflis were Armenian only in their southern and western parts, and that of Kutais only on the right bank of the river Rion. The most notable towns of Russian Armenia were: Baštūm, important strategically and commercially, and capital of the government of the same name; in the government of Tiflis, the two strongholds of Akhalkhalaki [q.v.] and Akhalkhalaki; in the government of Karş, the very strong fortress of the same name, important also as a commercial centre, and the old town of Ardahān set high on its hill, a citadel of the first order; in the government of Erivān, which once belonged in great part to Persia, Erivān itself, and 18 km. to the west the famous monastery of Ečmiadzin, the religious

centre of the Armenians, Nakhčawān (Nashawā, [q.v.]) which, like Erivān, has played a pre-eminent rôle in Armenian history, and Alexandropol (the ancient Gumri), an important frontier fortress until 1878 and thereafter a town given over to the silk industry; in the government of Elizavetpol, Elizavetpol (the ancient Gandja, [q.v.]), Shūsha situated in the region of Kara-Bagh and formerly the capital of a separate khānate, and the frontier town of Ordubādh (Urdābādh) on the Araxes.

(3) Turkish Armenia: the greater part of the Armenian territory, far superior in size to the Russian and Persian sections taken together, had been for 500 years in the hands of the Turks and included the wilāyets of Bitlis, Erzerūm, Ma'mūret al-'Aziz (now Elazığ, i.e., Kharpūt), Van and, although only in part, Diyārbekir, with a total area of about 186,500 sq. km. The most important towns were Sivas, Erzerūm, Van, Erzindjān, Bitlis, Kharpūt, Mūsh and Bāyazid [qq.v.].

Save in Persian Armenia, the war of 1914 brought about important changes in this situation. In 1917, after the retreat of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front, the regime which was then created in Armenia and itself formed part of the provisional government of Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjān), undertook the task of defending the front against the Turks, but could not prevent the latter from regaining Erzindjān and Erzerūm (February-March 1918), and then Karş (25 April) after the peace of Brest-Litovsk which granted to the Turks possession of Turkish Armenia, together with Karş and Ardahān, previously in Russian hands since 1878. After the dissolution of the Transcaucasian government and the formation of an independent Armenian republic (28 May 1918), the republic itself was reduced, by the treaty of Baštūm (4 June 1918) to Erivān and the region of Lake Sevan, the Turks and the Azerbaidjanis sharing between themselves the remainder of Russian Armenia. There now ensued the collapse of the Turks on other fronts and the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918). At the beginning of 1919 Armenian forces reoccupied Alexandropol (Leninakān) and Karş and came into conflict with Georgia over the region of Akhalkhalaki and with Azerbaidjān over the Kara-Bagh. The Armenian Republic, recognised *de facto* in January 1920 by the Allies, received *de jure* recognition by the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Nevertheless, the arbitration of President Wilson, which gave to this republic the regions of Trebizond, Erzindjān, Mūsh, Bitlis and Van, remained a dead letter, the Turkish government of Mustafa Kemāl having resumed the war, while the Soviet government, on its part, reconquered the Caucasus. After the Turks had entered Karş and then Alexandropol, the Armenian Republic was compelled, on 2 December 1920, to accept the Turkish peace conditions. Turkey retained Karş and Ardahān, annexed the region of İğdir to the south-west of Erivān and demanded that the district of Nakhčawān (Nakhitchevan) be transformed into an autonomous Tatar state. On the same day, the Armenian Republic, within which there had been formed, some time earlier, a pro-Soviet revolutionary committee, changed itself into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. The Russo-Turkish treaties of 1921 ratified the cession of Karş and Ardahān, but Turkey abandoned Baštūm to Georgia.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia embraces the territories of Erivān and Lake Sevan, but the Kara-Bagh and Nakhitchevan are attached to the



Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaidjān under the designation of autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (mountainous *Kara-Bagh*) and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhichevan, while the districts, formerly included in Russian Armenia, of *Akhalkhalaki*, *Akhalkikh* (*Akhaltziké*) and *Batūm*, this latter in the form of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjārie, are part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. The principal towns in the Republic of Armenia are Erivān, Leninakān (formerly Alexandropol), Kirovakān (the old Elizavetpol) and Alaverdy.

The former Turkish Armenia, which can no longer bear this name, since it is now empty of Armenians as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915-18, has been increased by the addition of *Karş*, *Ardahān* and *Iğdir*.

#### Population.

Owing to the invasion of Turkish and Turcoman tribes on the one hand and, on the other, to the advance of the Kurds (in the south) the composition of the population had undergone, ever since the second half of the mediaeval period, a transformation so profound that the Armenians properly so called constituted, over the whole extent of their ancient homeland, no more than a quarter of the total inhabitants. According to the statistics of L. Selenoy and N. Seidlitz (*Petermann's Georg. Mit.*, 1896, i ff.), out of the 3,470,000 people to be found in the provinces of Transcaucasia enumerated above 897,000 (27%) were Armenians; in the purely Armenian districts, out of 2,000,000 inhabitants, the Armenians numbered 760,000 (more than a third). The government of Erivān, however, had a population of which 56% was Armenian. In the whole of Transcaucasia the towns were more strongly peopled by Armenians than the countryside (notably Tiflis: 48%); but, in regard to the total number of inhabitants (4,782,000), the Armenians (960,000) constituted only 20% of the population.

The five *wilāyets* of Turkish Armenia had 2,642,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,828,000 were Muslims, 633,000 were Armenians, and 179,000 were Greeks; in the *sandjak* of *Müş*, however, and also in that of Van the Armenians possessed the numerical superiority (almost twofold).

The total population of Russian and Turkish Armenia, according to the estimates given above, amounted to about 4,642,000, of whom 1,400,000 were Armenians. In Russian Armenia the Caucasian peoples were more numerous, while in Turkish Armenia it was the Kurds, Turks and other racial elements (Greeks, Jews, Gypsies, Circassians, Nestorian Christians to the south-east of Lake Van, nomad Tatar tribes) who had the majority.

In Persian Armenia there were, in 1891, 42,000 Armenians, only half of them to be found in *Adharbaydjan* (see above concerning *Işfahān*).

Such was the estimate of the Armenian population given by Streck, for a period anterior to 1914, in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. He noted that as a result of massacres and of emigration the number of Armenians on Turkish soil was constantly diminishing. The settlement of Armenians in foreign lands and their dissemination throughout the world had continued, although in varying degree (see above for the emigration into Byzantine territory, and then into Syria and Egypt). Cf. on this subject Ritter, *Erkunde*, x, 594-611; R. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, 239-50. The total number of

Armenians living in the Old World amounted to between 2 and 2½ millions.

According to the figures given by Pasdermadjian *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949, 444, the total number of Armenians in the world in 1914 was approximately 4,100,000, of whom 2,100,000 lived in the Ottoman empire, 1,700,000 in the Russian empire, 100,000 in Persia and 200,000 in the rest of the world. In Russian Armenia proper they numbered 1,300,000 (including *Karş*, *Nakhichevan*, the *Kara-Bagh* and *Akhalkhalaki*) and, in Turkish Armenia (with Cilicia), 1,400,000. They represented in Russian Armenia the majority of the population, 1,300,000 out of 2,100,000.

Here, on the other hand, are the figures of the Armenian population in the world and in the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, according to W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950. In 1926 the total number of Armenians in the world amounted to 2,225,000 (the difference from the figure given for 1914 being explained to a certain degree by the losses due to the war, to the massacres and to the sufferings endured during the deportations); of these, two thirds were in the Soviet Union, while one third remained in the Near East (130,000 in Syria, 100,000 in Persia, approximately 100,000 in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece, with a further 100,000 in America). The Soviet Union held 1,568,000 Armenians, of whom 1,340,000 were in Transcaucasia and 162,000 in Ciscaucasia. Of those to be found in Transcaucasia 744,000 lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (29,900 sq.km.) and constituted there 85% of the total inhabitants (831,290), i.e., the half of the Armenian population of the Soviet Union and one third of the entire Armenian population in the world. 311,000 dwelt in Georgia, 112,000 in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (89% of the total population there) and 173,000 in the rest of the Republic of Azerbaidjān.

According to the census of 1939 the Armenians of the Soviet Union numbered 2,152,000; in the Republic of Armenia they were 1,100,000 out of a total population of 1,281,599; they constituted 90% of the total population in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh, but, in the remainder of the Republic of Azerbaidjān, only 10% of the total population. In Georgia they numbered 450,000. The Armenian population of the Soviet Union, taken as a whole, had increased by 37% between 1926 and 1939.

In Syria and the Lebanon there were in 1914 about 5,000 Armenians; in 1939 they numbered approximately 80,000 in the Lebanon, and more than 100,000 in Syria. In 1939, after the reunion of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta with Turkey, 25,000 Armenians left the country. When, in 1945, the Soviet government issued its appeal to the Armenians, inviting them to return to Soviet Armenia, this invitation concerned, in Syria, about 200,000 Armenians who lived especially at Aleppo and Beirut (Aleppo: 100,000 out of a total of 260,000; Beirut: 50,000 out of 160,000). In Persia, between 1926 and 1939, the Armenian population had risen from 50,000 to 150,000; approximately 93,000 expressed the wish to emigrate to Soviet Armenia and the Armenians of Persia formed a great part of the 60,000 to 100,000 Armenians who, from Syria, the Lebanon, Persia and Egypt, went to Soviet Armenia after this appeal. Of the 27,000 Armenians who dwelt in Greece, 18,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the period down to 1947.



In 1945 (see H. Field, *Contribution to the anthropology of the Caucasus*, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, 5) the population of Soviet Armenia amounted to 1,300,000, with a figure of 200,000 for the capital, Erivān. Today (see P. Rondot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1955, 191 and 196) the Republic of Armenia approaches a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants and there are almost as many Armenians in the rest of the Soviet Union. Erivān numbers 300,000 inhabitants and has formulated plans for 450,000. 400,000 to 500,000 Armenians are to be found in the Near East, 100,000 in the countries where 'popular democracy' prevails, 200,000 to 300,000 in North America, 20,000 in France and important nuclei in South America, India, Palestine and Greece.

The Armenian question had been given a definite form. Various Armenian groups in Brazil, the United States, etc. have presented to the U.N.O. demands which seek to bring about the restoration to the Armenians of the former Turkish Armenia with the frontiers fixed by President Wilson and the Armenian question continues to be an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

#### Commerce.

As a land of transit between the Pontus and Mesopotamia and as a frontier territory between Byzantium and the Muslim empire, Armenia played an important economic rôle in the mediaeval period. The numerous merchants and the caravans that crossed it contributed to the development of a native industry which was favoured, like the flow of commerce, by the richness of the country in natural products. The commercial importance of Armenia arose also from the existence of numerous transit routes which cut across the land and of which the Arab geographers have described the most important. The Arabs attached to the support which these routes furnished to their military interests a greater weight than to their commercial usefulness. For this reason they linked together the principal routes at Dabīl, the bulwark of the Arab domination. The maintenance and security of the routes was a duty which fell to the Muslim governor. Even today Erzerūm, a point of junction for all the great routes, is a place of high strategic importance and, as it were, the key to Asia Minor.

Armenia communicated with Byzantium through Trebizond (Tarābazanda), the main entrepôt for Byzantine merchandise (above all, precious materials). The great fairs held there several times a year were visited by merchants from the entire Muslim world; the traffic ran ordinarily from Trebizond to Dabīl and Kālīkalā (Erzerūm). In Persia, Rayy was the most important market for the Armenian merchants (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, ed. De Goeje, 270); they were also in direct business relations with Baghdād (see al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 237).

#### Natural Products and Industry.

Armenia was considered to be one of the most fertile provinces of the Caliphate. It produced so great a yield of cereals that some of it was exported abroad, e.g., to Baghdād (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 272, 275). The lakes and rivers, which were full of fish, also favoured the export trade; Lake Van provided enormous quantities of a certain kind of herring (Ar. *fīrriḳh*) which, from mediaeval times, was sent out in salted form even to the Indies (according to al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 352). This salted fish is encountered even today as a food much sought after

throughout the whole of Armenia, Ādharbaydjan, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

Armenia is rich, above all, in minerals; copper, silver, lead, iron, arsenic, alum, mercury and sulphur are especially to be found there; gold, too, is not lacking. Very little is known concerning the exploitation of these products by the Arabs; the only Arab author who has furnished us with information on the natural products of Armenia is Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the Armenian writer Leontius, silver mines were discovered at the close of the 8th century A.D.; these mines correspond no doubt to the silver (and lead) mines which are exploited at Gümüş-Khāne (now Gümüşhane) = House of Silver, halfway between Trebizond and Erzerūm (see, on this subject, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 272 and Wagner, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 172 ff. and cf. also the article GÖMÜSH-KHĀNE). There were important mines, too, at Bayburt and Arghana [qq.v.]. The great and ancient copper mine of Kedabeg with its offshoot at Kalakent (between Elizavetpol-Gangja and the lake of Gökçay) had been much developed before 1914 (see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 122 ff.). Today there are important copper foundries at Alaverdy, Zangezur and Erivān. It was, however, the salt mines which, in the past, were the richest in Armenia, their products being exported to Syria and Egypt. The salt beds mentioned by the mediaeval authors were probably to the north-east of Lake Van; there was also an extensive salt-bearing deposit at Kulp to the south of the Upper Araxes and east of Keghizman (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 270 ff. and Radde, *Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus*, 47). Erivān today is an industrial town with workshops for the building of machinery and factories for preserves, tobacco, synthetic rubber, etc.

The industries for which Armenia was most renowned during the mediaeval period were weaving, dyeing and embroidery. Dabīl was the centre of this industrial activity; magnificent woollen cloths were made there, carpets and heavy materials of silk decorated with flowers and multi-coloured (Ar. *buziūn*) which were also sold abroad. The *ķirmiz*, a kind of purple-bearing worm, was used for dyeing. Armenian carpets were long considered to be of the finest workmanship. Ardashāt (Artaxata), some kilometres from Dabīl, was so famous for its dye-works that al-Balādhuri calls it "the town of the kermes" (*karyat al-ķirmiz*) (ed. De Goeje, 200; cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67 and 217). See in particular, on the commerce and industry of Armenia in the mediaeval period, Thopdschian in the *Mitt. des Sem. für orient. Sprache*, 1904, ii, 142-53. On the carpets, see Armeniag Sakisian, *Les tapis à dragons et leur origine arménienne*, in *Syria*, ix (1928) and, by the same author, *Les tapis arméniens*, in *Revue des Ét. arm.*, i/2 (1920). On Armenian textiles in general, see R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 91 ff.

*Bibliography:* (1) *General Works:* *Géogr. des quatre parties du monde*, written in Armenian by L. Indjidjean, Pt. i, Venice 1806; J. Rennel, *Comparative Geogr. of West Asia*, London 1831; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 779, 784-8, 972-1009 and x, 285-825; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 137-88, 364-8; Issaverdenz, *Armenia and the Armenians*, Venice 1874-5; Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Dict. de géogr. univ.*, i, 213-7 (1879); E. Reclus, *Nouv. Géogr. Univ.*, vi (1881), 243-83; Russian Armenia, ix (1884), 321-77; Turkish Armenia; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i-iv,

Paris 1890-1; H. Gelzer (Petermann) in the *Realencycl. der protest. Theologie* (3rd ed.) by Herzog-Hauck, ii, 63-92, which deals especially with the history of the Church; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910; R. Blanchard, *L'Asie occidentale*, vol. viii of the *Géogr. univ.* by Vidal de La Blache and Gallois (1929).

(2) *History and Historical Geography*: Čamčean, *Hist. de l'Arménie depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à l'année 1784* (in Armenian, Venice, 1784-6; English ed. (Chamich) by I. Ardal, Calcutta 1827); Saint-Martin, *Mémoire hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818; Issaverdenz, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, Venice 1887.—On the most ancient period of Armenian history, see C. F. Lehmann, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Berlin 1907; M. Streck, in *ZDMG*, lxii, 755-74 and, by the same author, *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaft Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babyl.-assyrl. Keilschriften*, in *ZA*, xiii, xiv, xv; H. Berberian, *Découvertes archéologiques en Arménie de 1924 à 1927*, in the *Rev. des Ét. arm.*, vii (1927); K. von Hahn, *Verkehr und Handel im Alten Kaukasus*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, lxi, 1923. See also Fr. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. des alt. Orients*, Munich 1904, 37-40; L. Alishan, *Hayastan . . . (L'Arménie avant qu'elle fut l'Arménie)*, Venice 1904; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alt. Géogr.*, Berlin 1878, 73-83, 94-5; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumwiss.*, ii, 1181-2; H. Kiepert, *Über die älteste Landes- und Volksesch. von Armenien*, in *Monatsschr. der Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1869; Georgius Cyprius, ed. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890 and ed. Honigmann, with the *Synkdemus de Hierocles*, Brussels 1939; Strecker and Kiepert, *Beitr. zur Erklärung des Rückzuges der 10,000*, Berlin 1870; I. v. Akerdov, *Armenia in the 5th century* (in Russian), 3rd ed., Nakhčawan 1897; H. Karbe, *Der Marsch der 10,000*, Berlin 1898; K. Güterbock, *Römisch-Armenien im 4.-6. Jahrh.*, in *Schirmer Festschrift, Königsberg* 1900; J. Markwart, *Eränsahr*, Berlin 1901, 111-2, 114, 169-70; F. Murad, *Ararat and Masis*, Heidelberg 1901; K. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, Strasburg 1904, 197-410; J. Markwart, *Untersuch. zur Gesch. von Erän*, ii, Leipzig 1905, 218-9; K. Montzka, *Die Landschaften Grossarmeniens bei griech. und röm. Schriftstellern*, 1906; N. Adontz, *Armenija v epoxu Justinijana* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1908 and, by the same author, *Hist. d'Arménie: Les origines (du X<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.)*, Paris 1946; P. J. Mecerian, S. J., *Bilan des relations arméno-iraniennes au V<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.*, in the *Bulletin arménologique*, 2nd cahier, MFOB, XXX, Beirut 1953; P. P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I (*Bys. et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien. L'empereur Maurice*), Paris 1951.

The following works relate to the ancient and mediaeval periods: Tomaschek, *Sasün und das Quellgebiet des Tigris*, in *SBAk.*, Vienna, cxxxiii, no. 4, 1895 and, by the same author, *Hist.-Topographisches vom oberen Euphrates*, in *Kiepert-Festschrift*, Berlin 1898; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen*, Vienna 1930; by the same author, *Notes on two articles on Mayyāfāriqān*, in *JRAS*, 1909; by the same author, *Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, 80 (1932); E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des bys. Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, in *Corp. brux. hist. bys.*,

3, Brussels 1935; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071*, Paris 1947; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge Oriental Series, no. 6, London 1952.

See in addition: P. Fr. Tournèize, *Hist. pol. et relig. de l'Arménie*, vol. i (no more published), Paris 1901-1910; by the same author, the article *Arménie* in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, vol. iv, Paris 1930; J. de Morgan, *Hist. du peuple arm. depuis les temps les plus reculés . . . jusqu'à nos jours*, Nancy-Paris 1919; Kevork Aslan, *Études hist. sur le peuple arm.*, Paris 1909 and ed. Macler, 1928; Vahan, *History of Armenia*, i, Boston 1936; N. Marr, *Ans, Hist. de la ville d'après les sources et les fouilles*, Leningrad 1932 (in Russian); Pasdermadjian, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949.

The old native Armenian sources have been utilised in the excellent *Descr. de la vieille Arménie* by Indjidjean, Venice 1832 (in Armenian). See also L. Alishan, *Topogr. von Gross-Arm.*, Venice, 1855, *Geogr. der Provinz Shirak* (*ibid.* 1879), *Sisuan* (*ibid.* 1885), *Airarat* (*ibid.* 1890) and *Sisakan* (*ibid.* 1893), all in Armenian; H. Kiepert, *Die Landschaftsgrenzen des südl. Armeniens nach einheim. Quellen*, in *Monatsschr. der Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1873; Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände Armeniens unter Aschot I*, in *Mitteil. d. Seminars für orient. Sprachen in Berlin*, 1904, Pt. ii, 104-53; by the same author, *Polit. und Kirchengesch. Armeniens unter Aschot I und Smbat I*, (*ibid.* 98-218); Sebeos, *Gesch. des Heraklius* (the period from 457-459 to 602) and Leontius (period from 532 to 790). H. Hübschmann has translated the chapters of Sebeos relating to Armenia in *Zur Gesch. Armeniens und der ersten Kriege der Araber*, Leipzig 1875. See also: Jean Catholikos, *Hist. de l'Arménie des origines à 925*, trans. V. de Saint-Martin, Paris 1841; Ghevond (Leontius), *Hist. des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. V. Chahnazarian, Paris 1856 (cf. A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's Text of the corresp. between Umar II and Leo III*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxxvii, 1944); Asoghik of Taron, *Hist. d'Arménie des origines à 1004* (German trans. by H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt, Leipzig 1907; French trans., Pt. i by Dulaurier, Paris 1883, Pt. ii by Macler, Paris 1917); Thomas Ardzrouni (9th-10th cent.), *Hist. des Ardzrounis*, French trans. by Brosset in *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, I, St. Petersburg 1874 (goes as far as 907; continued down to 1226); Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* (from 952 to 1136), French trans. by Dulaurier in *Bibl. Hist. arm.*, 1858. Other trans. in Brosset, *Collection . . . St. Petersburg* (2 vols.), 1874-6 and *Deux historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg 1870-1. Also, of the same chronicler, trans. by Orbelian, *Hist. de la Siounie*, St. Petersburg, 1864. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris (2 vols.), 1867-9; J. Muyltermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, drawn from the *Hist. universelle* of Vardan, Louvain-Paris 1927.

On the period of the Arab invasions and the Arab domination, see: Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 193-212 (trans. Hitti and Murgotten, 2 vols., New York, 1916-24); Tabari, (references indicated in the course of this article); Ya'kūbi, 190-1 (the passages relative to Armenia in Balādhuri and Ya'kūbi have been translated into Russian by P. Zuze, Baku 1927, in *Materials for the History of Azerbaydžan*, fasc. iii and iv; the same author has translated the passages from Ibn al-Athīr

which concern the Caucasus, Baku 1940). Pseudo-Wākidī, *Gesch. der Eroberung von Mesopotamien und Armenien* . . . . Hamburg 1847; B. Khalateantz, *Textes arabes relatifs à l'Arménie*, Vienna 1919; for the first Arab invasions, H. Manadean, *Les invasions arabes en Arménie*, in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8, French translation by H. Berberian of a pamphlet of H. Manadean published in Erivan in 1932 under the name *Manr Hetazotul'yunner* (Short Studies); M. Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arab. Herrschaft bis zur Entstehung des Bagratidenreiches*, in *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, Marburg 1904, 149-225; H. Thopdschian, *Armenien vor und während der Araberzeit*, *ibid.* ii, 50-71; Vasmer, *Chronology of the Governors of Armenia under the early 'Abbāsids*, in *Zap. Kol. Vos.*, i (1925), 381 ff. (German translation Vienna 1931); F. W. Brooks, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids*, in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 1900 and 1901; Daghaschean, *Die Gründung des Bagratidenreiches unter Aschot Bagratuni*, Berlin 1893; A. Green, *La dynastie des Bagratides en Arménie* (in Russian, in the *Journ. of the Russian Minist. of I.P.*, St. Petersburg, 1893, CCXC, 51-139); J. Markwart, *Osteur. und ostas. Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 117-88, 391-465; R. Khalateantz (Chalatzian), *Die Entstehung der arm. Fürstentümer*, in *WZKM*, xvii, 60-69. See also: J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, Paris 1919. On the 10th century and the Byzantine reconquest, see in addition to the already mentioned works of Grousset and Honigmann: S. Runciman, *Romanus Lecapenus*, Cambridge 1929, 151 ff.; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, 462 ff. and earlier; G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byz. au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, Paris 1890; by the same author, *L'épopée byz. à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i, 1896 (1925) and ii, 1900 (Pt. I, John Tzimiskis; Pt. II, Basil II); various articles by N. Adontz published in *Byzantion* (*Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance*, ix, 1934, 715 ff., x, 1935, 531 ff., xi, 1936, 21 ff. and 517, xiv, 1939, 407 ff.; *Notes arméno-byzantines*, ix, 1934, 367 seq., x, 1935, 161 ff.; *Tornik le Moine*, xiii, 1938, 143 ff.), and in the *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Orient. Bruxelles*, iii, 1935 (*Asot de Fer*); articles by V. Laurent in *Échos d'Orient*, xxxvii, 1938 and xxxviii, 1939; by H. Tarossian, *Grigor Magistros et ses rapports avec deux émirs musulmans* . . . in *REI*, 1941-7; by Leroy-Mohringen on the rôle of certain Armenians at Byzantium, in *Byzantion*, xi, 1936, 589 ff. and xiv, 1939, 147 ff.; by Akulian, *Einverleibung arm. Territorien durch Byzanz im XI. Jahrhundert*, 1912; by Z. Avalichvili, *La succession de David d'Ibérie*, in *Byzantion*, viii, 1933, 177 ff. On the settlement of emigrant Armenians in Byzantine territory, see, in addition to the already mentioned articles by N. Adontz, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 488-9, 511, 522 and H. Grégoire, *Mélis le Magistre*, in *Byzantion*, vii, 1933, 79 ff. and, *ibid.* 203 ff., *Nicéphore au col roide*. Reference should also be made to works which deal with Byzantine history (see Krumbacher, *Byz. Literaturgesch.*, 2nd ed., 1068-9) and the publications of Vasilev, *Byzance et les Arabes*: i, *La dynastie amorienne* (820-67), French trans., Brussels, 1935 (*Corp. brux. hist. byz.*) and ii, *La dynastie macédonienne* (867-959), St. Petersburg 1902 (in Russian; French ed. of Pt. ii only: *Textes arabes*, Brussels 1950). See also F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oström. Reiches*, Munich-

Berlin 1924-32; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byz. Empire: A brief study of Armenian art and civilization*, Harvard University, 1945. In addition, the chapters relating to Armenia in the Syriac chronicles (Ps.-Denys of Tell-Mahre, Elias of Nisibin, Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus) and in works concerning the history of Islam and of the Caliphs, notably the Memoir of Defrémy on the Sādjids (*JA*, 1848, 4th ser., vols. 9 and 10). On persons of Armenian origin who figure in the history and literature of the Arabs, I. Kračkovsky has written for the *Encyclopaedia of Soviet Armenia* (Erivān) the articles Abkāryūs, Abū Šālīh al-Armanī and Badr al-Dījamālī (see above for Bahrām).

The main source for the Saldjūkid period is the history (989-1071) of Aristakēs of Lastivert (Arisdagūēs of Lasdiverd), Armenian ed., Venice, 1845, French trans., 1864. Kirakos (Guiragos) of Gandzak (13th cent.) gives a contemporary account of events for the period 1165-1265: Armenian ed., Moscow 1858 and Venice 1865, French trans. by Brosset, 1870-1. See also J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, Paris 1913-4 and the bibliography given there; C. Cahen, *La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes*, in *Byzantion*, ix, 1934, 613 ff.; and, by the same author, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1948. For a more ample bibliography, see the art. *SALDĪŪKIDS*.

The monk Malak'ia composed a history of the Mongol invasion: Armenian ed., St. Petersburg 1870, Russian trans. by Patkanean, *ibid.* 1871, French trans. by Brosset, 1871. Thomas of Madsoph wrote, in the 15th cent., a history of Timur and his successors: Armenian ed. by Chahnazarian, Paris 1861.

The principal source on the sufferings of the Armenians under Shāh 'Abbās I is Arak'el of Tabriz, whose *Histoire* runs from 1602 to 1661: Armenian ed., Amsterdam, 1669, French trans. by Brosset.

On the history of the kingdom of Little Armenia, in addition to the *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* by F. Wilken and B. Kugler, the modern histories of the Crusades (Grousset, 3 vols., Paris 1934-6; Runciman, 3 vols., Cambridge 1951-5), the history of the last Crusades by Atiyya, London 1938 and the history of Cyprus by Hill, Cambridge 1940, see V. Langlois, *Essai hist. et crit. sur la const. soc. et pol. de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie roupénienne*, in the *Mém. de l'Ac. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, 7th ser., iii (1860), no. 3; the same author, in the *Bull. de l'Ac. Impér.* . . . , iv, 1861 and in the *Mélanges asiatiques*, iv; E. Dulaurier, *Étude sur l'org. pol., relig. et administr. du royaume de Petite Arménie*, in *JA*, 1861, xvii, 377-437 and xviii, 289-357; by the same author, *Le royaume de Petite Arménie*, in *RHC, Doc. arm.*, i, Paris 1869; and K. J. Basmadjian, *Les Lusignan de Poitou au trône de la Petite Arménie*, in *JA*, 10th ser., vii, 520 ff.

In regard to the information provided by the mediaeval geographers, see *BGA*, ed. De Goeje and *BAHG*, ed. v. Mžik; Yākūt, I, 219-22 (cf. Heer, *Die Quellen in Yākūt's Geogr. Wörterb.*, 1898, 62-3); Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 387-8; Le Strange, 129-31, 139-41, 182-4; A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*, i, 342-3, 358, 368, 377; N. A. Karaulov, *Renseignements fournis par les écrivains arabes sur le Caucase, l'Arménie et*

*l'Adharbaydjan*, in *Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniya mestnostey i plemen kavkaza*, xxix, xxxi, xxxii and xxxviii, Tiflis 1908; Žūze (Djūze), Trans. into Russian of the passages in Yākūt relating to the Caucasus (ed. by the Inst. of Hist., Acad. of Sciences of Azerbaidjān); and B. Khalateantz, in the Armenian review, *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna), xvii, 27-8, 53-4, 112-3, 176-7, 252-3 and xviii, 53-4, 367-8.

On the wars of the last century; see: V. Uschakoff, *Gesch. der Feldzüge des Generals Paskewitsch in der asiat. Türkei während der Jahre 1828-9* (German ed., Leipzig 1838; cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde* x, 414-23); and W. Potto, *Der persische Krieg*, 1826-8 (St. Petersburg, 1887 ff.).

In regard to the Crimean war, see the works of Rüstow (1855 ff.), Bazancourt (German ed., Vienna 1856), Anitschkow (1857-60), Bogdanovitch (in Russian, 1867), Kinglake (London, 6th ed., 1883), C. Rousset (Paris, 3rd ed., 1894), Geffcken (1891), Hamley (London, 3rd ed., 1891), Rothan (1888), Kurz (1889), A. du Casse (Paris 1892); and C. Rousset, *Hist. de la guerre de Crimée*, Paris 1877 (also to be added: E. Tarle, *Krymskaya vojna*, 2 vols., Moscow 1942-5).

On the war of 1877-8, see Greene, *The Russian army and its campaigns in Turkey*, 1877-1878, London 1880; v. Jagwitz, *Von Plewna bis Adrianopel*, Berlin 1880; and Kuropatkin, *Kritische Rückblicke auf den russisch-türkischen Krieg* (in German, by Kramer, Berlin 1885-7).

On the troubles in Armenia during the last decade of the 19th century, see F. D. Greene, *The Armenian crisis and the rule of the Turk*, London 1895; R. de Coursons, *La rébellion arménienne*, Paris 1895; R. Lepsius, *Armenien und Europa*, Berlin 1896; G. Godet, *Les souffrances de l'Arménie*, Neufchâtel 1896. On the massacres, deportations and emigration of the Armenians since 1915, see the modern histories of Armenia cited above (J. de Morgan, Kevork Aslan, Pasdermadjian); Tchobanian, *Le peuple arménien, l'Arménie sous le joug turc*, Paris 1913; F. Nansen, *L'Arménie et le Proche-Orient*, Paris 1928; Basmadjian, *Hist. mod. des Arméniens*, Paris 1922; Pasdermadjian, *Aperçu de l'hist. mod. de l'Arménie* (especially from 1848 to 1920) in *Vostan, Cahiers d'hist. et de civil. arm.*, i, Paris 1948-9; J. Missakian, *A searchlight on the Armenian question*, 1878-1950, Boston 1950; A. Nazarian, *Vérités historiques sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1953; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950 (passages devoted to Russian Armenia); P. Rondot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient (Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, iv)*, Paris 1955, 171-99. Amongst other works, see also: A. J. Toynbee, *Les massacres arméniens*, Paris 1916; *The treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman empire*, British Blue Book, London 1916; H. Barby, *Au pays de l'épouvante, l'Arménie martyre*, Paris 1917; J. Lepsius, *Le rapport secret ... sur les massacres d'Arménie*, Paris 1918; Anonymous, *Témoignages inédits sur les atrocités turques commises en Arménie*, Paris 1920; C. Jäschke, *President Wilson als Schiedsrichter zwischen der Türkei und Armenien*, in *MSOS*, Berlin, xxxviii, 1935, ii, 75-80. See also A. Andonian, *The Memoirs of Naim bey. Turk. off. doc. relative to the deportations and the massacres of Armenians*, London 1920; and J. de Morgan, *Essai sur les nationalités (les Arméniens)*, Paris 1917.

On the history of the Armenian Church, see A. Ter Mikelian, *Die arm. Kirche und ihre Bezieh-*

*ungen zur byzant. vom 4.-13. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1891; H. Gelzer, *Der gegenwärtige Zustand der arm. Kirche*, in *Z.f. Theol.*, 1893, XXXVI, 163-71; the same author, *Die Anfänge der arm. Kirche*, in *SB. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1895, 109-74; S. Weber, *Die kathol. Kirche in Armenien*, Freiburg im B., 1903; Ter Minassiantz, *Die arm. Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen*, Leipzig 1904; N. Ormanian, *L'Église arménienne, son hist., sa doctr., son régime, sa discipline, sa liturgie, sa littérature, son présent*, Paris 1910; and the art. *Arménie*, by L. Petit, in the *Diction. de théologie catholique*, i, Pt. 2.

(3) Geography, Ethnology, Cartography: Otter, *Voy. en Turquie*, Paris 1748; D. Sestini, *Voyage de Constantinople à Bassora en 1781*, Paris, Year VII (on the region of Handzit); Hanway, *Beschreib. seiner Reise von London durch Russland und Persien*, Hamburg 1754 (Engl. ed., London, 1753; also other editions); J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia, etc.*, London 1812; J. C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania and other prov. of Turkey*, London 1813; J. M. Kinneir, *Geogr. Memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813; J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, etc.*, 1818; Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819-23, vol. iii; R. Walpole, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1820; A. Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, Paris 1821; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia*, London 1821-2; *Relation du voyage de Monteith*, in *JRGS*, iii, London 1833; E. Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Koordistan, Armenia, etc.*, London 1834; J. Brant, *Journey through a part of Armenia*, in *JRGS*, vi, London 1836; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, *ibid.*, 1836; E. Boré, *Corresp. et mémoires d'un voyage en Orient*, Paris 1837-40; Armstrong, *Travels in Russia and Turkey*, London 1838; Wilbraham, *Travels in Transcaucasia, etc.*, London 1839; F. Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase ... en Georgie, Arménie, etc.*, Paris 1839-43, with an atlas; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc.*, London 1840; E. Schultz, *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*, in *JA*, 3rd ser., ix, 260-323; H. Southgate, *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Koordistan*, London 1840; J. Brant, *Notes of a journey through a part of Koordistan*, in *JRGS*, x, 1841; H. Suter, *Notes of a journey from Erzerum to Trebisond (ibid.)*; G. Fowler, *Three Years in Persia, with travelling adventures in Koordistan*, London 1841 (German transl., Aix-la-Chapelle 1842); W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Research in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea and Armenia*, London 1842; W. J. Hamilton, *Research in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842 (German ed. by A. Schomburgk with add. by H. Kiepert, Leipzig 1843); Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie*, Paris 1842; K. Koch, *Wanderungen im Orient*, Weimar 1846-7; M. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat und dem Hochland Armenien*, Stuttgart 1848; A. N. Muravjev, *Crousinié et Arménie* (in Russian, St. Petersburg 1848); Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique en Géorgie et en Arménie*, *ibid.*, 1851; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852; Curzon, *Armenia, a year at Erzeroum, etc.*, London 1854; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1854-60; K. Koch, *Die kaukasische*

*Länder und Armenien*, Leipzig 1855; A. v. Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, Leipzig 1856; N. v. Seidlitz, *Rundreise um den Urmiassee*, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1858, 22-3; Blau, *Vom Urmiassee zum Vansee*, *ibid.*, 1863, 200-1; I. Ussher, *A journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865; Pollington, *Half round the old world, a tour in Russia, the Caucasus, Persia, etc.*, London 1867; Taylor and Strecker, *Zur Geogr. von Hocharmenien*, in *Z. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1869; F. Millingen, *Wild life among the Koords*, London 1870; Radde and Sievers, *Reise in Hocharmenien*, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1873, 301-2; Radde, *Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus*, *ibid.*, Ergänz. Heft n° 36, Gotha 1874; M. v. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus . . .*, Leipzig 1875; J. B. Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, London 1876; *Relation de voyage de Deyrolle*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, xxix-xxxi and in the *Globus*, xxix-xxx (Braunschweig 1876); J. Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat*, London 1877 and later editions; Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; H. Tozer, *Turkish Armenia and East Asia Minor*, London 1881; Fréde, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, Paris 1885; W. Petersen, *Aus Transkaukasien und Armenien*, Leipzig 1885; G. Radde, *Reisen an der persisch-russischen Grenze*, Leipzig 1886; H. Binder, *Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie et en Perse*, Paris 1887; G. Radde, *Karabagh*, in *Petermann's Mitt. Erg.-Heft n° 100*, Gotha 1889; Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Washington 1892 (German ed., Mainz 1897); E. Naumann, *Vom goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrates*, Munich 1893; Chantre, *A travers l'Arménie russe*, Paris 1893 (cf. in *Globus*, lxii, 1892); W. Belck, *Untersuchungen und Reisen in Transkaukasien, Hocharmenien, etc.*, in *Globus*, lxiii-lxiv, 1893; v. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien*, Braunschweig 1885; H. Abich, *Aus kaukasischen Ländern. Reiseberichte von 1842-1874*, Vienna 1896; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, 4 vols., Paris 1895; the same author *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, *Ét. arch. et historiques*, 2 vols., Paris 1889; H. Hepworth, *Through Armenia on horseback*, London 1898.

On the journeys of exploration carried out in 1898-9 by W. Belck and C. F. Lehmann, see the travel reports noted in the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1901, i, 16 and Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, 2 vols., Berlin 1910-26; Sarre, *Transkaukasien, Persien, Mesopotamien, Transkaspien. Land und Leute*, Berlin 1899; Lynch, *Armenia: travels and studies*, London 1901; P. Rohrbach, *Vom Kaukasus zum Mittelmeer*, Leipzig 1903.

Many important documents are published (in Russian) in the *Memoirs of the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geogr. Soc.*; see also the works of the Committee for Caucasian Statistics (Elizavetpol, Tiflis, 1888 and Kars, 1889). Cf. also the article *DIABAL AL-HÄRITH* (ARARAT).

Consult also B. Plaetschke, *Die Kaukasusländer (Handbuch der geogr. Wiss., Band Mittel- und Osteuropa*, 1935); Uj. Frey, *Vorder-Asien, Schrifttumsübersicht 1913-1932*, in *Geogr. Jahrbuch*, 47, 1932, vol. ii; P. Rohrbach, *Armenien*, 1919; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950 (pages relating to Soviet Armenia); P. George, *URSS*, Paris 1947 (Collection Orbis), 471-2; A. Fichelle, *Géogr. phys. et écon. de l'URSS*, 97 ff. (information will be

found in P. George, *op. cit.*, concerning Soviet works and reviews, such as the *Revue de la Soc. russe de Géogr.*, etc.). See also: *The USSR: A geographical survey*, London 1943.

L. Alislan, *Physiographie de l'Arménie*, Venice 1870; H. Abich, *Geolog. Forschungen in den kauk. Ländern*, Vienna 1882-7; R. Sieger, *Die Schwankungen der hocharm. Seen*, Vienna 1888; G. W. v. Zahn, *Die Stellung Armeniens im Gebirgsbau Vorderasiens*, Berlin 1907; J. H. Schaffer, *Grundzüge des geolog. Baues von Türkisch Armenien*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1896; *Carté géol. du Caucase au 1 : 1,000,000*, Inst. de cartogr. géol. . . de l'URSS, 1929-31.

See also: Macler, *Erzeroum. Topographie d'Erzeroum et sa région*, in *JA*, 1919; J. Markwart, *Le berceau des Arméniens*, in *Rev. des Ét. arm.*, viii, 1928.

In regard to the statistics of the population, for the period before 1914, see G. L. Selenoy and N. v. Seidlitz, *Die Verbreitung der Armenier in der asiat. Türkei und in Trans-Kaukas*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1896, and for more recent statistics, the works indicated on the subject in the course of this article; see also: R. Kherrmian, *Les Arméniens, introd. à l'anthropologie du Caucase*, 1943.

For maps, see the atlases attached to the travel account of Monteith (1833) and Dubois (1839-40); Glascott, *Map of Asia Minor and Armenia* (about 1850); H. Kiepert, *Karte von Georgien, Armenien und Kurdistan*, 1 : 1 500 000, Berlin 1854; the same author, *Karte von Armenien, Kurdistan und Azerbeidschan*, 1 : 1 000 000, Berlin 1858; H. Kiepert, *Spezialkarte des türk. Arm.*, 1 : 500 000, Berlin 1857; the same author, *Carte générale des prov. europ. et asiat. de l'empire ottoman*, 1 : 3 000 000, Berlin 1892; H. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien in 24 Blatt*, 1 : 400 000, Berlin 1902-6. The best map is Lynch-Oswald's *Map of Armenia and adjacent countries*, London 1901. See also the maps of Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 1891-2 and of Müller-Simonis, *op. cit.*, 1892; the map of Armenia in Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904 and his remarks (*ibid.*) on the *Kartenbibliographie of the Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, by F. Justi; the maps of Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*; see also Murray's *Handy Classical Maps, Asia Minor*; the maps in the tourist guides, Baedeker, *Guide Bleu*; the route map of Turkey (*Türkiye Yol Haritası*, 1 : 2 500 000); the maps (scale = 1 : 800 000), *Türkiye*, 1936 (sheets for Malatya, Sivas, Erzurum, Mosul); the map prepared by the National Geogr. Institute, Paris, 1 : 1 000 000, 1934 (sheet for Erzerum).

(4) *Bibliographical Works*: M. Minusaroff, *Bibliogr. Caucas. et Transcaucas.*, vol. i, St. Petersburg 1874-6; P. Karekin, *Armenische Bibliogr., Gesch. und Verzeichnis der arm. Litteratur*, covering the years 1565-1843 (in Neo-Armenian, Venice 1883). The more important works are enumerated in H. Petermann, *Grammatica armeniaca* (Port. lingu. orient. VI); P. de Lagarde, *Arm. Studien*, Göttingen 1877. Karekin, *Gesch. der arm. Litteratur* (in Armenian, 2nd ed., Venice 1886); Patkanean, *Bibliogr. Umriss der arm. Hist. Litteratur* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1880; F. N. Finck, *Abriss der arm. Litteratur*, in *Litter. des Ostens*, by Amelang, vii, Leipzig 1907. See also A. Salmalian, *Bibliographie de l'Arménie*, Paris 1946 and Chap. XI, *Les lettres, les sciences et les arts chez les Arméniens*, in J. de Morgan, *Hist. du peuple arménien*, where information will be found on the

Armenian journals and reviews down to 1919 (*Ararat*, *Handes Amsorya*, etc.). See also the *Bulletin arménologique* published by Père Mecerian in the *Mélanges de l'Univ. Saint-Joseph*, Beirut, 1947-8 and 1953, and the specialised reviews.

(M. CANARD)

**ARMS** [see *SILĀH*].

**ARMY** [see *DIJAYSH*, *LASHKAR*, *ORDU* etc.].

**ARNAWUTLUK**, the Ottoman Turkish name for ALBANIA.

1.—Language. Allegedly descended from Pelasgian, Albanian is an Indo-European language of "satem" type like Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Slavonic. No literary records occur before 1496 A.D., but ancient Illyrian and ancient Epirote, on the basis of personal and place names, are held to be the prototypes of Geg (northern) and Tosk (southern) Albanian respectively. Illyrian *mantua*, *mantia*, "bramble", and *grōssa*, "file", are Albanian *mand*, *manzë* and *grresë* respectively. Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian were languages of Albanian type.

Known as *shqip* in Albania, *arbëresh* in the Albanian colonies, the Albanian language is spoken by some 1,500,000 in Albania, 700,000 in the adjoining Kosovo-Metohija area of Yugoslavia, and some 40,000 in Epirus. An archaic form of the language survives on the Greek islands of Hydra and Spetsa, and in Sicily and Calabria, brought there by Tosk exiled from the Turkish invasions. Impoverished by centuries of neglect, Albanian has a small native, but a large borrowed vocabulary. Thus the wheel, the cart and the plough are represented by borrowings and the usual Indo-European terms of kinship are absent. City life, road-building, horticulture, law, religion and family relationship are expressed by Latin loanwords, much disguised by phonological breakdown. Terms used in the Orthodox ritual are Greek; names of prepared dishes, garments, parts of the house, and Islamic terms have come in via Turkish.

The composite alphabet is: *a, b, c* (like *ts*), *ç* (like *ch*), *d, dh* (like *th* in *this*), *e, ë* (like French *e* in *le*), *f, g, gj* (like Turkish *g* before *e, i, ö*), *h, i, j* (like *y* in *yoke*), *k, l* (as in French), *ll* (as in English *all*), *m, n, nj* (as in *canon*), *o, p, q* (like Turkish *k* before *e, i, ö*), *r* (weak), *rr* (strong trill), *s, sh* (as in *shop*), *t, th* (as in *thin*), *u, v, x* (as in *adze*), *zh* (as in *judge*), *y* (German *ü*), *z, zh* (as in *pleasure*). The vowels *â, ê, î* are Geg nasals.

Geg is the dialect of Tiranë, the capital, and the North, including Kosovo-Metohija. Tosk has a considerable literature. Its main deviations are: replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions, absence of nasal vowels, occasional conversion of *n* to *r*, and representation of *ue, uem* as *ua, uar*. There are small differences of vocabulary.

The noun has three genders and five cases. A noun is linked to a following genitive or adjective by an inflected particle, thus *mali i veriut*, "the mountain of the north", *mali i bukur* "the beautiful mountain", in which *-i* of *mal-i* is the detachable masc. definite article. Similarly *molla*, f. "the apple", but *mollë* "apple". The verb possesses an imperfect, aorist, subjunctive, optative imperative, a mediopassive, and a compound mood called the admirative.

2.—Literature. From the third century A.D. the Roman Church has maintained a bishopric at Scutari in N. Albania. This became the first cultural centre; evidence of this is Bishop John Buzuk's Liturgy of 1555, and the 17th century religious works of Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani. Literary activity, tolerated by the Turks in the Catholic

North, was suppressed in the Muslim centre and the Orthodox South, but took root among the exile colonies of Sicily and Calabria. Matranga, descendant of the exiles, began a tradition of hymn-writing using folk-rhythms (1592), which was continued by Brancato (1675-1741) and the Calabrian Variboba (born 1725). The movement became secular with the folksongs and rhapsodies of De Rada (1813-1903), an ardent spokesman of Albanian liberation, and was continued well into the present century by Zef Schirò (1865-1927), Sicilian-born author of two allegorical epics and a collector of folksongs.

The work of de Rada was helpful in inspiring three Tosk patriots, the brothers Abdyl, Sami and Naim Frashëri, to form a league at Prizrend in 1878. Under the stimulus of the San Stefano settlement they sought Albanian autonomy and literary freedom. After several years of activity in Istanbul, where they were joined by the lexicographer and Bible translator Kristoforidhi (1827-1895), they were forced into exile. At Bucharest Abdyl the politician, Sami the educationist, and Naim, the Bektashi lyricist of Albanian nostalgia, formed a literary society and printed Albanian books from 1885 onward. Thimi Mitko and Spiro Dine, exiles in Egypt, collected folksongs from the local colony. In Sofia Mîdhat Frashëri, son of Abdyl, published an almanach, an anthology and a journal, and wrote didactic essays and short stories with a moral. Books printed in exile were smuggled into Albania by caravan.

The absence of a literary centre, and the want of a standard alphabet, hampered the movement, and Sami's difficult phonetic spelling was replaced by a digraphic one resembling that of A. Santori of Calabria and the linguist Dh. Camarda (1821-1882) of Sicily. After independence in November 1912 the various literary currents combined. A. Drenova (born 1872), the Tosk lyricist, Bubani, and L. Poradeci (born 1899) continued the Bucharest tradition, the last in an unorthodox style of his own; the Catholic North was represented by the nostalgic F. Shiroka (1847-1917), the linguist and historian A. Xanoni (1863-1915), N. Mjeda (1866-1937), the satirist Gj. Fishta (1871-1940), the folk-poet and elegist V. Prennushi (1885-1946), and the short-story writer E. Koliqi (born 1903). Foqion Postoli, and M. Grameno (1872-1931), the Tosk novelists, Kristo Floqi (born 1873), the dramatist, and F. Konitza (1875-1943) transferred their activity to Boston, U.S.A., where a literary society Vatra, and a journal Dielli ("The Sun") were founded in 1912.

The brief fascist regime (1939-1943) attracted a few writers with pro-Italian leanings; the present communist regime encourages writing on the partisan movement, the class struggle, work themes and peace. Textbooks are based on Russian models. There are three active theatres and a writers' union. This activity is paralleled in Kosovo-Metohija, where the communist themes are Titoist.

3.—Geography. Albania (Shqipëri, Shqipëri) lies on a N-S axis 20° E of Greenwich. With a total area of 11,097 square miles (28,748 sq. km.) it is bounded by Yugoslavia, Greece and the Adriatic. Lying between N Latitudes 39° 38' and 40° 41', its total length is 207 miles. It narrows to 50 miles at Peshkopi, and widens to 90 miles at the lake of Little Presba. Its ten prefectures formerly had 39 subprefectures, now redrawn and renamed as 34 districts. Continuing the limestone formation of the Dinaric Alps, the terrain is highest in the E, reaching some 7,000 feet in places. Of the western lowlands, some below sea-

## THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE PAULICIAN AND T'ONDRAKIAN HERESIES

George Huxley

Queen's University of Belfast (Northern Ireland)

From Byzantine sources alone a coherent, but sadly incomplete, picture of Paulician geography in Asia Minor emerges. From the middle of the seventh century until the Fall of Tephrikē to the imperial armies in the reign of Basil I the heresy was mainly a phenomenon of the eastern frontier lands. In the time of Constans II the first of the series of heresiarchs, Constantine, who took the Pauline name Silvanus, came from Mananalis (Arm: Mananati) in Armenia to Kibossa, an unidentified place near the kastron of Koloneia.<sup>1</sup> The successor of Constantine-Silvanus, Symeon-Titos, also taught at Kibossa.<sup>2</sup> Later there were Paulicians at a place called Episparis, somewhere between Kibossa and Mananalis.<sup>3</sup> From there some of them were led by their teacher Gegnesios-Timothy, the son of an Armenian called Paul, back to Mananalis. In Mananalis Gegnesios died of plague;<sup>4</sup> almost certainly this was the great plague of 748.<sup>5</sup>

In the next generation Zacharias, the son of Gegnesios, was killed by Arab frontier-guards, with his followers, while attempting to cross back into East Roman territory. His rival Joseph, who took the Pauline name Epaphroditos, was more fortunate: he turned his party's wagons round and persuaded the Arab interceptors that he and his followers were on the way to Syria for pasturage and to make milk.<sup>6</sup> Thus some of the Paulicians were transhumant pastoralists; for such persons, it was natural to move frequently to the highland meadows in summer and, if need be, through No-Man's-land to the Arab or Byzantine territories. Joseph-Epaphroditos, having been left alone by the Arab guards, slipped across with his followers to Episparis. We

---

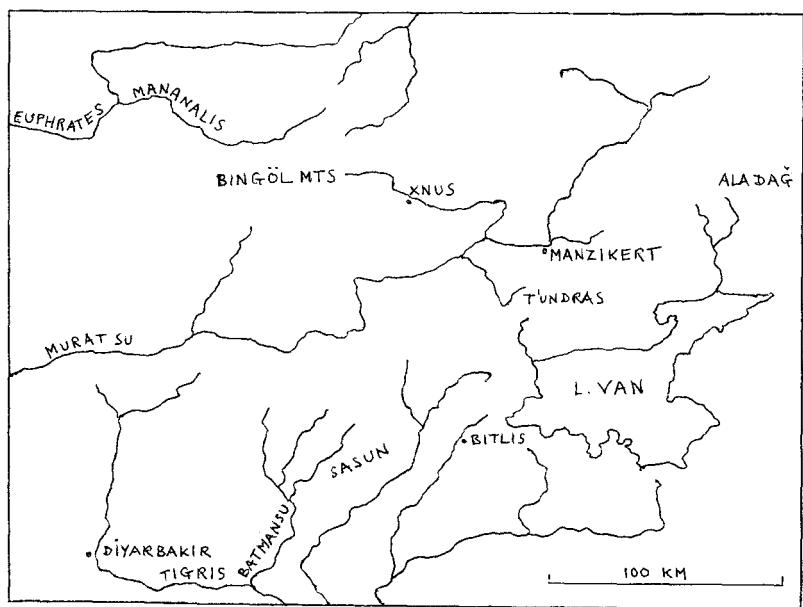
T. Samuelian & M. Stone, eds. Medieval Armenian Culture. (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6). Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. pp. 81 to 95.

hear that a successor of Joseph, the Paulician leader Sergios-Tychikos, who was an energetic missionary, also spent some time in Pontus, that is, in the Armeniak thema. Later he and his disciples settled at Argoun within the domain of the Emir of Melitene.<sup>7</sup> Not long after his death there, Argoun became a redoubt of Paulician soldiers who had escaped about 844 from persecution under the empress Theodora.<sup>8</sup> From Argoun the Paulicians under their military leader Karbeas moved to Tephrikē, which became the base of their distant and devastating attacks on Byzantine territory. The raids continued under the successor of Karbeas, Chrysocheir, until his death in the battle with the Byzantines at Bathyrhyax in 872.<sup>9</sup> When Tephrikē fell to the Byzantines six years later, some of the surviving Paulicians may well have fled to Mananalis, but the Greek sources are not explicit.

What they do make clear is the strong Armenian connection of the heresy. Constantine from Mananalis is said to have been an Armenian; Paul and his son Gegnesios were Armenians; and one of the leaders of the heretics Baanes, a contemporary and rival of Sergios-Tychikos, reveals by his name (Vahan) his Armenian origins. The close ties of the heresy with Pontus fit the Armenian connection well; for many Armenian troops were among the forces withdrawn from Armenia during the Arab invasion in the mid-seventh century, and they were stationed in Pontus and other parts of northeastern Asia Minor to form the new Armeniak thema. In Asia Minor the connections of the heresy were military as well as pastoral: the great Paulician leader Karbeas himself had been a protomandator in the imperial army.<sup>10</sup> Wise emperors had valued the fighting qualities of the Paulicians instead of alienating them; Constantine V had transferred Paulicians from Melitene and Theodosiopolis (Karin or Erzerum) to defend Thrace,<sup>11</sup> but when the heretics under Karbeas allied themselves with Omar of Melitene they provided a formidable threat to the security of Byzantine Asia Minor.

The historical outlines given in the Byzantine sources become much more complicated when an attempt is made to combine them with the Armenian evidence. First, there is a theological problem about the character of the heresy: in Peter of Sicily it is presented as being both dualist and docetic, but in Armenia, if the eighteenth-century text called the Key of Truth is, as Conybeare<sup>12</sup> and, more recently, Garsoian<sup>13</sup> have supposed, a witness to medieval Paulicianism in Armenia, the Paulicians, and the T'ondrakians, with whom it is customary to link them, were Adoptionists. There is, secondly, a chronological problem about the date when Paulicianism





Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies

arose as a definable and distinct heresy in Armenia. Finally, and this is our main concern here, there is the fact that the only territory agreed to be a home of heresy by the Greek and Armenian sources is Mananalis. Even here we face a problem, because the main account of heresy in Mananalis in Armenia comes from Aristakēs Lastivertc'i,<sup>14</sup> who wrote soon after 1072, some two centuries after the fall of Tephrikē and three centuries after the escape of Joseph-Epaphroditos from Mananalis to Episparis. Thus it is by no means certain that the heretics who were there in the eighth century were akin by ancestry or in doctrine to the eleventh-century T'ondrakian heretics of Mananalis described by Aristakēs. However, though continuity in Mananalis is not documented, it is clear that the district was for a long time a nurse of heresy.

There has been disagreement about the geographical position of Mananalis. The difficulty begins with Peter of Sicily in his report on his visit to Tephrikē on behalf of the emperor Basil I. He stated that Constantine-Silvanus was born in Samosatōn of Armenia, in a village called Mananalis.<sup>15</sup> Samosata beside the Euphrates in Commagene is not in Armenia and can have nothing to do with Mananalis. Peter's statement about the origin of the heresy is due to a confused attempt to link the Paulicians with the Paulinists, sectaries who followed Paul of Samosata. The connection between Samosata and Constantine-Silvanus can be rejected; it rests on a theological mistake. Accordingly there is no need to suppose a confusion between Samosata and Arsamosata (Arabic *Šimšat*), a city beside the Arsanias or Murad Su branch of the upper Euphrates in Armenia.<sup>16</sup> Conybeare<sup>17</sup> thought that Mananalis was a district around Xnus in the valley of the Kinis Çay, a southeasterly-flowing feeder of the Arsanias. This is the canton from which Armenian sectaries brought the Key of Truth when they came to settle at Akhaltzik in Tsarist Armenia in 1828. It is true that Gregory Magistros, who died in 1058, in his letter to the heretics called T'ulaili (who were a branch of the T'ondrakec'i) connects Xnus with their heresy: Xnus he wrote, "recalls a hole stopped up in which the deepest darkness reigns."<sup>18</sup> It is also true that downstream from Xnus lies the district of Hark' in Turuberan, where there were also T'ondrakians according to Aristakēs of Lastivert.<sup>19</sup> So we can be sure that there were T'ondrakians settled in and near Xnus in the eleventh century; it may even be true that those who were still clinging to heresy in the same canton in the early nineteenth century were descendents of them. But the source of Byzantine Paulicianism cannot have been at Xnus, because

Mananalis lay elsewhere. This can be seen in the account of the T'ondrakians in Aristakēs Lastivertc'i.

Aristakes shows that there were T'ondrakians living beside a river, which he calls Mananali,<sup>20</sup> not far from its confluence with the Euphrates. On the other side of the Euphrates, near the confluence, was the awan called Kot'ēr. This awan adjoined the province of Ekeṭeac', whose position is known: it extended along the upper Euphrates from east to west on either side of modern Erzincan. Ekeṭeac' (Akisilene) reached eastward to the confluence of the Euphrates with its left-bank tributary the Tuzla Suyu, a river that rises in the Bingöl mountains some fifty miles to the east of the meeting of the waters. Thus, as Juzbašjan<sup>21</sup> and others have argued, the Mananali river is the Tuzla Suyu; the river gave its name to the district where the Paulician Constantine-Silvanus was born. Here too the heresiarch of the Paulicians Gegnesios-Timothy settled for a time before dying of plague. Hence also Joseph-Epaphroditos escaped back with his followers and herds to Episparis in East Roman territory. Hereabouts too lived in the lifetime of Aristakēs the local magnates the ladies Axni and Kamara, who were hereditary possessors of two villages. They were joined in their T'ondrakianism by the iṣṣan Vrver, another magnate of Mananali.<sup>22</sup> The spreading of the heresy among the gentry explains why, possibly in the time of John Tzimiskes, the Byzantine authorities had set up a bishopric of Mananalis subordinate to Trebizond.<sup>23</sup> It must have been a lonely posting for a Chalcedonian.

The principal fort in Mananalis was Smbat on Smbatay (berd), a mountain of the same name. According to Aristakes the fort was used as a place of refuge during the early Seljuk incursions;<sup>24</sup> indeed it is likely to have been the main redoubt of the T'ondrakians of Mananali. We do not know who the eponymous Smbat was; but there is a possibility that he too was a T'ondrakian heretic. For a prominent ninth-century leader of the T'ondrakians was called Smbat.

About 987 Grigor Narekac'i wrote a letter to the convent of Kčaw about the doctrine of the T'ondrakians 'lanes' and 'lamres.' In the epistle it said that Smbat declared communion bread to be ordinary bread; Grigor also states that Smbat allowed himself to be worshipped by his disciples.<sup>25</sup> But the text provides no chronological evidence. A date for Smbat is given by Grigor Magistros, who in his letter concerning the T'ulaili remarked that during 170 years, equivalent to thirteen patriarchates, the heretics had

flourished since the time of Smbat.<sup>26</sup> In another letter Grigor, an active persecutor of the T'ondrakians, wrote that they had infested the land for more than two hundred years.<sup>27</sup> Since Grigor was writing in the middle of the eleventh century, he dates Smbat in the middle of the ninth.

According to Grigor Magistros, Smbat came forth from the village of Zarehavan in the district of Caḡkotn.<sup>28</sup> This is a territory on the northerly slopes of the Ala Dağ (Niphates, Npat) to the northeast of Lake Van.<sup>29</sup> From Zarehavan he moved to T'ondrak and began to teach there. The position of T'ontraks, or T'ondrak, which gave its name to the heresy, is known: it lay some three hours to the south of Manzikert and was later called T'undras. The identification was made long ago by the geographer Inčičian.<sup>30</sup> It is supported by a detail in Grigor Narekac'i, to which A. G. Ioannisjan drew attention in an article in the Soviet periodical *Voprosy Istorii*.<sup>31</sup>

Grigor admonished the Abbot and monks of the convent of Kčaw by writing that they desired to share the lot of those who had been cut off by the sword of the avenging heathen emir Aplvard. The emir is Abu'l Bard I, the Muslim ruler of Manzikert in the middle of the ninth century, who according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus had received from Ašot the Great Prince of Princes (r. 862 to 890) the gift of Xliat, Arzes and Perkri.<sup>32</sup> It is likely that the gift was a reward for support in suppression of the heretics in T'ontraks, since the temptation to ally with them, as Omar of Melitene had done with the Paulicians of Argaoun, would have been strong. Instead Aplvard massacred them. It is not clear from Grigor Narekac'i whether Smbat died in the massacre; possibly he escaped to Mananalis to join the heretics there and to give his name to the fortress at Smbatay berd.

But these matters remain obscure; what is clear is that Ioannisjan's identification of Aplvard fits the dating of Smbat to the mid-ninth century and the fixing of the home of the T'ondrakians to the country between Manzikert and Lake Van, in remote terrain near the watershed where northward flowing feeders of the Arsianias rise. After the massacre some of the heretics survived there or were able to come back later; for Grigor Magistros states that after he had put down T'ondrakian heresy in "Mesopotamia"<sup>33</sup> (that is, the Byzantine *thema*, formerly an Armenian principality, between the Arsianias and the Çimişgezek-su),<sup>34</sup> he went up to the "well-head, in which the viper and scorpion and dragon of wickedness had nestled. I demolished it, as my ancestors did Aštišat. Then I named the village after the chapel of St. George, which had been taken possession of by

the hound Smbat."<sup>35</sup> However, not even the violence of Grigor Magistros could wipe out all trace of the T'ondrakians there, because, as we have seen, a form of the name T'ontraks or T'ondrak survived until the nineteenth century. The very name of the heretics was a constant reminder elsewhere of the geographical origin of their doctrine and of their leader Smbat. Grigor's claim that his ancestors destroyed Aštišat should not be taken as evidence that there had once been Paulicians or similar heretics at that place; he may simply be asserting that his ancestors assisted in the overthrow of pagan cults (such as that of Aštē or Astarte)<sup>36</sup> there, when Christianity was being established in Armenia.

If Smbat initiated heresy at T'ondrak, then we should not expect to find the term T'ondrakec'i applied to heretics of any description in Armenia before the mid-ninth century. The name Paulikianoī or Polikeank' is encountered much earlier: we have already followed Constantine-Silvanus in the Byzantine sources from Mananalis to Kibossa near Koloneia in Pontus, in the third quarter of the seventh century. In Armenian texts too there is proof of the presence of Paulicians in Armenia (whether or not they may have been dualists or docetists or adoptionists) before the mid-ninth century. The reference to Polikean in the fifth-century Call to Repentance of the Catholicos Yovhannēs I Mandakuni may be an interpolation; so it is best left aside. Slightly less dubious, though not much can be inferred from the text, is the reference to Paulicians in connection with 'Nestorians' in the Oath of Union imposed at the Council of Dvin assembled by the Catholicos Nersēs II in 555. Here the laity are said, among both 'Nestorians' and Paulicians, to have brought bread to their teachers in order to receive communion.<sup>37</sup>

We are on firmer ground when we come to the Catholicos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, who about 719 summoned another Council to Dvin. Canon 32 of the synod is aimed at the Paulicians, and in his sermon against the same sectaries Yovhannes declares that they had already been rebuked by Catholicos Nersēs. After the death of Nersēs they had fled into hiding somewhere in 'our land' and they were joined by certain Iconoclasts who had been reproved by the Catholicoi of the Albanians.<sup>38</sup> Scholars have differed over the identity of the Nersēs mentioned here by Ōjnec'i. The neatest explanation is that he is Nersēs III (641-661), the Builder;<sup>39</sup> for he was a contemporary of the Emperor Constans II. The persecution of Paulicians by Nersēs would account for the move of Constantine-Silvanus into Pontus from Mananalis, which was then being settled by refugees from Armenia and was, therefore, from the point

of view of Nerses III "somewhere in our land." Thus the Armenian and Greek sources agree in taking the origins of the Paulician heresy back at least as far as the mid-seventh century; it is significant that even then the heresy appears as a phenomenon of the frontier.

Evidence exists that there were heretics called Polikeank' in the highlands rising to the southwest of Lake Van on the southern limits of Armenia. In the Catalogue of Heresies in Matenadaran manuscript No. 3681 of 1313, and in the later manuscript No. 687,<sup>40</sup> Heresy No. 153 is that of the K'alert'akan 'the bloodthirsty.' Here we are told that a certain king of the Greeks chanced on the filthy sect of the Pōlikeank' and was not able to turn them from their heresy. "He pursued them beyond the mountains of Caucasus." In the same Catalogue Heresy No. 154 refers to a woman named Šet'i, who is said in the earlier text to be an Arab, in the later to be a Turk. She came to the Armenians and was seduced by a certain Pōl, who is said to have come from Ayrarat and to have been a disciple of St. Ephrem. The significance of the names K'alert'akan and Šet'i has been admirably clarified by R. M. Bartikyan.<sup>41</sup> The river K'atirt is now the Batman Suyu, a left bank tributary of the Tigris. By the Greeks it was called the Nymphios. It rises to the west of Lake Van and flows in a southerly direction between Arzanene (Arcn) on the east and Martyropolis (Np'rkert) on the west. Today travellers from Diyarbekir to Bitlis can still admire the fine Ortakid bridge across the Batman Su close to the point where the river leaves the mountains of Sasun.

Bartikyan corrected Šet'i to Sidma and Sit'it'ma, the Arabic names of the Batman Suyu.<sup>42</sup> He also adduced a passage of the Geography of Pseudo-Movsēs Xorenac'i in confirmation of the link between Paulicians and the country through which the Batman river runs: "The Kałirt, which comes out of the mountains of Salin and Sanasun (or Sasun), separates Np'kert and K'kimar; therefore it separates the Romans and the Persians and it is now called Sit'it'ma which is bloodthirsty."<sup>43</sup> The Kałirt river cannot have formed the East Roman frontier at any time between the reign of Heraclius and the tenth century. The political circumstances envisaged by the Geography antedate 641. In the vague reference in the Catalogue of Heresies to the Greek emperor driving the heretics 'beyond the Caucasus' there may be a recollection of heretics being driven out of Byzantine territory from the district of Sanasun, but the "king of the Greeks" is not named. In Georgios Kyprios the people of Sanasun are the Sanasounitai;<sup>44</sup> they were akin to the Chothaitai on the other side of the Tauros range. The same Chothaitai are

also found in T'ovmay Arcruni.<sup>45</sup> He describes them as remote mountaineers who had lost the use of their mother-tongue; they lived in the mountains separating Tarōn from Aljnik' and were called adventurers and Xout' owing to their strange language (possibly they had originally not spoken Armenian; T'ovmay thought of them as Assyrian immigrants). Their mountain was called Xoit'. They recited psalms translated by the ancient Armenian translators. They were, declared T'ovmay, Assyrian peasants whose ancestors had come with Adrametek and Sanasar,<sup>46</sup> and they called themselves Sanasnaik.

The district of Sanasun was of great interest to Thomas because the Arcruni family claimed descent from Sennacherib, whose sons fled to Armenia. Moreover the family appropriated the name Senekerim. The mountaineers of Xoyt' may well have been, together with those of Sanasun to the south of the watershed, nominal dependants of the Arcruni in lands claimed by the family. For among the territories alleged to have been given by Senekerim of Vaspurakan to the Byzantine empire are mentioned the mountains of Sasun and Ĵulamerk<sup>47</sup> (Sasun is the later form of the name Sanasun). The psalm-reciting Sanasnaik can be regarded as a branch of the Paulicians of Heresy No. 153, but living on the other side of the mountains. Both groups could threaten the passes or kleisourai through which the roads linking Tarōn with Arcn (Arzanene) ran. Here is the mountain range called Šim by the Armenians, and here occurred some of the most terrible massacres of Armenians in 1894.<sup>48</sup>

The Paulicians of Sanasun and Xoyt' were well placed to ally themselves with the Arabs, as were those of Argoun and Tephrikē. That they took advantage of their strategic position near the kleisourai to the southwest of Lake Van is suggested in two remarks by Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i. He stated that Paulicians had an alliance with the "circumcised tyrants," that is, the Arabs.<sup>49</sup> He also said that they had spread out from their original home in the district of Ĵrkay.<sup>50</sup> According to the geographer Inčičian Ĵrkay was the neighborhood of the Bitlis river,<sup>51</sup> a southward-flowing tributary of the Tigris forming the main pass next to the valley of the Batman Suyu. Here the road still passes by way of Bitlis to Tatvan; this was the Kleisoura Balaleisōn of the Greeks and the Dharb Badlīs of the Arabs.<sup>52</sup> Inčičian's identification of Ĵrkay can be combined with Bartikian's explanation of the Paulician K'alert'akan to show that there had been at certain times Paulicians based in the country extending from the Batman river to the Bitlis

river. They are likely to have persisted in these remote highlands for a long time, reciting their old Armenian psalms and uttering their strange speech.

Aristakēs provides evidence for the wide extension of the Paulician and T'ondrakian heresies in the eleventh century in his account of the career of Jacob, who had been a bishop in Hark'.<sup>53</sup> In the time of Catholicos Sargis Sevanc'i (992-1019) he was deprived of office because he had turned T'ondrakian. Having escaped from prison he went to Constantinople, and he later returned to Armenia to settle at T'ondrak. But he was not acceptable to the T'ondrakians of T'ondrak; so he joined the heretics among the remote peasantry in the highlands of Xliat to the northwest of Lake Van. His last days were spent at Muharkin (Martyropolis or Np'rkert), where he would have been within reach of, or among, the Paulicians of Sanasun and the Batman Suyu valley. The heretical career of Jacob links T'ondrakians with Paulicians: Hark' is adjacent to Xnus; T'ondrak is an eponymous center of heresy; and Np'rkert is within the domain of the K'āert'akan. A generation earlier the T'ondrakian heresy had been present at K'āw in the province of Mokk', to the northwest of Bitlis. Here, as the letter by Grigor Narekac'i shows, even the monks had become infected with unorthodox doctrine. At K'āw the monks were living not far from the heretics of Xoyt' and may well have been affected by them.

Apart from the wide distribution of the heresies in Armenia and beyond, two geographical factors should be emphasized in conclusion. The first is the mobility of the heretics. It was not only the teachers and heresiarchs who travelled far; their flocks migrated too. Nor in the high country of Armenia and Pontus is such mobility strange. Many of the heretics belonged to the pastoral population of the countryside. They were used to transhumant movement to new grazing grounds and to seasonal changes of abode. Secondly, there is the factor of persistence in the heresies.<sup>54</sup> Part of the explanation for the continuity of heretical belief is to be found in the cantonal character of the Armenian terrain. The life of a remote mountain canton can become historically fossilized: armies may pass by at the foot of the valley; proponents of centralized orthodoxies may never penetrate into harsh and unwelcoming gorges leading to a plateau where shepherds live. There was heresy in Mananalis in the seventh century and in the eleventh. There was heresy in the valley of Xnus in the eleventh and still heresy (though not necessarily the very same one) in Xnus in the late eighteenth century. Thus the doctrines of the Key of Truth, when considered



in the light of historical geography, are likely to be much more ancient than the time (1782) when the text as we have it was written; but how much more ancient is mainly a question of theology and philology, not of historical geography.<sup>55</sup>

## NOTES

Shortened references to the following works will be found:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Conybeare      | Fred. C. Conybeare, <u>The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia</u> (Oxford, 1898).   |
| Garsoïan       | Nina G. Garsoïan, <u>The Paulician Heresy</u> (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967).   |
| Hübschmann     | Heinrich Hübschmann, <u>Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen</u> (Amsterdam 1969, reprinted from <u>Indogermanische Forschungen</u> 16 (1904) 197-490).  |
| Lemerle        | 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques,' <u>Travaux et Mémoires</u> 5 (Paris, 1973) 1-142, reprinted in <u>Essais sur le monde byzantin</u> (London, 1980).              |
| Markwart       | Jos. Markwart, <u>Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen</u> (Vienna, 1930).  |
| <u>Sources</u> | Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Goillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, J. Paramele, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," <u>Travaux et Mémoires</u> 4 (1970) 1-227. |

<sup>1</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 94, 101. (Sources, pp. 41, 43.)

<sup>2</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 107. (Sources, p. 45.)

<sup>3</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 112, 121, 127. (Sources, pp. 47, 49, 51.) For a likely position of Episparis (near the Upper Euphrates in the frontier zone)

see Lemerle, 78.

<sup>4</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 121-122. (Sources, p. 49.)

<sup>5</sup>See Lemerle, 65, note 43 on Theophanes 1.422-424 (ed. de Boor, repr. Olms: Hildesheim, 1963).

<sup>6</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 125-126. (Sources pp. 49, 51.)

<sup>7</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 177-179. (Sources, p. 65.)

<sup>8</sup>For the chronology see Lemerle, 88-90.

<sup>9</sup>Lemerle, 92-103.

<sup>10</sup>Theophanes Continuatus 4.16, p. 166 (ed. I. Bekker; Bonn: Weber, 1838).

<sup>11</sup>Theophanes 1.429, 19-22 (ed. de Boor).

<sup>12</sup>Conybeare, xxxv, lxxvii.

<sup>13</sup>Garsoïan, 211-213.

<sup>14</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, Patmutiwn, 119-133. [pp. 118-127 in K. N. Jusbašjan, (ed. & trans.), Moscow: Nauka, 1968; pp. 108-120 in M. Canard and H. Bérbérian, (ed. & trans. of Jusbašjan) Bibliothèque de Byzantion No. 5; Brussels, 1973].

<sup>15</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 94. (Sources, p. 41.)

<sup>16</sup>Concerning Arsamosata see now Anthony Bryer in A. Bryer and Judith Herrin (eds.) Iconoclasm (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1977) 84.

<sup>17</sup>Conybeare, lxxix.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 142. For a description of the plain of Khinis see H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia. Travels and Studies (London, 1901) 2.255-258; also 184 & 187 for sheep-fairs held there.

<sup>19</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 119.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 130.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 170. See also Bryer, Iconoclasm, 83.

<sup>22</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 119.

<sup>23</sup>Jean Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinop-

olitanae (Paris, 1981) No. 424, p. 303.

<sup>24</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 66, 71.

<sup>25</sup>Conybeare, 126, 128. Cf. Garsoïan, p. 143, n. 137.

<sup>26</sup>Conybeare, 142-143 and 145.

<sup>27</sup>Conybeare, 151.

<sup>28</sup>Conybeare, 144. Garsoïan, 141.

<sup>29</sup>Hübschmann, 361 and 363.

<sup>30</sup>See Ł. Inčičian, Storagrut'iwn Hin Hayastani (Venice, 1822), 130; Hübschmann, 330.

<sup>31</sup>A. G. Ioannisjan, "Dviženie Tondrakov v Armenii IX-XI vv.," Voprosy Istorii 10 (1954) 10:103. See also R. M. Bartikyan, Konstantin Ciranacin (Erevan, 1970) 225, n. 17.

<sup>32</sup>De Administrando Imperio 44, 17-21 (ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins). Concerning the Ašot's diplomacy toward the Arabs see S. Runciman in De Administrando Imperio 2 Commentary (London, 1962) 158, 169-70.

<sup>33</sup>Conybeare, 146.

<sup>34</sup>Nicolas Oikonomidès, Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe Siècles (Paris, 1972) 349.

<sup>35</sup>Conybeare, 143.

<sup>36</sup>For Aštišat = 'Aštē's delight' see Markwart, 288. For pagan cults at Astisat see R. W. Thomson (ed. & trans.), Agathangelos' History of the Armenians (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1976) 347, para. 809.

<sup>37</sup>Garsoïan, 88-90, who provides a translation of part of the oath.

<sup>38</sup>Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, Contra Paulicianos 88-89, trans. in Garsoian, 132.

<sup>39</sup>S. Runciman, The Medieval Manichee (Cambridge: University Press, 1947; reprt. 1955) 37-38; cf. Lemerle, 55.

<sup>40</sup>Catalogue of Heresies as cited and translated by Garsoian, 112-113.

<sup>41</sup>R. M. Bartikyan, "Pavlikyan šaržman mi k'ani ašbyurnerc šurjē," IAN ArmSSR (1957) 6:85-97, esp. 95. See also Garsoïan, 130-31.

<sup>42</sup>See also Markwart, 270, 279.

<sup>43</sup>Aṣṣarhac'oyc' Movsisi Xorenac'woc' (ed. H. A. Siwk'rian; Venice, 1881) as cited and translated in Garsoīan, 130, n. 77. See also the improved edition by J. Marquart (ed.) "Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i." (Abh. Gött. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. kl. N. F. 3, 3 (Berlin, 1901) part 2, chap. 26. (text on 14, 17-20; trans. on 141-142).

<sup>44</sup>Georgios Kyprios (ed. H. Gelzer; Leipzig, 1890) para. 945-947. See also discussion in Markwart, 220; W. Tomaschek, "Sasun und das Queliengebeit des Tigris," S. B. Akad. Wien phil.-hist. kl. 133 (1896) No. 4 p. 8; R. H. Hewsen, "Armenia according to the Aṣṣarhac'oyc'," REArm 2 (1965) 327-328 relates that Sanasunk' in Aljnik' is No. 28 and Xoyt' in Tawuberan is No. 29 in Eremyan's list of Cantons.

<sup>45</sup>Tovmay Arcruni, Patmut'iwn [(trans. Brosset, Collection d'historiens arméniennes; St. Petersburg: Academy, 1874-1876) 2. 106] as quoted in Garsoīan, 227; see also Tomaschek, "Sasun," 13. Markwart, 209.

<sup>46</sup>Compare 2 Kings 19: 37 "And it came to pass, as he [Sennacherib] was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia [v. 1 Ararat]. And Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead." For alleged descendants of Sanasar in the mountains of Šim in Sanasun see R. W. Thomson (ed. & trans.) Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians (Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard, 1978) 112.

<sup>47</sup>Ms. Vienna Arm. Mekh. N. 10 B1.478a. noted by Markwart, 465-66. For Arcruni claims to Sanasun, see Markwart, 473.

<sup>48</sup>J. Bryce, Transcaucasia and Ararat (London, 1896) 486-89.

<sup>49</sup>Contra Paulicianos 78-79, as quoted in Garsoian, 135.

<sup>50</sup>Contra Paulicianos 88-89.

<sup>51</sup>Garsoīan, 135 n. 100. referring to Inčičian, Geography of Armenia (Venice, 1822). In the Library of the Mekhitaristes in Vienna P. Generalabt Grigoris Manian (to whom Dr. W. Seibt kindly conducted me on November 19, 1982) generously sought out reference to Ĵrkay. In the printed text of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i Matenagrut'iwn (Venice, 1833) 39. it is not clear that Ĵrkay is a proper noun; but M. Č'amč'ian, in his Patmut'iwn Hayoc' (Venice, 1785) 2.386, treated the word as a toponym, as did Ł. Inčičian—in the edition

of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* published at Venice in 1835 (I.166). Inčičian lists Ĵrkay as a lake. The name is cognate with  $\sqrt{\text{Jrg}}$  and so means 'the watery place'; the meaning is appropriate to a headwater of the Tigris but the position of Ĵrkay is still problematical. A new, and penetrating, study of tributaries of the Tigris to the south of Lake Van is by J. M. Thierry, "Les Sources du Tigre oriental selon la tradition hellénistique," in *Geographica Byzantina* (ed. H. Ahrweiler, Sorbonne, Paris 1981) 131-138.

<sup>52</sup>Tomaschek, "Sasun," 8.

<sup>53</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 119-125.

<sup>54</sup>Note also the Paulinstai near tenth-century Euchaita in Pontus who may have been Paulicians; on them see J. Darrouzès, *Epitoliens byzantins du Xe Siècle* (Paris, 1960) 275, 28. Other persistent heretics, to be compared to the 'Assyrians' of Sanasun and Xoyt', were the 'perfect ones' still to be found less than a century ago among the Syriac-speaking shepherds on the hills to the north of Mardin: "These have their christs and Dr. Wallis Budge, to whom the present writer owes his information, was shown the stream in which their last christ had been baptized." (F. C. Conybeare, "Paulicians," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.; 1911) 20. 962).

<sup>55</sup>Conybeare, xxiii, xxvii. For the connection between the T'on-drakians ( \*Θονδραγῖται ) and the eleventh-century Byzantine heresy of Φουνδαγῖται see R. Bartikjan, *Labar HG* (1980) 9.58-68, esp. 63-64.

CONSTANTINE  
PORPHYROGENITUS  
DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO

GREEK TEXT EDITED

*by*

GY. MORAVCSIK

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

*by*

R. J. H. JENKINS

New, Revised Edition

Dumbarton Oaks  
Center for Byzantine Studies  
Trustees for Harvard University  
Washington, District of Columbia  
1967

*All rights reserved by the  
Trustees for Harvard University  
The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection  
Washington, D.C.*

*Third Impression, 1993*

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data  
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of the East,  
905-959.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De administrando imperio*.

(*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*; v. 1)

(Dumbarton Oaks texts; 1)

Translation of: *De administrando imperio*.

English and Greek.

Includes index.

1. Byzantine Empire—History—Constantine VII  
Porphyrogenitus, 913-959. 2. Byzantine Empire—History—  
To 527. 3. Byzantine Empire—History—527-1081.

4. Education of princes. I. Moravcsik, Gyula, 1892-1972.

II. Title. III. Series. IV. Series.

DF593.C6613 1985 949.5 85-6950

ISBN 0-88402-021-5

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER 68-24220

35. Περὶ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας .....	162
35. Of the Diocletians and of the country they now dwell in .....	163
36. Περὶ τῶν Παγανῶν, τῶν καὶ Ἀρεντανῶν καλουμένων, καὶ ἧς νῦν οἰκοῦσι χώρας	164
36. Of the Pagani, also called Arentani, and of the country they now dwell in .....	165
37. Περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν .....	166
37. Of the nation of the Pechenegs .....	167
38. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ ὅθεν κατάγονται .....	170
38. Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended ..	171
39. Περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Καβάρων .....	174
39. Of the nation of the Kabaroi .....	175
40. Περὶ τῶν γενεῶν τῶν Καβάρων καὶ τῶν Τούρκων .....	174
40. Of the clans of the Kabaroi and the Turks .....	175
41. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μοραβίας .....	180
41. Of the country of Moravia .....	181
42. Γεωγραφία ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρι τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Βελεγράδας, Τουρκίας τε καὶ Πατζινακίας μέχρι τοῦ Χαζαρικοῦ κάστρου Σάρκελ καὶ τῆς Ῥωσίας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Νεκροπύλων, τῶν ὄντων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θάλασσαν πλησίον τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ, καὶ Χερσῶνος ὁμοῦ καὶ Βοσπόρου, ἐν οἷς τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων εἰσὶν, εἰτα μέχρι λίμνης Μαιώτιδος, τῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐπονομαζομένης, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Ταμάταρχα λεγομένου, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ζιχίας καὶ Παπαγίας καὶ Κασαχίας καὶ Ἀλανίας καὶ Ἀβασγίας καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριουπόλεως .....	182
42. Geographical description from Thessalonica to the Danube river and the city of Belgrade; of Turkey and Patzinacia to the Chazar city of Sarkel and Russia and to the Nekropyla, that are in the sea of Pontus, near the Dnieper river; and to Cherson together with Bosphorus, between which are the cities of the Regions; then to the lake of Maeotis, which for its size is also called a sea, and to the city called Tamatarcha; and of Zichia, moreover, and of Papagia and of Kasachia and of Alania and of Abasgia and to the city of Sotirioupolis .....	183
43. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ταρών .....	188
43. Of the country of Taron .....	189
44. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τοῦ Περκρί καὶ τοῦ Χλιάτ καὶ τοῦ Χαλιάτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρζές καὶ τοῦ Τιβί καὶ τοῦ Χέρτ καὶ τοῦ Σαλαμάς καὶ τοῦ Τζερματζοῦ .....	198
44. Of the country of Apachounis and of the city of Manzikiert and Perkri and Chliat and Chaliat and Arzes and Tibi and Chert and Salamas and Tzermatzou	199
45. Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων .....	204
45. Of the Iberians .....	205



46. Περί τῆς γενεαλογίας τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου . . . . .	214
46. Of the genealogy of the Iberians and of the city of Ardanoutzi. . . . .	215
47. Περί τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων μεταναστάσεως ἔχει ἡ ἱστορία τάδε . . . . .	224
47. Of the migration of the Cypriotes the story is as follows . . . . .	225
48. Κεφάλαιον λθ' τῆς ἁγίας ἑκτης συνόδου, τῆς ἐν τῷ Τροῦλλῳ τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου γεγονυίας . . . . .	224
48. Chapter 39 of the holy sixth synod, held in the Domed Hall of the Great Palace . . . . .	225
49. Ὁ ζῆτῶν, ὅπως τῇ τῶν Πατρῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ Σκλάβοι δουλεύειν καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι ἐτάχθησαν, ἐκ τῆς παρούσης μανθανέτω γραφῆς . . . . .	228
49. He who enquires how the Slavs were put in servitude and subjection to the church of Patras, let him learn from the present passage . . . . .	229
50. Περί τῶν ἐν τῷ θέματι Πελοποννήσου Σκλάβων, τῶν τε Μηλιγγῶν καὶ Ἐζεριτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τελουμένων παρ' αὐτῶν πάκτων, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης καὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τελουμένου πάκτου . . . . .	232
50. Of the Slavs in the province of Peloponnesus, the Milingoi and Ezeritai, and of the tribute paid by them, and in like manner of the inhabitants of the city of Maïna and of the tribute paid by them . . . . .	233
51. Περί τοῦ, τίνι τρόπῳ γέγονεν τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον, καὶ περὶ τῶν πρωτοκαρά- βων τοῦ αὐτοῦ δρομωνίου, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῆς φιάλης . . . . .	246
51. Why the imperial galley came to be made, and of the steersmen of this same galley, and all about the protospatharius of the basin . . . . .	247
52. Ἡ γενομένη ἀπαίτησις τῶν ἵππαρίων ἐν τῷ θέματι Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ δεσπότη, καθὼς προεῖρηται . . . . .	256
52. Demand made for horses in the province of Peloponnesus in the time of the sovereign Romanus, as stated above . . . . .	257
53. Ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Χερσῶνος . . . . .	258
53. Story of the city of Cherson . . . . .	259
Index of Proper Names . . . . .	288
Glossary . . . . .	314
Grammatical Notes . . . . .	333
Index of Sources and Parallel Passages . . . . .	337
Cod. Parisinus gr. 2009. fol. 12v (facsimile) . . . . .	facing page 16

τῶν Ζιχῶν κτισθέντα, τό τε Τουργανήρχ καὶ τὸ Τζαρβαγάνιν καὶ 105  
 ἕτερον νησί, καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σπαταλοῦ λιμένα ἕτερον νησί, καὶ εἰς  
 182Be τὰς Πτελέας ἕτερον, ἐν ᾧ ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἐπιδρομαῖς οἱ Ζιχοὶ  
 καταφεύγουσιν. Τὸ δὲ παραθαλάσσιον ἀπὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῆς  
 Ζιχίας, ἦτοι τοῦ Νικόψεως ποταμοῦ, ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Ἀβασγίας χώρα μέχρι  
 τοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριουπόλεως· εἰσὶ δὲ μίλια τ΄. 110

#### 43. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ταρών.

123rP Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν βορείων Σκυθῶν ἱκανῶς σοι δεδήλωται,  
 τέκνον ποθοῦμενον, ὧν ἡ γνῶσις ἐπωφελής τε καὶ εὐχρηστος ἐν καιρῷ  
 σοι πάντως γενήσεται· δεῖ δὲ σε μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀγνοεῖν,  
 ὅθεν ὑπήκωα πάλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τού- 5  
 των ἐπικρατείας ἐξέπεσον.

Πρῶτος γὰρ ὁ Κρικορίκιος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ Ταρῶν ἄρχων πρὸς τὸν  
 βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτὸν ὑπέκλινεν καὶ ὑπέταξεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν  
 ἐπαμφοτερίζων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλίαν προσ-  
 ποιεῖτο τιμᾶν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατάρχοντι τὰ καθ' 10  
 ἡδονὴν διεπράττετο, καὶ διαφόρως ἡγεμὼν ἐχρημάτισεν τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας  
 123vP ἐξερχομένων φοσσάτων | κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων θεμάτων τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μελετώμενα  
 κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων Σαρακηνῶν πρὸς Συρίαν ἐμήνυνεν, καὶ λάθρα περὶ  
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνὴν διὰ γραμμάτων 15  
 183Be ἐδηλοποιεῖ, καὶ δοκεῖν μὲν ἐβούλετο | τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονῶν, εὐρί-  
 σκετο δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν προκρίνων τε καὶ τιμῶν. Πλὴν  
 ἀπέστειλεν ἀεὶ δῶρα, ἅπερ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε βαρβάροις δοκεῖ τίμια, πρὸς  
 τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσιν αἰοίδιμον Λέοντα, καὶ ἀντελάμβανε πλείονά τε καὶ  
 κρεῖττονα παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλεύοντος, ὃς καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῷ προ- 20  
 124rP ἐτρέψατο διὰ γραμμάτων πρὸς τὴν βασιλεῦσαν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὸν  
 βασιλέα θεάσασθαι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ φιλοφρονήσεων καὶ τιμῶν με-  
 ताσχεῖν. Ὁ δὲ δεδοικώς, μὴ πρὸς λύπην καὶ σκάνδαλον τοῦ ἀμερμου-  
 μνῆ γένηται τοῦτο, προφάσεις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
 χώραν ἔρημον τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακε- 25  
 νῶν καταληϊσθῇ, μάτην ἐσχέπτετο.

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄρχων τοῦ Ταρῶν κρατήσας ἐν πολέμῳ ποτὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀρχαῖκα τοὺς παῖδας, ἤγουν Κρικορίκιου τοῦ πατρικίου, τοῦ πατρὸς

V 105 Ζηχῶν P || Τζαρβαγάνην P: Τζαρβαγάνι V edd. || 106 νησίον P νησὴν  
 P<sup>x</sup>: νησί V νησίον edd. || Σπαταλοῦ (*etiam* mg. P<sup>8</sup>): ποταμοῦ V edd. ||  
 νησίον P νησὴν P<sup>x</sup>: νησί V νησίον edd. || 107 Ζηχοὶ P || 109 Ζηχίας P ||  
 τοῦ om. edd.

## 42, 43

and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbaganin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia, as far as the city of Sotirioupolis; it is 300 miles.

## 43. Of the country of Taron.

But concerning the northern Scyths sufficient has been made plain to you, beloved child, knowledge of which shall be all ways advantageous and useful to you in time of need; but also it is right that you should not be ignorant of the parts towards the rising sun, for what reasons they became once more subject to the Romans, after they had first fallen away from their control.

The late Krikorikios, then, prince of Taron, at first bent and submitted himself before the emperor of the Romans, but from the first he seemed double-faced, and while in word he pretended to esteem the friendship of the emperor, in fact he acted at the pleasure of the chief prince of the Saracens, and on various occasions led armies that came out of Syria against provinces subject to the emperor of the Romans, and everything that the Romans were planning in secret against their Saracen adversaries he would divulge to Syria, and would always keep the commander of the faithful informed secretly through his letters of what was going on among us; and while he wished to appear a partisan of the Roman cause, he was found, on the contrary, to prefer and favour the cause of the Saracens. However, he continually sent presents, such as appear valuable to the barbarians of those parts, to Leo, the glorious among emperors, and got in return more and better from the pious emperor, who also frequently urged him by letter to visit the imperial city and behold the emperor and partake of the bounties and honours bestowed by him. But he, fearing lest this might vex and offend the commander of the faithful, would trump up excuses, and falsely allege that it was impossible for him to leave his own country deprived of his assistance, lest it might be plundered by the Saracens.

Now, this same prince of Taron one day captured in battle the sons of Arkaïkas, that is to say, the cousins of the patrician Krikorikios, father

---

43. 1 Ταρων P || 14 ἐμήνηεν: ἀνεμήνηε edd. || 15 ἡμῖν Bandurius Be: ὑμῖν P || ἀμερμουμένην P || 17 τιμῶν: φρονῶν V edd. || 20 εὐσεβοῦς edd.: εὐσεβοῦ P εὐσεβῶς con. Bekker || 20/1 προντρέψατο edd. || 21 καὶ om. Be || 24 τὴν om. edd. || 25 τῶν om. edd. || 26 ἐσκέπτετο (etiam Be): ἐσκέπτετο V Me Ba || 28 Κρικορίκη edd. ||

- τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Ἀσωτίου, τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους, εἶχε παρ' ἑαυτῷ δεσμίους. Περὶ ὧν καὶ Συμβάτιος, ὁ τότε ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, τὸν 30 αὐτὸν μακαριώτατον βασιλέα διὰ γραμμάτων ἠξίωσεν τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι
- 124<sup>v</sup>P | πρὸς τὸν Ταρωνίτην καὶ ἀναλαβέσθαι σπουδάσαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνεψιούς, οἵτινες ἦσαν υἱοὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου Ἀρκάικα, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνην ἀποσταλῶσιν· συγγενὴς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, Γρηγόριος ὁ πατρίκιος. Επακούσας δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ Συμβα- 35 τίου ἀξιώσεως Λέων, ὁ μακαριώτατος βασιλεὺς, τὸν Σινούτην ἐκεῖνον
- 184<sup>Be</sup> | τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἀπέστειλε, χαρτουλάριον τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου τυγχάνοντα, πρὸς τε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρῶν τῆς τοιαύτης ἕνεκα ὑποθέσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρανασήρ, τὸν κουροπαλάτην Ἰβηρίας, διὰ τινὰς ἐτέρας ὑποθέσεις, δούς αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ξενάλια τὰ ἀρμόζοντα. 40
- 125<sup>v</sup>P Διαβληθέν|τος δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου Σινούτου παρὰ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐρμηνευτοῦ, πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον ἀοίδιμον βασιλέα, ἐξαπεστάλη βασιλικὸς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας ὁ τοῦ Λιβός, ὁ νῦν ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ μέγας ἐταρ- ρειάρχης, ἐνταλματικῶς ὀρισθεὶς τοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα 45 τοῦ Ταρῶν, τὸν Κρικορίκιον, ἀποσταλέντα ξενάλια, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸς τὸ Ταρῶν εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ Σινούτην προτρέψασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρανασήρ, τὸν κουροπαλάτην Ἰβηρίας, κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ ἀπελθεῖν. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ Ταρῶν ὁ εἰρημένος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἀποδοὺς
- 125<sup>v</sup>P Κρικορικίῳ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποσταλέντα τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρα | καὶ γράμ- 50 ματα, ἀνελάβετο τὸν νόθον τοῦ Ταρωνίτου υἱόν, δς Ἀσώτιος ὠνομάζετο, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τιμήσας ἀξία καὶ ἱκανῶς φιλοφρονησάμενος, πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀπέστειλεν. Ἀναλαβόμενος οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκεῖθεν Ἀπογάνεμ, τὸν ἀδελφόν 55 Κρικορίκιου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ Ταρῶν, εἰσήγαγεν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον
- 185<sup>Be</sup> βασιλέα μετὰ καὶ τῶν | δύο υἱῶν τοῦ Ἀρκάικα, ὃν καὶ τῇ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἀξία τιμήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλοφρόνως πολλάκις δεξιωσάμενος, ἀπέστειλεν αὐθις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν οἰκειάν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν. 60
- 126<sup>r</sup>P Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Χαλδίᾳ ὁ εἰρημένος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπὶ χρόνον ἱκανὸν διατρίψας, ἐπετράπη διὰ κελεύσεως εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ταρῶν καὶ ἀναλαβέσθαι Κρικορίκιον, τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰσελθεῖν, ὃ καὶ ἐποίησεν. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κρικορ- κίου ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καὶ στρατηγοῦ 65 Ταρῶν ἀξία τιμηθέντος, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκος εἰς κατοικίαν, ὁ τοῦ Βαρβάρου λεγόμενος, ὁ νῦν Βασιλείου τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου οἶκος. Ἐτιμήθη δὲ καὶ ἐτησίῳ ῥόγᾳ χρυσίου μὲν δέκα λίτρας καὶ μυριαρσιῶν

of the protospatharius Asotios, and he held them by him as prisoners. On their behalf the then prince of princes Symbatios sent letters to the same emperor, of most blessed memory, begging him to send to the Taronite and make efforts to recover these nephews of his, the sons of the said Arkaïkas, so that they might not be sent to the commander of the faithful; for the patrician Grigorios was a relative of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, acceded to this request of Symbatios, and sent the late Sinoutis, the eunuch, who was then chief clerk to the foreign ministry, to the prince of Taron upon this business, and also to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, on some other matters of business; and he furnished him with presents suitable to both. But when a calumnious charge was laid before the said glorious emperor against the said Sinoutis by Theodore, the Armenian interpreter, there was sent out as imperial agent in his stead the protospatharius Constantine Lips, keeper of the imperial plate, — he who is now patrician proconsul and commander of the great company, — with orders instructing him to take over the presents dispatched to the prince of Taron, Krikorikios, and himself to proceed to Taron, and to order Sinoutis to go on to Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, as he had been instructed to do. The said protospatharius arrived at Taron and gave to Krikorikios the gifts and letters of the emperor which had been sent to him, and took up the bastard son of the Taronite, who was called Asotios, and brought him to the imperial city; and the emperor honoured him with the rank of protospatharius and richly entertained him, and then sent him back to his father in the conduct of the same protospatharius. The same Constantine took thence Apoganem, brother of Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and brought him to the emperor, of blessed memory, together with the two sons of Arkaïkas; and him too the emperor honoured with the rank of protospatharius and many times bounteously entertained him, and sent him back again, in conduct of the same Constantine, to his country and his brother.

After this the said Constantine spent some time in Chaldia, and was then commissioned by imperial mandate to go to Taron and take Krikorikios, prince of Taron, and come to the imperial city; and this he did. When this same Krikorikios had entered the city protected of God, and had been honoured with the rank of magister and military governor of Taron, he was also given for his residence a house called the house of Barbaros, now the house of Basil the chamberlain. He was, moreover, honoured with an annual stipend of ten pounds in gold and a further ten pounds in miliaresia,

V 33 ἀμερμουμνήν P || 46 Κρικορίκιον edd.: Γρικορίκιον P || 49 ἀποδοῦς F conl. Bekker: ἀποδιδοῦς P edd. || 51 ὀνομάζετο P || 55 ἐκεῖθεν: ἐκεῖνος edd. || post ἀδελφὸν add. τοῦ edd. || 56 Κρικορικίου Ba Be || 57 τοῦ om. edd. || 68 δέκα edd.: ι' P || μυλιαρισίων P ||

έτέρας δέκα λίτρας, ὥς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν λίτρας εἴκοσι. Καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίψας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Κων- 70 σταντίνου πάλιν πρὸς τὴν οἰκειάν διεσώθη χώραν.

- 126<sup>vP</sup> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀπογάνεμ πρὸς τὸν μακά-  
ριον βασιλέα, καὶ προεβιάσθη παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς πατρικιότητα· ἐπετράπη  
δὲ καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα λαβεῖν τοῦ εἰρημένου Κωνσταντίνου θυγατέρα, καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προφάσει καὶ οἶκον ἐπεζήτησεν, καὶ ἔλαβεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν 75  
τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον χρυσοβουλλίου χωρίς. Καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς παρὰ  
τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸ  
186<sup>Be</sup> | πάλιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ γάμου ἀπαρτίσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ τῷ εἰς τὴν  
οἰκειάν χώραν διασωθῆναι μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο.  
Ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀδελφός, Κρικορίκιος διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐζητήσατο 80  
127<sup>rP</sup> εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν βασι|λεύουσαν καὶ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου  
βασιλέως λαμβάνειν τὴν διδομένην ρόγαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ  
θεοφυλάκτῳ διατρίβειν πόλει. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀδελφῷ  
προχειρισθέντα οἶκον εἰς κατοίκησιν λαβεῖν ἤξίου, ὃν καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν  
αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος βασιλεὺς διὰ τε τὸ νεωστὶ ὑποταγῆναι καὶ διὰ τὸ καὶ 85  
ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῆς ἀνατολῆς πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον τῆς πρὸς Ῥω-  
μαίους ὑποταγῆς ἐκκαλέσασθαι· ἔγγραφον δὲ χρυσοβούλλιον δωρεὰν  
τοῦ τοιούτου οἴκου πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

- Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους ἱκανούς, Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως τῶν  
σκήπτρων τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἐπειλημμένου, ἀνήγαγεν ὁ αὐτὸς 90  
127<sup>vP</sup> Κρι|χορίκιος μὴ ἰσχύειν κρατεῖν τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, ἀλλ' ἤξiou  
λαβεῖν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προάστειον ἐν Κελτζηνῇ, εἴτε τοῦ Τατζάτου, εἴτε  
ἄλλο, οἷον κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα, ὅτε ἐπιδρομῇ τῶν Ἀγαρηῶν κατὰ  
τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ γένηται, ἀποστέλλειν ἐκεῖσε ἔχει τὴν οἰκειάν συγγέ-  
νειαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν τῶν πραγμάτων 95  
μὴ κεκτημένος, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλικοῦ χρυσοβουλλίου τοῦ μακαρίου  
Λέοντος ἔχειν τὸν Ταρωνίτην τὸν τοῦ Βαρβάρου οἶκον, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ  
187<sup>Be</sup> τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγοῤῥᾶ ἐν Κελτζηνῇ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον δῆθεν | ἀντέλαβεν,  
χρυσοβούλλιον δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ προαστείῳ ἐποίησατο.  
128<sup>rP</sup> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν | αὐτὸν βασιλέα ὁ Τορνίκης, ὁ 100  
τοῦ Ταρωνίτου ἀνεψιός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ ἐκείνου υἱός, ὅτι· «Τὸν οἶκον  
τοῦ Βαρβάρου ὁ μακαριώτατος βασιλεὺς Λέων τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ ἔδωρῆσατο,  
μετὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ πατρός μου θάνατον — διὰ τὸ ἔτι ἀνήλικον καὶ ὀρφανὸν  
τυγχάνειν ἐμέ — κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὁ θεὸς μου τὸν τούτου οἶκον κατεκράτη-  
σεν, αἰ καθυπισχνούμενός μοι, ὅταν εἰς τὸν τέλειον τῆς ἡλικίας ἔλθω 105  
χρόνον, ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν οἶκον τὸν πατρικόν, καὶ νῦν, ὥς ἔμαθον, δέδωκεν

making twenty pounds in all. After some sojourn in the imperial city, he was escorted back again to his country by this same protospatharius Constantine.

After this, Apoganem came once more to the emperor, of blessed memory, and was advanced by him to the rank of patrician; and he was also permitted to take to wife the daughter of the said Constantine, and on this ground he asked for a house as well and he too received the house of Barbaros, without a golden bull. After receiving the emperor's bounty, he then returned to his country, with intent to come again and complete the celebration of his marriage; but no sooner was he escorted back to his country than he ended his life, a few days afterwards. His brother Krikorikios sent letters asking that he might come to the imperial city and receive from the hands of the holy emperor the stipend granted to him and sojourn for some while in the city protected of God. Thereupon he proceeded to demand for his residence the house which had been set aside for his brother, and the emperor, of blessed memory, handed it over to him, both because he had lately submitted himself and in order to excite in other princes of the east a similar eagerness for submission to the Romans; but he issued no golden bull making a deed of gift of this house to him.

Several years later, when the emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, had laid hold upon the sceptre of the empire of the Romans, this same Krikorikios reported that he had not the means to keep the house of Barbaros, but demanded that he should receive in its stead a suburban estate in Keltzini, either that of Tatzates or some other, whichever the emperor directed, in order that, when the Agarenes should make an incursion into his country, he might be able to send thither his personal relatives and substance. The emperor, who did not possess an accurate knowledge of the facts, and supposed that the Taronite held the house of Barbaros in virtue of an imperial golden bull of Leo, of blessed memory, gave him the suburban estate of Grigoros in Keltzini and, of course, took back the house; but he too issued no golden bull in his favour in respect of the suburban estate.

Thereupon Tornikis, nephew of the Taronite and son of the late Apoganem, wrote to this same emperor: «The house of Barbaros was presented to my father by the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, but after my father's death, because I was under age and an orphan, my uncle, in virtue of his authority, took possession of his house, always promising me that when I should come of age, I should take over the paternal house; and now, as I have

---

V 69 δέκα edd.: ι' P || ὥς: ὥστε edd. || 72 ὁ om. edd. || 73 post εἰς add. τὴν edd. || 84 προχειρισθέντα F: πρὸ χωρισθέντα P προχωρισθέντα V edd. προ-  
 χαρισθέντα conl. Bekker || 82 Τατζάτου (etiam V<sup>1</sup> F Bandurius): Πατζάτου V  
 edd. || 93 ἄλλον V edd. || κελεύοι edd. || 94 ἐξη edd. || 99 οὗτος: αὐτός  
 V edd. || 104 ὁ om. edd. || τούτου: τοῦτον Me Ba τοιοῦτον Be ||

τὸν τοιοῦτον οἶκον ὁ ἐμὸς θεῖος τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς ἀντιση-  
κωσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγοῤᾤ ἐν Κελτζηνηῷ.»

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων βασιλικῶν φιλοτιμιῶν, τῶν πρὸς τὸν  
128<sup>vP</sup> ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ταρών, φθόνος ὑπεφύη καὶ ἀνεβλάστησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ 110  
τε τοῦ Κακικίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βασπαρακά, καὶ Ἀδρανασήρ, τοῦ κουροπα-  
λάτου Ἰβηρίας, καὶ Ἀσωτικίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἵτινες  
ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαγογγύζοντες, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Ταρωνίτης  
μόνος ῥόγας ἀπολαύει βασιλικῆς, αὐτῶν ἀπάντων λαμβανόντων οὐδέν.  
«Τίνα γάρ — ἔλεγον — περισσοτέραν δουλείαν ἡμῶν ποιεῖται, ἢ τί 115  
πλέον ἡμῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπωφελεῖ; Ὅθεν χρή ἡ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκεῖνον  
ῥογεύεσθαι, ἢ μὴδ' ἐκεῖνον ἐντὸς τῆς τοιαύτης τυγχάνειν δωρεᾶς.»  
Ὁ δὲ μακάριος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανὸς ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ παρ'  
129<sup>rP</sup> αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ταρωνίτῃ γενέσθαι | ῥόγαν, ἵνα ἐπ' | αὐτῷ κεῖται  
188<sup>Be</sup> καὶ ἡ ταύτης νῦν ἐκκοπή, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως, καὶ 120  
μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ τῶν προβεβασιλευκότων παρὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἀνατρέπε-  
σθαι. Ἐγραψε δ' ὅμως πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν Ταρωνίτην, δημοποιῶν αὐτὸν  
τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν λύπην καὶ τὸ σκάνδαλον. Ὁ δὲ ἀνήγαγεν  
μῆτε χρυσόν, μῆτε ἄργυρον παρέχειν δύνασθαι, ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἔξωθεν  
τῶν κατὰ τύπον ἀποστελλομένων ξενίων διδόναι ἱμάτια καὶ χαλκῶματα, 125  
μέχρι τῶν δέκα λιτρῶν συντιμώμενα, ἃ καὶ δέδωκεν μέχρι τριῶν ἢ  
τεσσάρων ἐνιαυτῶν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνήγαγεν μὴ δύνασθαι παρέχειν τὸ τοι-  
οῦτον πάκτον, τὴν δὲ ῥόγαν ἢ προῦκα λαμβάνειν ἡξίου, καθὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
129<sup>vP</sup> | μακαριωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος, ἢ ἐκκοπῆναι αὐτήν. Ὅθεν διὰ τὸ μὴ  
εἰς σκάνδαλον εἶναι τοῦ Κακικίου καὶ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν 130  
ἐξέκοψεν αὐτήν ὁ εἰρημένος μακάριος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμανός. Παραμυθού-  
μενος δὲ ὥσπερ αὐτόν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν τούτου υἱόν, Ἀσώτιον, ἐν τῇ  
πόλει παραγεγονότα, εἰς πατρικίους ἐτίμησεν, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος  
αὐτάρκως πρὸς τὰ ἴδια ἐξαπέστειλεν.

Τοῦ δὲ μαγίστρου Κρικορικίου τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, ἀνήγαγεν 135  
Τορνίκιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ υἱός, ἔρωτα ἔχειν ἐγκάρδιον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ  
τὸν βασιλέα θεάσασθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Κρινίτην καὶ ἐρμη-  
νευτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαπέστειλεν, ὃς καὶ εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν εἰρη-  
130<sup>rP</sup> μένον Τορνίκιον, καὶ προ|ήγαγεν τὸν αὐτὸν Τορνίκιον ὁ βασιλεὺς | εἰς  
189<sup>Be</sup> τὴν τῶν πατρικίων τιμὴν. Προετίνατο δὲ δικαιολογίας ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ 140  
Βαρβάρου οἴκῳ, καὶ ἀκούσας, ὅτι προάστειον λαβὼν ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ  
ἐν Κελτζηνηῷ, τὴν τούτου παρεχώρησεν ἐξουσίαν, ἔλεγε μὴ δύνασθαι  
τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ πατρικῇ κληρονομίᾳ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἀνταλλαγὴν,  
καὶ ἡξίου ἢ τὸν οἶκον λαβεῖν ἢ τὸ προάστειον, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἀμφοτέρα  
παρεχῶρει τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὰ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους αὐτοῦ. 145  
Τούτου ἕνεκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ γέρων ὁ Ταρωνίτης ἐτύγχανεν



learned, my uncle has given this house to your imperial majesty, and has received in exchange for it the suburban estate of Grigoros in Keltzini.»

And because of these imperial gifts bestowed on the prince of Taron, envy towards him was implanted and grew up in Kakikios, prince of Basparakia, and Adranasir, the curopalate of Iberia, and Asotikios, the prince of princes, who wrote to the emperor grumbling at the cause whereby the Taronite alone enjoyed an imperial stipend, while all of them got nothing. «For what service — they said — is he performing more than we, or in what does he help the Romans more than we do? Either, therefore, we too should be stipendiary as he is, or else he too should be excluded from this largess.» The emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, wrote back to them, that the stipend in favour of the Taronite had not been granted by him, that it should now lie with him to cut it off, but by the emperor, of most blessed memory; nor was it right that what had been done by former emperors should be undone by their successors. However, he wrote to this same Taronite informing him that the said parties were vexed and offended. He replied that he could provide neither gold nor silver, but promised to give, over and above the gifts regularly sent, tunics and bronze vessels up to ten pounds in total value, and these he did give for three or four years. But thereafter he reported that he could not provide this tribute, and demanded either that he should receive the stipend gratis as in the time of the emperor Leo, of most blessed memory, or else that it should be cut off. And so, that it might not cause offence to Kakikios and the curopalate and the rest, the said emperor Romanus, of blessed memory, cut it off. But to console him, as it were, he afterwards honoured his son Asotios, when he came to Constantinople, with patrician rank and entertained him munificently before sending him home.

On the death of the magister Krikorikios, Tornikios, son of Apoganem, reported that he heartily desired to come and behold the emperor; whereupon the emperor sent the protospatharius Krinitis, the interpreter, who brought the said Tornikios to Constantinople, and the emperor advanced the same Tornikios to the honour of patrician rank. He put forward his claims to the house of Barbaros, and, having heard that his uncle had resigned his ownership of it on receipt of a suburban estate in Keltzini, declared that his uncle had no power to effect an exchange in respect of his paternal inheritance, and demanded that he should be given either the house or the suburban estate, failing which, he was for resigning both to the emperor, so that his cousins might not have them. Therefore the emperor, since

---

V 110 ἀνεβλάστησεν: ἐβλάστησε edd. || 111 Κακικίου (*litteris* κ*i* s. v. *additis*) P<sup>i</sup> Ba Be: Κικίου V Me || Βασπαρρακικά edd. || 113 διαγονγγύζοντες P || 116 ἡμῶν edd.: ὑμῶν P || 118 βασιλεὺς *om.* V edd. || 120 μακαριωτάτου: μακαρίου V edd. || *post* βασιλέως *excidiisse* Λέοντος *susp.* Jenkins || 122 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup>: αὐτῷ V edd. || 123 τὸ *om.* edd. || 126 δέκα edd.: ἑ P || 131 μακάριος: μακαριώτατος edd. || 134 αὐτάρκως *scr.* Moravesik: αὐταρκῶς P edd. || 135 *ante* Κρικορικίου *add.* τοῦ edd. || 140 τῷ τοῦ V edd.: τοῦ τῷ P || 145 παρεχώρει: προσεχώρει edd. ||

ἀποθανών, ἀνελάβετο τὸ προάστειον, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν οἶκον ἀντέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χρυσοβούλλιον, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω προεῖρηται, ἐπὶ τινι τούτων ἐξετέθη.

130<sup>vP</sup> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν Παγκράτιος 150  
ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ μαγίστρου ἐκείνου Κρικορικίου τοῦ Ταρωνί-  
του, καὶ προεβιάσθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα,  
καὶ γέγονεν καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ταρών. Ἡτήσατο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα  
λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν συγγενίδων, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου Θεοφυλάκτου ἀδελφὴν εἰς γυναῖκα. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν 155  
γάμον διαθήκας ἐξέθετο, ἐν αἷς ἐδήλου, ὅτι· «Ἐάν μοι γένωνται παῖδες  
ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης γυναικός, ἵνα ἔχουσιν τὴν ἅπασάν μου χώραν εἰς  
κληρὸν προγονικόν.» Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡτήσατο τὸν βασιλέα δοθῆναι αὐτῷ

131<sup>rP</sup> τὸ προάστειον τοῦ Γρηγοῤῥα πρὸς | τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρικίαν, τὴν τούτου  
190Be γυναῖκα καθέζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀποβίω|σιν εἶναι πάλιν τὸ 160  
τοιούτον προάστειον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπένευσεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο  
ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ πολλαῖς φιλοτιμίαις αὐτὸν δεξιωσάμενος, μετὰ τῆς  
ιδίας γυναικός ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦ μαγί-  
στρου Κρικορικίου, ὃ τε αὐτὸς Παγκράτιος ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ Ἀσώτιος ὁ  
πατρίκιος, μεγάλως παρελύπουσαν καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν ἐξάδελ- 165  
φον, Τορνίκιον τὸν πατρίκιον, ὃς μὴ ὑποφέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπίθεσιν,  
ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποστεῖλαι πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ παραλαβεῖν  
131<sup>vP</sup> τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον | αὐτῶν  
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰσαγαγεῖν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πρωτοσπαθάρ-  
ριον Κρινίτην καὶ ἐρμηνέα πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβέσθαι 170  
καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει. Ὅτε δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην  
χώραν ὁ Κρινίτης κατέλαβεν, εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντα,  
διαταζάμενον πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ὑποκειμέ-  
νην τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν  
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἧ καὶ δέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς κατοίκησιν, εἰσελθούσης, 175  
τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Μιχαήλ, τοῦ ποτε γεγονότος κομμερκιαρίου Χαλδίας  
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαθῆως μονήν. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπεστάλη ὁ εἰρημένος Κρινίτης

132<sup>rP</sup> παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς | τὸ παραλαβεῖν τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ,  
ἥτοι τὸ μέρος τοῦ πατρικίου Τορνικίου. Ἀνταπέστειλαν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ  
191Be Ταρωνί|του υἱοί, οἱ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐξάδελφοι, ἀξιοῦντες δοῦναι τὸ 180  
Οὐλνούτιν καὶ ἔχειν τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν, μὴ γὰρ δύνασθαι  
ὅλως αὐτοὺς ζῆν, εἰ τὴν τοῦ ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν χώραν ὡς οἰκειάν κατάσχη  
ὁ βασιλεὺς. Οἰκεία δὲ ἀγαθότητι ὑπείξας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῶν  
ἐξεπλήρωσεν, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς μὲν τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ, τοῦ  
ἐξαδέλφου αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνελάβετο τὸ Οὐλνούτιν μετὰ πάσης τῆς 185

the old Taronite was now dead, resumed the suburban estate but did not give the house in exchange for it, because, as has already been stated above, no golden bull had been issued in respect of any of these transactions.

After this, the late Pankratios, eldest son of that magister Krikorikios the Taronite, came to the imperial city and was advanced by the emperor to the dignity of patrician and was also made military governor of Taron. He asked that he might also be given a wife from among the ladies related to the imperial family, and the emperor gave him to wife the sister of the magister Theophylact. And after his marriage he made a will, in which he stated: «If children are born to me of this woman, they are to have all my country for their ancestral inheritance.» Thereupon he asked the emperor that he might be given the suburban estate of Grigoros for the patrician lady, his wife, to reside there, and after her death this suburban estate should revert to his imperial majesty. The emperor sanctioned this too, and after presenting him with many gifts, sent him with his wife away to his country. Now, the sons of the magister Krikorikios, this same patrician Pankratios and the patrician Asotios, greatly vexed and oppressed their cousin, the patrician Tornikios, who, finding their aggressiveness unendurable, wrote to the emperor to send a trustworthy servant and take over his country, and conduct himself and his wife and their child to the emperor. The emperor sent the protospatharius Krinitis, the interpreter, to take him and conduct him to the city protected of God, in accordance with his demand. But when Krinitis arrived in that country, he found that *Tornikios* had already departed this life, having devised before his end that all his country should be subject to the emperor of the Romans, and that his wife and his child should go to the emperor; and to her, on her arrival, the emperor gave for her residence the monastery in Psomathia of the protospatharius Michael, formerly collector of Chaldia. The said Krinitis was sent back again by the emperor to take over the country of Apoganem, that is, the portion of the patrician Tornikios. But the sons of the Taronite, the cousins of the deceased, sent back thence a demand that they should give up Oulnoutin and retain the country of their cousin, for they were quite unable to live if the emperor were to occupy their cousin's country as his own. The emperor, yielding to his own goodness of heart, fulfilled their request and gave them the country of Apoganem, their cousin, and himself took Oulnoutin with all its surrounding territory.

---

V 153 και<sup>3</sup> om. edd. || 155/6 τὸν γάμον P<sup>1</sup> V edd.: τῶν γάμων (?) P || 157 ἔχουσιν (*littera o in ras. scripta*) P<sup>1</sup> ἔχουσι V: ἔχωσι edd. || 158 τὸν om. edd. || 159 Γρηγορῶ edd.: Γρηγορίου P || 160 αὐτῆς: τοιαύτης edd. τ[οι]αύτης Migne || 165 αὐτῶν] *litteram ω in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 169/70 πρωτο-σπαθᾶριον Κρινίτην] *per comp. litteras α κρινί<sup>7</sup> in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 176 Χαλδίας <οἶκον> conī. Kyriakides || 177 τὴν τοῦ Ψωμαθέως μονήν: τοῦ Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν V Me Ba Ψωμαθέως τὴν μονήν Be || ἀπεστάλη V edd.: ἀπεστάλην P || 181 Οὐλνούτην P edd. || 185 Οὐλνούτην P edd. ||

περιχώρου αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ὅλη τοῦ Ταρῶν χώρα εἰς δύο διανεμηθεῖσα  
 132<sup>v</sup>P ἐτύγγανεν, ἥς τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς οἱ τοῦ μαγίστρου | Κρικορικίου εἶχον υἱοί,  
 τὸ δὲ ἡμῖς <οἱ> τοῦ Ἀπογάνεμ τοῦ πατρικίου, οἱ τούτων ἐξάδελφοι.

44. Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 κάστρου τοῦ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τοῦ Περκρί καὶ  
 τοῦ Χλιατ καὶ τοῦ Χαλιατ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρζές καὶ  
 τοῦ Τιβί καὶ τοῦ Χέρτ καὶ τοῦ Σαλαμαῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 Τζερματζοῦ.

5

Ἰστέον, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ  
 πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὃν ἀπεκεφάλισεν  
 ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς Περσίδος, ὁ Ἀποσάται, ὃς καὶ ἐποίησεν δύο υἱούς, τὸν τε  
 Ἀσώτιον, τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ Ἀπα-  
 σάκιον, τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα μάγιστρον τιμηθέντα, τὰ τρία ταῦτα κάστρα 10  
 133<sup>r</sup>P τό τε Περκρί καὶ τὸ Χαλιατ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές, ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς Περσίδος ἐπι-  
 κράτειαν ἐτύγγανον.

192<sup>Be</sup> "Ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ἐκαθέζετο τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρμε-  
 νίαν, εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κάρς, καὶ ἐπέιχεν καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ προγεγραμμένα  
 κάστρα, τὸ τε Περκρί <καὶ> τὸ Χαλιατ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ Τιβί καὶ 15  
 τὸ Χέρτ καὶ τὸ Σαλαμαῆς.

"Ὅτι Ἀπελβάρτ ἐκράτει τὸ Μανζικιέρτ, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 <Ἀσωτίου>, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Συμβα-  
 τίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων. Δέδωκεν δὲ <τῷ> αὐτῷ Ἀπελβάρτ  
 ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀσώτιος, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χλιατ 20  
 καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ Περκρί· ὁ γὰρ προορηθεὶς Ἀσώτιος, ὁ ἄρχων  
 τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων,  
 133<sup>v</sup>P κατεῖχεν | πάσας τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς χώρας. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀπελβάρτ,  
 κατέσχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἴδιος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀβελχαμίτ, τοῦ δὲ  
 Ἀβελχαμίτ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ πρῶτος 25  
 υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς. Τοῦ δὲ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόν-  
 των, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάται, τοῦ ἀμνηρᾶ Περσίδος, ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐκράτη-  
 σεν αὐθεντῶς καὶ κυρίως ὡς δεσπότης καὶ αὐτοκέφαλος τό τε κάστρον  
 τὸ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα καὶ τὰς χώρας, ὅστις καὶ ὑπετάγη  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Ἀπολεσφοῦετ 30  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλημ, διὰ τὸ διαφόρως καταπολεμηθῆναι τὰ τε κάστρα  
 καὶ πραιδευθῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ  
 134<sup>r</sup>P δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, παρέχοντες τὸν | βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων καὶ πάκτα

## 43, 44

The whole country of Taron was divided in two, one half of it being held by the sons of the magister Krikorikios, the other half by their cousins, the sons of the patrician Apoganem.

44. Of the country of Apachounis and of the city of Manzikiert and Perkri and Chliat and Chaliat and Arzes and Tibi and Chert and Salamas and Tzermatzou.

Before the time of Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, whom the emir of Persia Aposatai beheaded and who had two sons, Asotios, who was prince of princes after him, and Apasakios, who was afterwards honoured with the rank of magister, these three cities, Perkri and Chaliat and Arzes, were under the control of Persia.

The prince of princes had his seat in great Armenia, at the city of Kars, and held both these three cities aforementioned, Perkri and Chaliat and Arzes, and also Tibi and Chert and Salamas.

Apelbart possessed Manzikiert and was beneath the dominion of *Asotios*, the prince of princes, the father of Symbatios, the prince of princes. The same Asotios, prince of princes, gave to *this* same Apelbart also the city of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios, prince of princes, held all the countries of the east. On the death of Apelbart his son Abelchamit possessed his domain, and on the death of Abelchamit his eldest son Aposebatas possessed his domain. He, after the murder of Symbatios, prince of princes, by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, took possession, in absolute sovereignty, as an independent potentate, both of the city of Manzikiert and of the rest of the cities and the countries; and he submitted himself to the emperor together with his other two brothers, Apolesphouet and Aposelmis, after their cities and their countries had on various occasions been over-run and ravaged and destroyed by the commander-in-chief, and they paid the emperor of the Romans tribute in respect of their cities and their territories. But from the

44. 1 τοῦ<sup>1</sup>: τῆς edd. || 2 Μαντζικιέρτ V edd. || Περκρή P || 3 Χλιάτ: Χαλιάτ Me *coni.* Laskin || 'Αρζες *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P edd. || 4 Τιβή P || 7 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> edd.: καὶ P || 8 ἀμηνράς P || 'Αποσάτας F edd. || 11 'Αρζες *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P "Αρσες edd. || 14 Καρς (*sine acc.*) P || 15 Περκρή P || καὶ *add.* Moravcsik || "Αρζες edd. || Τιβή P || 16 Σαλαμάς P || 17 'Απελκάρτ edd. || Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 18 'Ασωτίου *add.* Jenkins || 19 τῷ *add.* Moravcsik || 20 Χλιάτ: Χαλιάτ *coni.* Laskin || 21 'Αρζες *scr.* Moravcsik: "Αρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 25 πρῶτος edd.: α' P || 26 ὁ *om.* edd. || 'Αποσεβατάς P || 27 'Αποσάτα edd. || ἀμηνρά P || 29 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 30 τε *om.* edd. || 33 παρέχοντες: παρέχοντος Be ||

ὑπὲρ τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ προρρηθέντος  
 193Be Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος | τῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν τοῦ Συμβατίου, 35  
 πάππου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου καὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἀπασακίου,  
 μέχρι ζωῆς τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπῆρ-  
 χον τὰ τοιαῦτα τρία κάστρα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόν-  
 των, καὶ ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων. Ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Μανζικιερτ μετὰ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ 40  
 τοῦ Κορῆ καὶ τοῦ Χάρκα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπῆρχεν, ἕως οὗτου Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ ἀμνηρᾶς τοῦ  
 134vP Μανζικιερτ, μετὰ τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε Ἀπο|λεσφούετ καὶ  
 τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη, ὑπετάγησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, διδόντες καὶ πάντα ὑπὲρ τε  
 τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ <δὲ> ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων 45  
 δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυγχάνει, ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ προβαλλό-  
 μενος καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δεχόμενος ἀξίωμα, δηλονότι καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 δεσποζόμενα κάστρα καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ χωρία τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαί-  
 ων τυγχάνουσιν.

Ὅτι τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς μεγάλης 50  
 Ἀρμενίας, κρατηθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποσάται, τοῦ ἀμνηρᾶ Περσίδος,  
 καὶ ἀποκεφαλισθέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ καθεζό-  
 μενος εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιερτ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Χαλιάτ καὶ τὸ  
 135rP κάστρον τὸ Περκρί καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῦ Ἀρ|ζές.

194Be Ὅτι ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ | καὶ 55  
 ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ προγονός, ὁ Ἀχμετ ἐκράτησαν τὸ κάστρον τὸ  
 Χλιάτ καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ, καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ὑπετάγησαν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ παρῆχον καὶ πάντα, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσε-  
 βατᾶς, ὑπὲρ τε τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν. 60

Ὅτι ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ,  
 ὁ Ἀποσέλμης, ἐκράτει τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τζερματζοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν χωρίων  
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπετάγη τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐδίδου πάντα,  
 καθὼς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος  
 ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ. 65

135vP Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ τε|λευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησε τὸ κάστρον τὸ  
 Μανζικιερτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ πάσης  
 ὁ Ἀβδεραχείμ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδε-  
 ραχείμ, ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ,  
 θεῖος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιερτ καὶ πάσας τὰς 70

V 36 Ἀπασακίου Ba Be: Ἀπασικίου P || 37 δευτέρου edd.: β' P || τοῦ<sup>2</sup> om. edd. ||  
 40 Μαντζικιερτ Ba Be || 41 Κορῆ P || τοῦ Χάρκα καὶ τοῦ Κορῆ edd. || Χάρκα

time of the aforesaid Asotios, prince of princes, father of Symbatios and grandfather of the second Asotios and of the magister Apasakios, until the lifetime of the second Asotios, prince of princes, these three cities were under the dominion of the prince of princes, and the prince of princes received tribute from them. Moreover, the city of Manzikiert with the country of Apachounis and Kori and Charka was under the dominion and control of the same prince of princes, up till the time when Aposebatas, emir of Manzikiert, and his two brothers Apolesphouet and Aposelmis submitted themselves to the emperor and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories; *and* since the prince of princes is the servant of the emperor of the Romans, being appointed by him and receiving this rank from him, it is obvious that the cities and townships and territories of which he is lord also belong to the emperor of the Romans.

When Symbatios, prince of princes of great Armenia, was captured by Aposatai, the emir of Persia, and by him beheaded, Aposebatas, with his seat at the city of Manzikiert, took possession of the city of Chaliat and the city of Perkri and the township of Arzes.

The second brother of Aposebatas, Apolesphouet, and his nephew and step-son Achmet took possession of the city of Chliat and the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike, and they too submitted themselves to the emperor of the Romans and came beneath his dominion and paid tribute in respect of their cities and their territories, as did the eldest brother Aposebatas.

The third brother of Aposebatas and Apolesphouet, Aposelmis, was in possession of the city of Tzermatzou with its territories, and he too submitted himself to the emperor of the Romans and paid tribute, as did his eldest brother Aposebatas and his second brother Apolesphouet.

On the death of Aposebatas, Abderacheim, son of Aposebatas, possessed the city of Manzikiert with its territories and all its domain, and on the death of Abderacheim, Apolesphouet, second brother of Aposebatas and uncle of Abderacheim, possessed the city of Manzikiert and all the

*scr.* Moravesik: Χαρχά P edd. || 42 'Αποσεβατάς P || ἀμυράς P || 43 Μαντζικιέρτ V Me: Μαντζικιέρτ P Ba Be || 45 δὲ *add.* Moravesik γὰρ *addendum con.* Bekker || 51 'Αποάτα Ba Be || ἀμυρά P || 52 'Αποσεβατάς P || 53 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 54 Περκρή P || 'Αρζες edd. || 55 'Αποσεβατά P || 'Απολεσφούετ edd.: 'Απολεσφούτ P || 56 'Αχμέτ edd. || 57 'Αρζες edd. || 'Αλτζικέ *scr.* Moravesik: 'Αλτζικε P edd. || 'Αρτζικέ *con.* V. Laurent || 59 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravesik: α' P *om.* V edd. || ὁ² V: α' P *om.* edd. || 59/60 'Αποσεβατάς P || 61 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 'Αποσεβατά P || 62 τὸ²: τοῦ V edd. || 64 πρῶτος *scr.* Moravesik: α' P *om.* V edd. || 'Αποσεβατάς P || δεύτερος Be: β' P || 66 'Αποσεβατά P || τὸ κάστρον *om.* edd. || 67 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 68 'Αβδηραχείμ edd. || 'Αποσεβατά P || 68/9 'Αβδηραχείμ edd. || 69 'Αποσεβατά P || 70 'Αβδηραχείμ Ba Be || Μαντζικιέρτ Me: Μαντζικιέρτ P Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be ||

προρρηθείσας χώρας, καὶ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος ἀδελφός, ἡγουν τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ὁ Ἀποσέλμης τό τε Μανζικιέρτ καὶ πάσας τὰς προρρηθείσας χώρας.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀβδεραχείμ καὶ τὸν Ἀπελμουζέ.

75

195Be Ὅτι ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ εἶχεν προγονὸν καὶ ἀνεψιὸν τὸν Ἀχάμετ, 136r υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀχάμετ τὸν προγονὸν | καὶ ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀντὶ υἱοῦ.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσέλμης εἶχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀπελβάρτ, τὸν ἀρτίως κρα-  
τοῦντα τὸ Μανζικιέρτ.

80

Ὅτι ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, κατέλιπε τὸν Ἀβδεραχείμ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀμνηρᾶν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπελμουζέ ἦν νήπιος πάνυ, διὸ καὶ κατεφρονήθη ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν.

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀποσεβατᾶς, ὁ πρῶτος ἀδελφός, ἐκαθέζετο εἰς τὸ κάστρον 85  
τὸ Μανζικιέρτ, καὶ ἐκράτει, καθὼς εἴρηται, ταύτας τὰς χώρας, τό τε Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τὸ Κορῆ καὶ τὸ Χάρκα, καὶ ἐδίδου τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πάκτα τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ υἱὸς 136v  
αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀβδεραχείμ, καὶ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ προρρηθέντα | πάκτα διὰ  
τὸ εἶναι, καθὼς προεἴρηται, νήπιον παντελῶς τὸν ἀδεδφὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν 90  
Ἀπελμουζέ.

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ τελευτήσαντος, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἀπελμουζέ ὡς νηπίου καταφρονηθέντος, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ καὶ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῷ προρρηθείσας χώρας ὁ δευτερός ἀδελφός τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ὁ προλεχθεὶς Ἀπολεσφούετ, θεῖος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχείμ 95  
καὶ τοῦ διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα καταφρονηθέντος ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Ἀπελμουζέ.

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκράτησεν ὁ τρίτος 196Be  
ἀδελφός τοῦ Ἀποσεβατᾶ, ἡγουν ὁ Ἀποσέλμης τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ μετὰ τῶν χωρίων τῶν προρρηθέντων. Ὁ δὲ προρρηθεὶς Ἀχάμετ 100  
ὁ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς καὶ προγονὸς τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ, ἐκράτει εἰδήσει καὶ 137r  
βουλήσει τοῦ Ἀπολεσφούετ τό τε | Χλιάτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ Περκρί·  
καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπολεσφούετ υἱὸν μὴ ἔχων, καθὼς προεἴρηται, τοῦτον τὸν Ἀχάμετ, τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν καὶ προγονὸν αὐτοῦ, εἶχεν κληρονόμον πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ τῶν κάστρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ. 105

Ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη, ἐκράτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Μανζικιέρτ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀπελβάρτ μετὰ καὶ τῆς περιχώρου αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀχμετ ἐκράτησεν τὰ τρία κάστρα, τό τε κάστρον τὸ Χλιάτ (καὶ) τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ.

Ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀχμετ δοῦλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως, καθὰ καὶ 110



countries aforesaid, and on his death the third brother, that is, the brother of Aposebatas and Aposesphouet, Aposelmis, possessed Manzikiert and all the countries aforesaid.

Aposebatas had a son Abderacheim, and *another*, Apelmouze.

Aposesphouet had a step-son and nephew, Achamet, for he had no son, but had instead of a son Achamet, his step-son and nephew.

Aposelmis had a son Apelbart, who now possesses Manzikiert.

On the death of Aposebatas, he left Abderacheim his son to be emir, but his other son, Apelmouze, was a mere infant, and hence was passed over as unfit to enter into the authority of his father and brother.

Aposebatas, the eldest brother, had his seat at the city of Manzikiert and possessed, as has been said, these countries, Apachounis and Kori and Charka, and paid tribute in respect to them to the emperor of the Romans; and on his death his son Abderacheim ruled, and he too paid the aforesaid tribute, his brother Apelmouze being, as was said above, quite an infant.

On the death of Abderacheim, since his brother Apelmouze was passed over as an infant, the possession of the city of Manzikiert and of the aforesaid countries beneath it fell to the second brother of Aposebatas, the aforesaid Aposesphouet, uncle of Abderacheim and of his brother Apelmouze, who had been passed over because of his infancy.

On the death of Aposesphouet, the third brother of Aposebatas, that is, Aposelmis, took possession of the city of Manzikiert with the territories aforesaid. The aforesaid Achamet, who was nephew and step-son of Aposesphouet, took possession, by consent and will of Aposesphouet, of Chliat and Arzes and Perkri: for Aposesphouet, having, as was said above, no son, made Achamet, his nephew and step-son, heir of all his substance and of his cities and territories.

On the death of Aposelmis, his son Apelbart possessed the city of Manzikiert with its surrounding territory. But Achmet possessed the three cities, the city of Chliat *and* the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike.

This Achmet too was servant of the emperor, as has been said above,

V 71 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 72 'Αποσεβατά P || 73 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 74 'Αποσεβατάς P || υῖόν: υἱός *coni.* Bekker || 'Αβδραχειμ Ba Be || 80 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 81 'Αποσεβατά P || 'Αβδραχειμ V Me: 'Αβδραχῆ P 'Αβδραχειμ Ba Be || 82 ἀμηνάν P || 'Απελμουζέ: 'Απελμουζέ *coni.* Marquart || 85 'Αποσεβατάς P || πρώτος edd.: α' P || 86 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 89 'Αβδραχειμ Ba Be || 92 'Αβδραχειμ Ba Be || 94 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 95 'Αποσεβατά P || προλεχθεις: προορηθεις edd. || 'Αβδραχειμ Ba Be || 98 τρίτος edd.: γ' P || 99 'Αποσεβατά P || 99/100 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 100 'Αχάμετ edd. 'Αχαμτ P || 102 'Αρζές *scr.* Moravesik: 'Αρζες P edd. || Περκρή P || 104 'Αχάμετ edd.: 'Αχαμτ P || 107 Μαντζικιέρτ Ba Be || 108 'Αχάμετ edd. || τρία edd.: γ' P || καὶ *add.* Moravesik || 109 'Αρζες Ba Be || 'Αλτζικέ *scr.* Moravesik: 'Αλτζικε P edd. || 110 'Αχάμετ edd. ||

προεΐρηται, παρέχων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
 τοῦ Ἀπολεσφouετ, πάκτα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπελβάρτ μετὰ δόλου καὶ χλευῆς  
 137<sup>v</sup>P αὐτὸν ἔσφαξεν, καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὰ τρία αὐτὰ | κάστρα, τό τε κάστρον  
 τὸ Χλιὰτ <καὶ> τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀλτζικέ·  
 καὶ ταῦτα ὀφείλει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβέσθαι ὡς ἴδια αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα. 115

Ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προρρηθέντα κάστρα καὶ αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι  
 χῶραι οὐδέποτε γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Περσίδος ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν  
 ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀμερμουμνῆ, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχον, καθὼς εἴρηται, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις  
 197<sup>Be</sup> τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ  
 ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν 120  
 τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀμηράδων, τοῦ τε Ἀποσεβατᾶ  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολεσφouετ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποσέλμη· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν  
 καὶ ἐδουλώθησαν καὶ ἐπακτώθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν  
 138<sup>f</sup>P | βασιλέων τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Ὅτι τὰ τρία ταῦτα κάστρα, τό τε Χλιὰτ καὶ τὸ Ἀρζές καὶ τὸ 125  
 Περκρί, εἰ κρατεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς, Περσικὸν φοσσᾶτον κατὰ Ῥωμανίας  
 ἐξελθεῖν οὐ δύναται, ἐπειδὴ μέσον τυγχάνουσιν τῆς τε Ῥωμανίας καὶ  
 Ἀρμενίας, καὶ εἰσὶν φραγμοὶ καὶ ἀπλίκτα τῶν φοσσάτων.

#### 45. Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς σεμνύνοντες οἱ Ἰβηρες, ἡγουν οἱ τοῦ κουρο-  
 παλάτου, λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίου, τῆς  
 παρὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μοιχευθείσης· ἐκ γὰρ  
 τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντων παιδῶν τῷ Δαυὶδ ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν κατὰγεσθαι 5  
 καὶ συγγενεῖς εἶναι Δαυὶδ, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου  
 138<sup>v</sup>P καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου διὰ τὸ | ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ ταύτην  
 κατὰγεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκωλύτως τὰς  
 συγγενίδας αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμον ἄγουσιν, τὴν παλαιὰν οἰόμενοι φυλάττειν  
 198<sup>Be</sup> νομοθεσίαν· ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ τε λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν γέννησιν αὐτῶν, 10  
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χρηματισθῆναι κατ' ὄναρ μετελθεῖν καὶ κατοικῆσαι  
 πρὸς τὰ μέρη Περσίδος, ἡγουν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦσιν. Οἱ  
 δὲ χρηματισθέντες καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ὑπῆρχον ὁ τε  
 Δαυὶδ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, Σπανδιάτης, ὅστις Σπανδιάτης  
 ἦν ἐκ Θεοῦ λαβὼν χάρισμα, ὡς αὐτοὶ φάσκουσιν, τοῦ μὴ ἐν πολέμῳ 15

F 45. 3 κατὰγεσθαι — 4 μοιχευθείσης: cf. II Reg. 11, 3—5; Matth. 1, 6. 6 ὡς ἐκ τούτου — 8 κατὰγεσθαι: cf. The Apocryphal New Testament, London 1820, p. 17: The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, 1, 1. 11 χρηματισθῆναι κατ' ὄναρ: Matth. 2, 12.

## 44, 45

and paid tribute on his own behalf and on behalf of his uncle Apolesphouet. But Apelbart by guile and deceit slew him and took these three cities, the city of Chliat *and* the city of Arzes and the city of Altzike; and these the emperor should get back, as they are his property.

All these cities aforesaid and the aforesaid countries have never been beneath the dominion of Persia or beneath the dominion of the commander of the faithful, but were, as has been said, in the days of the lord Leo, the emperor, beneath the dominion of Symbatios, the prince of princes, and afterwards came beneath the dominion of the three brothers, the aforesaid emirs, Aposebatas and Apolesphouet and Aposelmis; and in their days were brought into servitude and made tributary and fell beneath the dominion of the emperors of the Romans.

If these three cities, Chliat and Arzes and Perkri, are in the possession of the emperor, a Persian army cannot come out against Romania, because they are between Romania and Armenia, and serve as a barrier and as military halts for armies.

## 45. Of the Iberians.

The Iberians, I mean, those who belong to the curopalate, pique themselves upon their descent from the wife of Uriah, with whom David, the prophet and king, committed adultery: for they say they are descended from the children she bore to David and are related to David, the prophet and king, and consequently to the most holy Mother of God also, inasmuch as she was by descent of the seed of David. For this reason also the great ones of the Iberians take in marriage their female relatives without impediment, believing that they are preserving the ancient ordinance; and they say that they originate from Jerusalem and were warned by an oracular dream to migrate thence and to settle over toward the region of Persia, that is to say, in the country where they live now. They who were warned by the oracle and came out of Jerusalem were the former David and his brother Spandiatis, which Spandiatis had received from God a boon, as they pretend, that in battle the sword should not touch him in any member of

114 καὶ *add. edd.* || 'Αρζες Ba Be || 'Αλτζικε *edd.* 'Αρτζικέ *coni. V. Laurent* || 116 αὶ *s. v. add. P<sup>1</sup>* *in textum receperunt V edd.* || 119 τοῦ<sup>3</sup> *om. V edd.* || 121 τριῶν *edd.: γ' P* || 'Αποσεβατὰ *P* || 124 τῶν *om. edd.* || 125 τρία *edd.: γ' P* || 'Αρζές *scr. Moravesik:* 'Αρζες *P edd.* || 126 Περκρή *P* || φοσσάτον *P* || 128 ἀπληγὰ *P.*

45. 1 Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων (π<sup>α</sup> *rubro atramento mg. add. P<sup>1</sup>*, *unde in textum receperunt V edd.* || 8 μεγιστάνες *P* || 11 χρηματισθῆναι *om. V edd.* ||

- ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ ξίφος εἰς οἰονδήποτε μέλος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἄνευ  
 139<sup>ρ</sup> τῆς καρδίας, ἣν καὶ διὰ τινος σκεπάσματος | ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις περιεφρου-  
 ρει. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπτοοῦντο τοῦτον καὶ ἐδεδίδεισαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ὁ δὲ  
 νενίκηκέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεκράτησεν, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐνῶκι-  
 σεν Ἰβήρας εἰς τὰς δυσκολίας, τὰς νῦν παρ' αὐτῶν κρατουμένας, ἐξ 20  
 ὧν καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπλατύνθησαν καὶ ἠὺξήθησαν καὶ εἰς μέγα ἔθνος  
 ἐγένοντο. Εἰθ' οὕτως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑρακλείου κατὰ Περσίδος ἐκστρα-  
 τεύσαντος, ἠνώθησαν καὶ συνεταξίδευσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔκτοτε ὑπέταξαν  
 τῷ φόβῳ Ἑρακλείου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον, ἥπερ τῇ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἱκανὰς τῶν Περσῶν. "Απαξ γὰρ 25  
 139<sup>ν</sup> τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑρακλείου τοὺς Πέρσας τροπωσαμένου καὶ εἰς τὸ | μηκέτι  
 εἶναι τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν παραστήσαντος, εὐάλωτοι καὶ εὐχείρωτοι οὐ  
 μόνον τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι γεγόνασιν.  
 Διὰ δὲ τὸ κατὰγεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ διὰ  
 τὸ μεγάλην πίστιν ἔχουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Κυρίου 30  
 199<sup>Be</sup> ἡμῶν {ἡ} Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τινας | καιροὺς ἀφθόνως ἀποστέλ-  
 λουσι χρήματα τῷ πατριάρχῃ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε Χριστια-  
 νοῖς. Ὁ δὲ προρρηθεὶς Δαυὶδ, ὁ τοῦ Σπανδιάτου ἀδελφός, ἐγέννησεν  
 υἱὸν τὸν Παγκράτιον, καὶ ὁ Παγκράτιος ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀσώτιον,  
 καὶ ὁ Ἀσώτιος ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀδριανασή, τὸν καὶ κουροπαλάτην 35  
 τιμηθέντα παρὰ Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. Ὁ δὲ  
 140<sup>ρ</sup> Σπανδιάτης, ὁ ἀδελφός τοῦ | προρρηθέντος Δαυὶδ, ἐτελεύτησεν ἄτεκνος.  
 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετοικήσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην  
 παρ' αὐτῶν χώραν εἰσὶν ἔτη υ' ἢ καὶ φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν  
 ἰνδικτιῶν ι', ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ρυξ' ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταν- 40  
 τίνου καὶ Ῥωμανοῦ, τῶν φιλοχρίστων καὶ πορφυρογεννῆτων βασιλέων  
 Ῥωμαίων.  
 Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ φιλόχριστος καὶ πορφυρογέννητος καὶ αἰοίδιμος  
 βασιλεὺς Λέων ἀκούσας, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τόπον, τὸν λεγόμενον Φασιανὴν  
 ἐλθόντες οἱ Σαρακηνοί, τὰς ἐκεῖσε ἐκκλησίας ἐποίησαν κάστρα, ἀπέ- 45  
 στείλει τὸν πατρίκιον {ὁ δεῖνα} καὶ στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων τὸν  
 Λαλάκωνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κολωνείας καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Μεσο-  
 140<sup>ν</sup> ποταμίας | καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Χαλδίας, καὶ κατέστρεψαν τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 κάστρα, τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐλευθερώσαντες, ληϊσάμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 Φασιανὴν, τῷ τότε καιρῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. Καὶ εἰθ' 50  
 οὕτως πάλιν ἀπέστειλε τὸν μάγιστρον Κατακαλὼν καὶ δομέστικον  
 τῶν σχολῶν, ὃς ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως καὶ τὰ περίξ  
 200<sup>Be</sup> | αὐτῆς ληϊσάμενος καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς Φασιανῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν κάστρα

his body save only in the heart, which he used to protect by a sort of covering in battles. On this account the Persians were dismayed at and feared him, and he overcame them and mastered them and settled his Iberian kinsmen in the difficult territories now possessed by them; whence by degrees they expanded and increased and grew into a great nation. Thereafter, when the emperor Heraclius marched against Persia, they united and campaigned with him, and as a result, through the dread inspired by Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, rather than by their own strength and power, they subdued a great number of cities and countries of the Persians. For once the emperor Heraclius had routed the Persians and had forcibly brought their empire to an end, the Persians were easily defeated and mastered, not by the Iberians only, but by the Saracens as well. And because they originated, as they themselves say, from Jerusalem, for this reason they are very loyal to it and to the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from time to time they send large sums of money to the patriarch of the holy city and to the Christians there. Now, the aforesaid David, the brother of Spandiatris, begat a son Pankratios, and Pankratios begat a son Asotios, and Asotios begat a son Adranasi, who was honoured with the rank of curopalate by Leo, the Christ-loving emperor of the Romans. But Spandiatris, the brother of the aforesaid David, died childless. And from their migration from Jerusalem to the country now inhabited by them it is 400 years, or rather 500 up to the present day, which is the 10th indiction, the year from the creation of the world 6460, in the reign of Constantine and Romanus, Christ-loving emperors of the Romans, born in the purple.

The Christ-loving and glorious emperor Leo, born in the purple, hearing that the Saracens had arrived in the place called Phasiane and had made the churches there into fortresses, sent the patrician Lalakon, military governor of the Armeniakoi, together with the military governor of Koloneia and the military governor of Mesopotamia and the military governor of Chaldia, and they destroyed these fortresses and liberated the churches and ravaged all Phasiane, at that time in the possession of the Saracens. And again afterwards he sent the magister Katakalon, the commander-in-chief, who arrived at the city of Theodosiupolis and ravaged the territory all about it, and gave up the country of Phasiane and the cities around it to the

V 17 σκεπάσματος: περισκεπάσματος V edd. || 19 νενίκηκε] *litteras νέ in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || τε om. edd. || 19/20 ἐνοίκησεν P || 20 δυσκολίας: δυσχωρίας conl. Bekker || 21 καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. Ba Be || ηῤῥήθησαν scr. Moravesik: ηῤῥήθησαν P ηῤῥάνθησαν edd. || 29 ἐξ: ἐκ τῆς Ba Be || 30 ἔχουσιν (*etiam* Ba): ἔχειν V Me Be || 31 ἡ om. V edd. secl. Moravesik || 39 εἶσιν a P<sup>1</sup> false post ι' (40) insertum *huc transp.* Moravesik || 40 ἔτος: ἔτη V edd. || 44 τὸν<sup>1</sup> om. Be || 46 ὁ δεινὰ *per comp.* P: om. edd. secl. Moravesik || Ἀρμενιακῶν edd. || 51 Κατακαλὸν P ||

- τῷ ὁμοίῳ ὀλέθρῳ παραδούς, ὑπέστρεψεν, μεγάλην πληγὴν ἐν τούτῳ  
 δούς τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ, τοῦ 55  
 βασιλέως ὁ μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ὁ Κουρκοῦας ἀπερχόμενος κατὰ τοῦ  
 141<sup>ρ</sup>P κάστρου Τιβίου, εἰς τὴν δίοδον αὐτοῦ ἠφάνισεν τὴν πᾶσαν χώ|ραν τῆς  
 Φασιανῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κρατουμένην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος  
 Θεόφιλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προρρηθέντος μαγίστρου Ἰωάννου, τὸ πρῶτον  
 αὐτοῦ στρατηγεύοντος ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, ἐπραίδευσεν τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν 60  
 τῆς Φασιανῆς, ὡς καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν δεσποζομένην. Μέχρι  
 γὰρ τοῦ γεγονέναι τὸν λόγον μετὰ τοὺς Θεοδοσιουπολίτας εἰς τὴν χώραν  
 τῆς Φασιανῆς χωρίον οὐ συνέστη, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου.  
 Καὶ οἱ Ἰβηρες πάντοτε εἶχον ἀγάπην καὶ φιλίαν μετὰ τῶν Θεοδοσιου-  
 πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀβνικιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Μανζικιετῶν καὶ μετὰ 65  
 πᾶσαν τὴν Περσίδα, ἀλλ' ἐν Φασιανῇ οὐδέποτε ἐπεκτήσαντο χωρία.
- 141<sup>ν</sup>P        "Ὅτι πολλάκις ὁ κύρις Λέων, ὁ βασιλεὺς | καὶ ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς  
 καὶ αὕτη ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐπεζήτησεν τὸ κάστρον τὸ Κετζέον τοῦ ἀναλα-  
 βέσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν ταξάτους πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖθεν σιταρχεῖσθαι  
 τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἐξασφαλιζόμενοι πρὸς τε τὸν κουροπαλάτην καὶ 70  
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπο-
- 201Be λιν — ἀνα|λαβέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο  
 οἱ Ἰβηρες τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, καὶ  
 διὰ τὸ μὴ πορθηθῆναι τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλ' ἀντεδήλωσαν  
 τὸν κύριον Ῥωμανὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Εἰ τοῦτο 75  
 ποιήσωμεν, ἀτιμία ἔχομεν γενέσθαι εἰς τοὺς γείτονας ἡμῶν, οἷον εἰς
- 142<sup>ρ</sup>P τὸν μάγιστρον καὶ {εἰς τὸν} ἐξουσιαστὴν Ἀβασγίας καὶ εἰς | τὸν Βασπαρ-  
 κανίτην καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑπερεξάρχοντας τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν,  
 ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπίστους ἔχει τοὺς Ἰβηρας, τὸν τε κουροπαλάτην καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ πιστεύει αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελάβετο 80  
 <τὸ> κάστρον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἅς ἀποστείλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τουρμάρ-  
 χην ἢ βασιλικὸν τινα, καὶ ἅς καθέζεται εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Κετζέου,  
 καὶ ἅς θεωρῇ.» Καὶ ἐδέξαντο διὰ κελεύσεως, ὅτι· «Τί ὄφελος ἢ τουρμάρ-  
 χην ἢ βασιλικὸν ἀποστεῖλαι; Πάντως ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃ εἴτε τουρμάρχης,  
 εἴτε βασιλικός, μετὰ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα ἀνθρώπων ἔχει εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ 85  
 καθέζεσθαι ἔχει εἰς τὸ ἀπλίκτον, ὃ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβῃ· καὶ ἐπεὶ πολλαὶ  
 εἰσὶν ὁδοί, αἱ εἰσάγουσαι εἰς τὸ κάστρον Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, οὐ δύναται
- 142<sup>ν</sup>P ἀπὸ τοῦ | κάστρου βλέπειν τὰ εἰσερχόμενα καρβάνια εἰς τὸ κάστρον  
 Θεοδοσιουπόλεως· δύνανται δὲ εἰσερχεσθαι καρβάνια ἐν Θεοδοσιου-  
 πόλει τῇ νυκτί, ἐκείνων μηδὲν νοούντων.» Ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν 90  
 τοὺς Ἰβηρας πορθηθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σιταρ-

like destruction, and returned after inflicting thereby a great blow upon the Saracens. And in the reign of the lord Romanus, the emperor, the magister John Kourkouas, marching against the city of Tibi, utterly devastated in his passage the whole country of Phasiane, since it was in the possession of the Saracens. Moreover, the patrician Theophilus also, brother of the aforesaid magister John, when he was for the first time military governor of Chaldia, plundered this country of Phasiane, because then too it was controlled by the Saracens. For by the time that terms had been agreed with the Theodosiupolitans, no village had been left standing in the country of Phasiane, or about the city of Abnikon either. And the Iberians always maintained loving and friendly relations with the men of Theodosiupolis and Abnikon and Manzikiert and with all Persia, but in Phasiane they never acquired any territories.

The lord Leo, the emperor, and the lord Romanus and our own imperial majesty several times asked for the city of Ketzeon, so that we might take it over and introduce garrisons, in order to stop Theodosiupolis from being revictualled thence, assuring the curopalate and his brothers that, after Theodosiupolis had been taken, they should have this city back; but the Iberians did not consent to do this, out of their love for the Theodosiupolitans and in order that the city of Theodosiupolis might not be taken, and declared in answer to the lord Romanus and to our imperial majesty, saying: «If we do this, we shall become dishonoured in the eyes of our neighbours, such as the magister the ruler of Abasgia and the Basparakanite and the potentates of the Armenians, and they will say that 'the emperor holds the Iberians, the curopalate and his brothers, for faithless and does not trust them, and that is why he has taken over the city from them'; but let the emperor rather send a lieutenant-general or some imperial agent, and let him take up his quarters in the city of Ketzeon and let him watch.» And they were instructed by imperial mandate, to this effect: «What is the use of our sending either lieutenant-general or imperial agent? Even if he enters, whether he be lieutenant-general or imperial agent, he will enter with ten or a dozen men and will take up his quarters in the lodgings which you will provide for him; and since the roads leading to the city of Theodosiupolis are many, he cannot from the city see the caravans entering the city of Theodosiupolis; and caravans may enter Theodosiupolis by night, and they none the wiser.» And so, then, because the Iberians did not wish that Theodosiupolis should be taken, but rather that it should be

---

V 55 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> *om.* edd. || τοῦ<sup>2</sup> *om.* edd. || 65 Μαντζικιερτῶν Ba Be || 67 κύρης<sup>1</sup> P || κύρης<sup>2</sup> P || 75 κύρην P || εἰ] *in ras. scr.* P<sup>1</sup> || 76 ποιήσομεν edd. || 77 εἰς τὸν *secl.* Jenkins || 81 τὸ *add.* edd. || ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || 82 ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || καθέζεται edd.: καθεύεται P || τὸ *om.* edd. || Κετζέου edd.: Κετζέος P || 83 ἄς (*sine acc.*) P || θεωρεῖ Be: θεωρεῖ P || 85 δέκα edd.: ὕ P || δώδεκα edd.: ἰβ' P || 86 ἀπλήκτον P || ὑμῶν: ὑμῖν edd. || λάβη edd.: λάβει P ||

202Be χεῖσθαι, τούτου ἕνεκα οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ δέδωκαν τὸ κά|στρον τὸ  
Κετζέον, καίτοι καὶ ὄρκον ἔγγραφον δεχόμενοι τοῦ — μετὰ τὸ παραληφθῆ-  
ναι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν — ἀποστραφῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.

“Οτι οὐδέποτε ἠβουλῆθησαν οἱ Ἱβηρες πραιδεῦσαι ἢ αἰχμαλωτίσαι 95  
τὰ περίξ τοῦ κάστρου Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἢ τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς τὸ  
κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνικίου ἢ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ χωρία ἢ εἰς τὸ κάστρον Μανζικιέρτ

143<sup>r</sup>P καὶ | εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν.

“Οτι καθὼς ἐνίσταται ὁ κουροπαλάτης περὶ τῶν χωρίων τῆς  
Φασιανῆς, ἐπιζητῶν ὅλην τὴν Φασιανὴν καὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου, 100  
προφασιζόμενος χρυσοβούλλια ἔχειν τοῦ μακαρίου βασιλέως, τοῦ κυροῦ  
Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἴσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέ-  
στειλεν διὰ τοῦ Ζουρβανέλη πρωτοσπαθαρίου, τοῦ ἄζατου αὐτοῦ,  
ταῦτα ἐπισκεψάμενοι εὕρομεν αὐτὸν μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν ἔχοντα. Τὸ μὲν  
γὰρ χρυσοβούλλιον τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν περιέχει ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν 105  
κουροπαλάτην, ὡς δι’ ὄρκου ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτὸν οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ ἐγγραφάμε-  
νος, τοῦ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ πίστει τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας καὶ τοῖς μὲν

143<sup>v</sup>P ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν ἀντιμάχεσθαι, | τοὺς δὲ φίλους ὑπερασπίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν  
ἀνατολὴν ὑπόσπονδον ποιῆσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ κάστρα χειρώ-  
σασθαι καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς θεραπείαν ἡμῶν ἔργα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπεσχέθη 110  
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἡμῶν, ἵνα, ἐὰν φυλάξῃ τὴν τοιαύτην πιστὴν

203Be δούλωσιν καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνην, διαμείνῃ ἀμετασάλευτος | καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ  
οἱ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τοῦτου ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ· καὶ οὐ μεταστήσει  
τὰ ὅρια τῶν τόπων αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν πρώην βασιλέων τὰ σύμφωνα  
στέρξει, καὶ οὐχὶ περαιτέρω ὑπερβήσεται, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ κωλύσει αὐτὸν 115  
καταστρέψαι τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν,

144<sup>r</sup>P κἄν τε δι’ αὐτοῦ μόνου πολιορκηθῇσονται, κἄν τε δι’ | αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατο-  
πέδου ἡμῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κεφάλαια περιέχουσιν τὰ χρυσοβούλλια,  
ἐξ ὧν οὐδεμίαν βοήθειαν ὁ κουροπαλάτης ἔχει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πενθεροῦ  
ἡμῶν διαγορεύει, ὅτι οὐ παρασάλευσομεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ὁρίων 120  
τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν δυνηθῇ εἴτε καὶ μόνος, εἴτε καὶ μετὰ  
τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡμῶν, πολιορκήσει καὶ καταστρέψει τὴν Θεοδοσιούπο-  
λιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατασχεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τελείαν  
δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα· τὸ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν περιέχει, ἵνα,  
ὅσους ἂν τόπους δυνηθῇ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ μάλιστα 125

144<sup>v</sup>P Ἀδρανασέ, ἐξ οἰκείας δυνάμεως καθυποτάξαι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, | ἢ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ νῦν καθυποτάξει, κατέχει ἐπὶ δεσποτείᾳ καὶ κυριότητι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ  
οὔτε ἐξ οἰκείας δυνάμεως τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν κατεστρέψατο, οὔτε τὸ

V 95 ἠβουλῆθησαν edd. || 97 Ἀβνίκου edd. || Μανζικιέρτ Ba Be || 100 ἐπιζητῶν  
edd.: ἐπεζήτην P || 101 χρυσοβούλλια edd.: χρυσοβούλλιον P || 105 πεμθεροῦ



revictualled, for this reason they did not obey and give up the city of Ketzeon, although they received a sworn promise in writing that after the capture of Theodosiupolis this city should revert to them.

The Iberians never consented to raid or take prisoners in the environs of the city of Theodosiupolis or in its territories, or in the city of Abnikion or the territories about it, or in the city of Manzikiert or the area controlled by it.

Whereas regarding the territories of Phasiane the curopalate persists in his demand for all Phasiane and the city of Abnikion, and alleges that he has golden bulls of the emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, and of our imperial majesty, copies of which he sent us by the hand of Zourbanelis the protospatharius, his 'azat', we examined these and found that they gave him no help. For, first, the golden bull of our father-in-law embodies a promise of this same curopalate, as he assured him on his oath and inscribed it with his own hand, that he will abide in loyalty to our imperial majesty, and fight against our foes and protect our friends, and subdue the east to our imperial majesty, and reduce cities and do great works for our comfort; and on the part of our father-in-law a promise was made to him that, if he continues in this loyal servitude and gratitude, he shall remain unshaken, both he and those of his family, in his rule and dominion; and *the emperor* will not move the boundaries of his territories, but will be content with the agreements made by former emperors and will not push beyond them; nor will he stop *the curopalate* from destroying Theodosiupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, whether he lays siege to them with his own unaided strength or with the assistance of this our army. Such are the main points contained in the golden bulls, and from them the curopalate gets no help: for that of our father-in-law lays it down that we will not disturb him from the ancient boundaries of his country, and that, if he can, whether by himself or with our army, he shall lay siege to and destroy Theodosiupolis and the rest of the cities of the enemy, but not so as to hold them in absolute sovereignty and lordship; while that of our own imperial majesty includes a provision that all the places of the Agarenes which both he and his nephew, the magister Adranase, may be able by their own power to reduce, or shall in future reduce, he shall hold as sovereign lord. And since by his own power he subdued neither Theodosiupolis nor

---

P || 108 τοὺς δὲ φίλους *corr.* Moravcsik: τοῖς δὲ φίλοις P *edd.* || 111 αὐτῷ *corr.* Tomašić: αὐτοῖς P *edd.* || πεμθεροῦ P || πιστὴν: πίστιν *edd.* || 113 μεταστήσῃ F || 115 στέρξει Be: στέρξῃ P στέρξῃ Me Ba || οὐχὶ *om.* *edd.* || *post* περαιτέρω *add.* μὴ *edd.* || ὑπερβήσῃται F || 116 τὴν *bis* P || 117 δι' αὐτοῦ: διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Me Ba τοῦ *secl.* Be || 119 πεμθεροῦ P || 120 παρασαλεύομεν V *edd.* || 122 καταστρέψει V *edd.*: καταστρέψῃ P || 126 Ἀδρανασέ *scr.* Moravcsik: Ἀδρανασαί P Ἀδρανασή *edd.* || 127 κατέχῃ *edd.* ||

- Ἀβνίκιον, οὔτε τὸ Μαστάτον, οὐκ ὀφείλει ταῦτα κατέχειν, ὥς ὄντα  
 ἐνθεν τοῦ Ἑραξ ποταμοῦ, ἥτοι τοῦ Φάσιδος, διότι τὸ μὲν κάστρον τοῦ<sup>130</sup>  
 Ἀβνίκου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἦν αὐτεξούσιον καὶ αὐτοδέσποτον, ἔχον ἴδιον  
 ἀμνηρᾶν, καὶ πολλάκις ὁ λαὸς τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπραίδευσεν αὐτό,  
 204Be ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρωτο|σπαθάριος Ἰωάννης καὶ στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀραβωνίτης  
 καὶ ὁ πατρίκιος Θεοφίλος καὶ ἀρτίως στρατηγὸς Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, καὶ  
 οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ μεγάλῃν πραῖδαν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν εἰς αὐτὸ ἤργα-<sup>135</sup>  
 145P σαντο, κατακαύσαντες τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ, μη|δέποτε τοῦ κουροπαλάτου  
 πραιδεύσαντος αὐτό. Καὶ ἥνικα ἠφανίσθησαν τὰ τούτου χωρία παρὰ  
 τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ὑπεισῆλθον οἱ Ἰβηρες, καὶ κατεκράτησαν αὐτά,  
 πειρώμενοι ἐκ τούτου τὸ κάστρον κρατῆσαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀμνηρᾶς πολλάκις  
 μηνυθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Θεοφίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἰδὼν, ὅτι<sup>140</sup>  
 οὐδαμῶθεν ἔχει ἐλπίδα ζωῆς, ὑπετάγη καὶ κατένευσεν γενέσθαι δοῦλος  
 τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, δούς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὅψιδα. Τὸ δὲ Μαστάτον ὑπῆρχεν  
 τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, καὶ ἥνικα ὁ μάγιστρος Ἰωάννης ἐπολιόρχησεν  
 τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπτὰ μῆνας, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι παραλαβεῖν αὐτὴν  
 ἀποστείλας λαόν, παρέλαβεν τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, καὶ εἰσῆγα-<sup>145</sup>  
 145P γεν | ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Πετρωνᾶν τὸν Βόϊλαν, τὸν τότε  
 ὄντα κατεπάνω Νικοπόλεως. Ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος συνταξιδευ-  
 σας τῷ αὐτῷ μαγίστρῳ ἐν Θεοδοσιουπόλει, ἥνικα ἔμελλεν ἀναχωρεῖν,  
 παρεκάλεσεν, ἵνα δώσῃ αὐτῷ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, ποιήσας ἔγγραφον  
 ὅρκον πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδέποτε τοῦτο τοῖς Σαρα-<sup>150</sup>  
 κηνοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι. Καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστιανὸν καὶ δοῦλον τῆς  
 βασιλείας ἡμῶν, πιστευσας τῷ ὅρκῳ αὐτοῦ, δέδωκεν αὐτὸ τὸν εἰρημένον  
 Παγκράτιον, ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεχαρίσατο αὐτὸ τοῖς Θεοδοσιουπολίταις.  
 205Be Καὶ ἥνικα παρελήφθη ἡ Θεοδοσιούπολις, | ὑπεισελθόντες οἱ Ἰβηρες  
 ἐκράτησαν αὐτό, διότι οὔτε τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον, οὔτε τοῦ<sup>155</sup>  
 146P Ἀβνίκου ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν | ἐπιζητεῖν. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ κουροπαλάτης  
 πιστὸς καὶ ὀρθὸς δοῦλος καὶ φίλος ἡμῶν ἐστίν, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράκλη-  
 σιν ἵνα γένηται σύνορον τῆς Φασιανῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἑραξ, ἥτοι ὁ Φᾶσις,  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀριστερὰ μέρη, τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἰλυρίαν, κατέχουσιν οἱ Ἰβηρες,  
 τὰ δὲ δεξιὰ, ὅσα εἰσὶν πρὸς τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, κἂν τε κάστρα, κἂν τε<sup>160</sup>  
 χωρία εἰσὶν, ὧσιν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δηλονότι σύνο-  
 ρον ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάρχοντος, καθὼς καὶ ζῶν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ὁ  
 Κουρκούας περὶ τούτου ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐξεῖπεν συμφέρον εἶναι τὸν ποταμὸν  
 σύνορον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον οὐδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν παρέχει τῷ  
 κουροπαλάτῃ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἐνθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἐκεῖθεν δια-<sup>165</sup>  
 146P κράτησιν ἔχειν, διότι τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα χωρία τῶν Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν

V 129 Ἀβνίκιον edd. || Μαστάτον V<sup>2</sup> edd.: Ναστάτον P V F || ὀφείλει Be:  
 ὀφείλη P ὀφείλη Me Ba || 132 ἀμνηρᾶν P || 135/6 εἰργάσαντο Be ||

Abnikion nor Mastaton, he has no right to hold them, lying as they do on this side of the Erax or Phasis river; because the city of Abnikon, on the one hand, has hitherto been independent and self-governing, under its own emir, and several times the army of our imperial majesty has raided it, yes, and the protospatharius John Arrhabonitis, the military governor, and the patrician Theophilus, who is now military governor of Theodosiupolis, and the rest of the military governors have taken great plunder and many prisoners in it, and burnt its villages, while the curopalate has never raided it at all. And when these villages had been utterly devastated by our imperial majesty, the Iberians crept in and took possession of them, and tried thereafter to possess themselves of the city. But the emir, after being several times warned by the patrician and military governor Theophilus, and seeing that he had no hope of survival from any quarter, submitted himself and consented to become the servant of our imperial majesty, and gave his son as a hostage. Mastaton, on the other hand, belonged to the Theodosiopolitans; and when the magister John had besieged Theodosiupolis seven months, because he was unable to take it he sent some men and took this same city of Mastaton and introduced into it the protospatharius Petronas Boilas, who was then captain-general of Nicopolis. And the magister Pankratios, who had joined the campaign of this same magister at Theodosiupolis, when *the latter* was about to retire, begged him to give him this city, and made him an oath in writing that he would retain it and never give it up to the Saracens. He, as the said Pankratios was a Christian and servant of our imperial majesty, trusted to his oath and gave it him, and he gave it back again to the Theodosiopolitans. And when Theodosiupolis was taken, the Iberians crept in and took possession of *Mastaton*; for these reasons they have no authority to demand either this city of Mastaton or that of Abnikon. But since the curopalate is our faithful and upright servant and friend, at his request let the frontier of Phasiane be the river Erax or Phasis, and let the Iberians possess the parts on the left hand side towards Illyria, and all the parts on the right towards Theodosiupolis, whether cities or villages, be beneath our imperial majesty, the river, that is to say, forming the frontier between the two, just as in his lifetime John Kourkouas, of blessed memory, when asked about this, declared that it was best for the river to be the frontier. Strict justice does not allow the curopalate any authority to exercise control either on this side of the river or on the other, since all these villages of the Theodosiopolitans were enslaved and

---

139 ἀμηράς P || 140 ἰδὼν edd.: ἰδῶς P || 141 οὐδαμῶθεν: οὐδαμῶς edd. || δοῦλος γενέσθαι edd. || 143 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P || 149 δώσῃ edd.: δώσει P || 152/3 τὸν εἰρημένον Παγκράτιον: τῷ εἰρημένῳ Παγκρατείῳ edd. || 155 τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Μαστάτον: τοῦ τοιοῦτου κάστρου τοῦ Μαστάτου edd. || 159 Ἰλλυρίαν: Ἰβηρίαν *coni.* Brosset Laskin || κατέχωσιν edd. κατέχουσιν P || 162 ὁ *om.* edd. || 163 Κουρκουὰς P || 166 Θεοδοσιουπολίτων P ||

τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἡχμαλώτισαν καὶ ἐπυρπόλησαν, καὶ οὐδέποτε χωρὶς ἡμετέρου λαοῦ Ἰβηρες ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐπραΐδευσαν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φίλους εἶχον αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπραγματεύοντο μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ μὲν στόματι ἤθελον πορθηθῆναι τὴν Θεοδοσιού- 170 πολιν, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐδαμῶς ἐβούλοντο παραληφθῆναι αὐτήν. Ἀλλ' ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κουροπαλάτην ἀγάπην ἠθέλησεν γενέσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἑραξ, ἥτοι τὸν Φᾶσιν σύνορον ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ ὀφείλουσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην διακράτησιν καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιζητεῖν. 175

206Be 46. Περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου.

- 147P Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ Παγκράτιος καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ Μάμπαλις, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται 'πανάγιος', ὑπῆρχον υἱοὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Συμβατίου, τοῦ Ἰβηρος. Καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸ Ἀρδανουτζὶ εἰς κληρονομίαν τῷ Παγκρατίῳ, τῷ δὲ Δαυὶδ 5 ἔλαχεν ἑτέρα χώρα. Ὁ δὲ Παγκράτιος ἐποίησεν υἱοὺς τρεῖς, τὸν Ἀδρανασέρ, τὸν Κουρκένιον καὶ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσην, καὶ διεμέρισεν αὐτούς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸ Ἀρδανουτζὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, Κουρκενίῳ, κάκεινου τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου, εἶασεν αὐτὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, Ἀσωτίῳ, τῷ καὶ Κισκάσῃ. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος, 10 ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, ἐπῆρεν γαμβρὸν εἰς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν Κουρκένην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν μάγιστρον, ὅστις δυναστεύσας ἀφείλετο ἐκ τοῦ πενθεροῦ
- 147P αὐτοῦ Ἀσωτίου τὸ Ἀρδανουτζὶ κατὰ τυραννίδα, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ εἰς ἀντιστήκωσιν τὸ τε Τυρόκαστρον καὶ τὴν ποταμίαν τοῦ Ἀτζαρά, τὴν οὖσαν σύνορον Ῥωμανίας εἰς Κώλωριν. Εἶχεν δὲ γυναῖκα ὁ πατρί- 15 κιος Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου Γεωργίου καὶ ἐξουσιαστοῦ Ἀβασγίας. Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένοντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ὁ τε μάγιστρος Κουρκένιος καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Γεώργιος καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς Ἀβασγίας, διὰ τὸ συναγωνίζεσθαι τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ Ἀβασγίας δυνηθεὶς ὁ Κουρκένιος ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ἀντιστήκωσιν, ἣν δέδωκεν 20 αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς
- 207Be 148P Ἀβασγίαν. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ μαγίστρου | Κουρκενίου, κα|τελείφθη τὸ Ἀρδανουτζὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, τῇ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ <καὶ> Κισκάσης, θυγατρὶ ὡς πατρικὸν αὐτῆς. Ὅτε δὲ διεμέριζον τὴν χώραν τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου μεθ' ὅπλων, ὁ τε Ἀσώτιος ὁ κουρο- 25 παλάτης καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Γεώργιος, ὁ ἐξουσιαστὴς Ἀβασγίας καὶ ὁ

## 45, 46

burnt by the armies of our imperial majesty, and never without our army did the Iberians come out and raid Theodosiupolis, but always maintained friendship with them and traded with them; and while they said they wished Theodosiupolis to be taken, in their hearts they by no means desired its capture. However, our imperial majesty, for our love of the curopalate, as has been said, has consented that the river Erax, or Phasis, shall be the frontier between the two, and they must be content with retaining this much, and demand nothing more.

#### 46. Of the genealogy of the Iberians and of the city of Ardanoutzi.

Pankratios and David the Mampalis, which means 'all-holy', were sons of the elder Symbatios the Iberian. Ardanoutzi fell to the inheritance of Pankratios, and other country fell to David. Pankratios had three sons, Adranaser, Kourkenios and the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and he divided his country among them, and Ardanoutzi fell to his son Kourkenios, who, dying childless, left it to his brother Asotios, called Kiskasis. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, married his daughter to the late magister Kourkenis, who, having grown great, revolted, and deprived his father-in-law Asotios of Ardanoutzi, and gave him in exchange Tyrokastron and the river region of Atzaras, which forms the frontier of Romania at Kolorin. Now, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had to wife the sister of the magister George, ruler of Abasgia. And when the magister Kourkenios and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, fell out with one another, the patrician Asotios took the side of the ruler of Abasgia, and for that reason Kourkenios, gaining the upper hand, deprived him even of what he had given him in exchange for Ardanoutzi, and expelled him, and he departed to Abasgia. On the death of the magister Kourkenios, Ardanoutzi was left to his wife, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, as her father's heiress. Now when Asotios the curopalate and the magister George, ruler of Abasgia, and the magister Pankratios, brother of the aforesaid curopalate, were dividing up the country of the magister Kourkenios by

---

46. 2 'Αδρανουτζίου edd. || 3 *post* Δαυιδ *add.* καὶ edd. *omittendum coni.* Brosset || *post* ὁ<sup>3</sup> *addendum καὶ coni.* Marquart || 5 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη edd. || 6 τρεῖς V edd.: γ' P || 8 αὐτοῖς V edd. || 'Αρδανούτζι Moravcsik: 'Αδρανούτζη P edd. || 12 πεμθεροῦ P || 13 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη Ba Be || 15 *ante* 'Ρωμανίας *add.* τῆς edd. || Κόλωρην P || 20 ἀφείλετο V edd.: ἀφείλατο P || 21 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P edd. || 23 'Αρδανούτζη P: 'Αδρανούτζη edd. || 24 καὶ *add.* Moravcsik ||

μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προρρηθέντος κουροπαλάτου, ἦλθον εἰς συμβίβασιν, καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἕκαστος τὸ πλησιάζον αὐτῷ. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἐπλησίαζεν τῷ Συμβατίῳ, τῷ τοῦ προρρηθέντος Δαυὶδ υἱῷ. Τότε ἐκράτησαν πάντες τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, 30 ἡγουν τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, λέγοντες, ὡς ὅτι· «Σὺ γυνὴ οὕσα οὐ δύνασαι κρατεῖν τὸ κάστρον.» Τότε δέ-  
 148<sup>vP</sup> δωκεν ὁ Συμβάτιος εἰς ἀντισήκωσιν τοῦ κάστρου χωρία τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ συγγένεια τῶν τοιούτων Ἰβήρων τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν 35 τρόπον. Τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδρανᾶσέ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἀρτίως Ἀσωτίου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, ὑπῆρχον δύο ἀδελφῶν παιδιὰ, ἡγουν ἐξαδέλφαι. Εἶχεν δὲ Συμβάτιος, ὁ τοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱός, γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ μαγίστρου Παγκρατίου, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀδρανᾶσῆ, τοῦ ἀρτίως μαγίστρου, καὶ τελευτησάσης, ἔλαβεν ὁ 40 Ἀδρανᾶσῆ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Συμβατίου, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Δαυὶδ.

149<sup>vP</sup> 208<sup>Be</sup> Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἐστὶν ὄχυρόν πάνυ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἑαπάτιν μέγα ὡς χωρόπολιν, καὶ αἱ πραγματεῖαι | τῆς | τε Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀβασγίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσας τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἀρμενικὰς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκεῖσε ἀφικνουῦνται, ἔχει δὲ καὶ κομμέρκιον ἐκ 45 τῶν τοιούτων πραγματεῶν ἄπειρον. Ἡ δὲ χώρα τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ἥτοι τὸ Ἀρζὺν ἐστὶν καὶ πολλὴ καὶ εὐφορος, καὶ ὑπάρχει κλειδὶν τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ Ἀβασγίας καὶ τῶν Μισχιῶν.

Ὅτι ὁ μακάριος βασιλεὺς, ὁ κύρις Ῥωμανὸς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ δρουγγάριον τοῦ πλωῖμου, τῷ τότε καιρῷ 50 πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου τυγχάνοντος, δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον μαγιστράτου πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸν Κουρκενίον τὸν Ἰβηρα μάγιστρον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν πατρίκιον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ δρουγγά-  
 149<sup>vP</sup> ριον τοῦ | πλωῖμου μέχρι Νικομηδείας εἰσῆλθεν ὁ μοναχὸς Ἀγάπιος ὁ τοῦ Κυμινᾶ, ὃς ἦν τῷ τότε καιρῷ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν εὐχῆς ἕνεκα. 55 Καὶ διερχομένου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν. Καὶ εἶχεν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσωτίος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης καλούμενος, ἔχθραν μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κουρκενί, καὶ ἐλάλησεν εἰς τὸν μοναχὸν Ἀγάπιον, ὅτι· «Ἐνορκῶ σε εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ 60 εἴπῃς τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ καὶ παραλάβῃ τὸ κάστρον μου καὶ ἔχῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ.» Ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς Ἀγάπιος εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει, διηγῆσατο τὸν βασιλέα, ὅσα ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατρί-

¶ 29 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 32 ὡς *om.* V edd. || 33 ἀντισήκωσιν: συνάντησιν V edd. || 34 τοιοῦτο V edd. || Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 36 Τοῦ Δαυὶδ: τοῦ Συμβατίου

force of arms, they came to an accommodation and each took what was next to him. And Ardanoutzi lay next to Symbatios, son of the aforesaid David. Then all of them seized on the widow of the magister Kourkenios, that is, the daughter of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and said to her: «You, as a woman, cannot possess the city.» Then Symbatios gave the woman territories in exchange for the city, and took the city of Ardanoutzin.

These Iberians are related to one another in the following manner. The mother of David and the mother of Adranase the curopalate, father of the present curopalate Asotios, were the children of two brothers, that is to say, they were first cousins. Symbatios, the son of David, had to wife the daughter of the magister Pankratios, father of Adranasi who is now magister, and after her death Adranasi married the sister of Symbatios, son of David.

The city of Ardanoutzin is very strongly defended, and has moreover a considerable suburban area like a provincial city, and the commerce of Trapezus and of Iberia and of Abasgia and from the whole country of Armenia and Syria comes to it, and it has an enormous customs revenue from this commerce. The country of the city of Ardanoutzin, the 'Arzyn', is both extensive and fertile, and it is a key of Iberia and Abasgia and of the Mischians.

The emperor the lord Romanus, of blessed memory, sent the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at that time protospatharius and lictor, with a tunic of the magistracy in order to make Kourkenios the Iberian a magister. When the patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, had reached Nicomedeia, the monk Agapios of Kyminas came on the scene, who had at that time been visiting the holy city to fulfil a vow. In his passage through Iberia he had come to the city of Ardanoutzin. The patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, had spoken thus to the monk Agapios: «I adjure you, by God and by the power of the honourable and life-giving Cross, to go to Constantinople and tell the emperor to send and take over my city, and have it beneath his dominion.» The monk Agapios came to Constantinople and related to the emperor all that the patrician

*seu* <Συμβατίου τοῦ υἱοῦ> τοῦ Δαβὶδ *coni.* Brosset Laskin || 'Αδρανασή edd. || 40 'Αδρανασή edd. || 42 'Αδρανούτζιν Ba Be || ὁχυρόν ἐστι πᾶν V edd. || 43 ῥαπάτην P || μέγα V edd.: μέγαν P || χωρόπολιν: χωρόπουλον *sive* χωριόπουλον *coni.* Meursius || 44 τῆς<sup>2</sup> *om.* V edd. || πάσας τὰς χώρας τὰς 'Αρμενικὰς: πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς 'Αρμενίας edd. || 46/7 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P 'Αδρανουτζίου edd. || 47 'Αρζήν edd. || 48 κλειδὴν P || Μισχιῶν: Μοσχιῶν *coni.* Meursius Bandurius Laskin || 49 κύρης P || 50 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 51 πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ μαγγλαβίτου τυγχάνοντος: πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ μαγγλαβίτῃ τυγχάνοντι *coni.* Brosset || 52 μαγιστράτου edd.: μαγιστράτον P || 53 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντα edd. || 55 Κυμηνα P || καιρῷ: χρόνῳ edd. || 57 'Αδρανούτζιν edd. || 62 ἔχῃ edd.: ἔχει P ||

- 150<sup>P</sup>κιος | Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης. Τοῦ δὲ προρρηθέντος πατρι|κίου  
209<sup>Be</sup>Κωνσταντίνου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωτμου ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τυγχάνον- 65  
τος διὰ τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ μαγίστρου τοῦ Κουρκένη  
Ἰβηρος ὑπόθεσιν, ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέξατο πιττάκιον τοῦ  
πατρικίου Συμεών, τοῦ πρωτοασκηρίτης, ὡς ὅτι· «Κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος καταλιπεῖν σε πάσας σου τὰς δουλείας καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐν  
συντομίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσῃν λεγόμενον, 70  
καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ  
μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου ἐδηλοποίησεν τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ ἀπο-  
150<sup>P</sup>σταλῆναι πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οἰκεῖον τοῦ παραλαβεῖν | τὸ κάστρον  
αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν· καὶ ἀπερχομένου σου ἐν Χαλδίᾳ, ἀναλαβοῦ  
ἄρχοντας χρησίμους, οὓς ἐπίστασαι εἶναι ἡνδρειωμένους καὶ πιστούς, 75  
καὶ εἴσελθε καὶ κράτησον τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Τοῦ δὲ πατρικίου  
Κωνσταντίνου καὶ δρουγγαρίου τοῦ πλωτμου ἀπελθόντος ἐν Χαλδίᾳ  
καὶ ἀναλαβομένου τουρμάρχας χρησίμους καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ λαὸν μέχρι  
τῶν τ', εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος Δαυίδ,  
ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ ἀρτίως κουροπαλάτου, λέγων πρὸς αὐτόν· 80  
«Ποῦ ἀπεστάλης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τί δουλείαν ὀφείλεις ἐκτελέσαι,  
ὅτι τοσοῦτον λαὸν ἐπιφέρει μετὰ σεαυτοῦ;» Ἐσκέπτοντο γὰρ διὰ τὸ  
151<sup>P</sup>ἀποθανεῖν Ἀδρανασὲ τὸν κουροπαλάτην, ὅτι μήπως | ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν  
Κουρκένιον ὀφείλει τιμῆσαι κουροπαλάτην, ἐπειδὴ ἀναμεταξὺ οἱ τοῦ  
Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου παῖδες, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τελευτησάντος, 85  
210<sup>Be</sup>φιλονικίας τινὰς ἔσχον μετὰ τοῦ ἐξαδέλ|φου αὐτῶν. Διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν  
πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπολῦσαι μετὰ μεγάλου κανισκίου τὸν Κουρκέ-  
νιον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαιτούμενον τὸ κουροπαλατῖκιν ἢ τὸ μαγιστρά-  
τον, ὑπέλαβον οἱ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοί, ἡγουν οἱ τοῦ Ἀδρανασὲ τοῦ κουροπαλά-  
του παῖδες, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον κουροπαλάτην ἀπέρχεται 90  
ἐκεῖσε. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπελογήσατο, ὅτι· «Διὰ τὸ μέλλειν  
με τιμῆσαι τὸν Κουρκένιον μάγιστρον ἐπιφέρομαι καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον  
151<sup>P</sup>λαόν.» Καὶ ἀπελθόντος | τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν  
χώραν τοῦ Κουρκένιου, ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν μάγιστρον καὶ ἀποχαιρετίσας  
αὐτόν \* \* \*, ὅτι· «Ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν Δαυίδ τὸν μάγιστρον.» Εἶχεν 95  
δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδ κέλευσιν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ξένια. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ πατρικίου  
Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάσῃ, εἰς τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν, καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ  
τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου  
περιέχουσάν τι, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐτέρων ὑποθέσεων. Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ 100

V 65 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 67 ἐδέξατο: ἔλαβε τὸ edd. || 68 πρωτοασκηρίτης *per comp.* P: ἀσκηρίτης edd. || 71 Ἀρδανούτζιν F



Asotios, called Kiskasis, had said to him. The aforesaid patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, who was at Nicomedeia on the aforesaid business of appointing Kourkenios the Iberian to be magister, received by command of the emperor a missive of the patrician Symeon, the head of the imperial chancellery, which said: «Our holy emperor commands that you leave all you are engaged upon and go in haste to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and take over his city of Ardanoutzin, since he has declared to our holy emperor, by the mouth of the monk Agapios, that a trustworthy and familiar servant should be sent to take over his city of Ardanoutzin; go, then, to Chaldia and take some capable officers, whom you know to be brave and trustworthy, and enter and take possession of this city.» The patrician Constantine, the lord admiral, went to Chaldia and took capable lieutenant-generals and officers and men to the number of 300, and entered Iberia and fell into the hands of David, of blessed memory, brother of Asotios who is now curopalate, who said to him: «Whither have you been sent by the emperor and what task are you to perform, that you bring so many men along with you?» For they suspected that, now Adranase the curopalate was dead, the emperor must be about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of curopalate; because, in the mean time, the sons of the curopalate Adranase had, after their father's death, had certain quarrels with their cousin. And since Kourkenios had dispatched his chief man with a large gift to the emperor, requesting that he might be made curopalate or magister, the four brothers, that is, the sons of Adranase the curopalate, assumed that *the patrician Constantine* came thither to create Kourkenios curopalate. But the patrician Constantine put them off by saying: «Because I am about to honour Kourkenios with the rank of magister I bring with me so many men.» And the patrician Constantine went off to the country of Kourkenios and honoured him with the rank of magister, and, bidding him farewell, *said*: «I am going to David the magister.» For this same patrician Constantine had for David also a mandate and presents from the emperor. And he entered Ardanoutzin, the city of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and gave him the imperial mandate addressed to him, which contained nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, but was about other matters. But

---

Ἀρδανούζην P: Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 72/3 ἀποσταλῆναι: ἀποστεῖλαι edd. || 74 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 77 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 79 τῶν *om.* edd. || 81 τί: τίνα edd. || ὀφείλεις edd.: ὀφείλης P || 82 τὸ Be το (*sine acc.*) P: τοῦτο V Me Ba || 83 *post τὸν¹ add.* καὶ edd. || 84 ὀφείλῃ edd. || 87 πρῶτον V edd.: α' P || αὐτοῦ *om.* V edd. || ἀπολύσαι: ἀποστεῖλαι V edd. || 88 κουροπαλατίχην P || 88/9 μαγιστράτον P || 89 τέσσαρες edd.: 8' P || οἱ² *om.* V edd. || 90 *ante παῖδες add.* οἱ V edd. || 91 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 93 Καὶ ἀπελθόντος — 95 μάλιστα *post ξένια (97) transp.* edd. || 93 Κωνσταντίνου *per comp.* P: Κώνσταντος edd. || 95 *lac. ind.* εἶπεν *aut aliquid simile excidissee coniciens* Moravesik || 96 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 98 Ἀδρανούτζιν edd. || 99 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravesik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. ||

- πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος, ὅτι· «Κἄν μὲν ἡ κέλευσις οὐδὲν περιέχει περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἀγαπίου πρὸς τὸν  
152<sup>r</sup>P βασιλέα εἰσελθόντος καὶ ἀναγγείλαντος αὐτόν, ὅσα καὶ | παρήγγειλας αὐτόν περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέστειλεν με, ὅπως παραλάβω τὸ κάστρον καὶ εἰσαγάγω ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅνπερ περιφέρομαι<sup>105</sup> λαόν.» Καὶ ἐπειδὴ, καθὰ προεῖρηται, εἶχεν ἔχθραν ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος,  
211<sup>Be</sup> ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, | τοῦ Κουρκένη, προεθυμήθη δοῦναι τὸ κάστρον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος εἶχεν παρ' ἑαυτῷ φλάμμουλα, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν τῷ πατρικίῳ Ἀσωτίῳ, τῷ καὶ Κισκάσῃ. Ὁ δὲ βαλὼν αὐτὸ εἰς κοντάριον, ἐπιδέδωκεν<sup>110</sup> τῷ πατρικίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ εἰπὼν, ὅτι· «Ἐπίστησον αὐτὸ ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἵνα γνῶσιν πάντες τοῦ βασιλέως εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον  
152<sup>v</sup>P ἡμέρας τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.» Καὶ τοῦτο | ποιήσας ὁ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τὸ φλάμμουλον ἐπιστήσας ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς εὐφημήσας, πᾶσιν ἐγένετο<sup>115</sup> γνωστόν, ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανουτζὶν ἀπεχαρίσατο ὁ πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος, ὁ καὶ Κισκάσης, τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ οὖν Δαυίδ, ὁ μέγας, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸν βασιλέα, κἄν τάχα συνορῇ τὴν τοῦρμαν τοῦ Ἀκαμπῆ καὶ τῇ Μουργούλῃ. Ὁ οὖν πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγαγε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξαποστείλας δύο ἀναφοράς, τὴν μὲν μίαν περιέχουσας,<sup>120</sup> ὅπως ἐτίμησεν τὸν Κουρκένην μάγιστρον, καὶ ὅπως ὁ Κουρκένιος ἀπεδέξατο τὸ μαγιστρᾶτον, καὶ εὐφήμησεν τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν περιέχουσας περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, καὶ ὅπως τοῦτο παρέλαβεν  
153<sup>r</sup>P | παρὰ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάσης, καὶ ὅτι μεγάλην διαφορὰν καὶ ἔχθραν ἔχουσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁ τε πατρίκιος Ἀσώτιος μετὰ<sup>125</sup> τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, καὶ ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ ὁ  
212<sup>Be</sup> βα|σιλεὺς βοήθειαν τοῦ ταξατεῦσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ ὅτι, εἰ ἐνδέχεται, ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν. Ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ Ἰβηρες, ὁ τε μάγιστρος Κουρκένιος καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Δαυίδ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κουροπαλάτου Ἀσωτίου, ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτι· «Εἰ τοῦτο κατα-<sup>130</sup>δέξῃται ἡ βασιλεία σου, καὶ εἰσέλθῃ μέσον τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν, ἐξερχόμεθα τῆς δουλώσεως τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ γινόμεθα μετὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν,  
153<sup>v</sup>P ἐπειδὴ ἔχειν ἔχομεν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μάχας καὶ πολέμια, καὶ βιαζόμενοι κινῆσαι ἔχομεν φοσησάτον κατὰ τε τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥωμανίας.» Ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τῶν<sup>135</sup>

V 101 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 102 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 103 παρήγγειλας V edd.: παρείγγειλας (*litteris ei in ras. scriptis*) P<sup>1</sup> || 104 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 108/9 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P: Κώνστας edd. || 109

the patrician Constantine said to him: «Although the mandate contains nothing about the city of Ardanoutzin, none the less the monk Agapios came to the emperor and reported to him all that you had bidden him about the city of Ardanoutzin, and therefore *the emperor* has sent me, to take over the city and introduce into it the men I bring along with me.» And since, as has been said above, the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, was at feud with his son-in-law Kourkenios, he had made up his mind the rather to give his city to the emperor. The patrician Constantine had with him standards and he gave *one* to the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis. He put it upon a pike and gave it to the patrician Constantine, saying: «Set it up on top of the wall, that all may know that from this day this city belongs to the emperor.» The patrician Constantine did so and set the standard on top of the wall and made the customary salutations of the emperors of the Romans, so that it became known to all that the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, had made a present of the city of Ardanoutzin to the emperor. Now, the elder David made no offer of his country to the emperor, notwithstanding it marched with the county of Akampsis and with Mourgouli. So then the patrician Constantine reported to the emperor in two dispatches, the one containing the news of how he had honoured Kourkenios with the rank of magister, and of how Kourkenios had accepted the magistracy and saluted the emperor; and the other containing news about the city of Ardanoutzin, and of how he had taken it over from the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, and that the patrician Asotios and his son-in-law the magister Kourkenios had a great quarrel and feud with one another, and that the emperor should send succour for the garrisoning of this city, and that, should it be possible, the commander-in-chief should also come. When the Iberians, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of the curopalate Asotios, saw what was done, they wrote to the emperor: «If your imperial majesty approves this and enters our country, then we put off our servitude to your imperial majesty and make common cause with the Saracens, since we shall have fighting and hostilities with the Romans and shall, perforce, move an army against the city of Ardanoutzin and its country, and against Romania itself.» *The emperor*, having learnt

---

φλάμουλα P || 110 βαλὼν: λαβὼν V edd. || *post κοντάριον add. περιέθηκε* καὶ V edd. || 111 Κωνσταντίνῳ *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνσταντι Ba Be || 113/4 Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 114 φλάμουλλον P || 116 Ἀδρανουτζίιν edd. || 118 τούρμαν P || 119 Ἀκαμψή P || Μουργούλη Be: Μούργουλη P || Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P V Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 121 Κουρκένιον edd. || 122 μαγιστράτον P || 123 Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 124 καὶ Κισκάση V edd.: Κεκισκάση P || 126 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> *om.* edd. || 129 *post* Δαυίδ *add.* καὶ edd. || 134 φορσάτον P || Ἀρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: Ἀδρανουτζίου P edd. || 135 αὐτοῦ *coni.* Moravcsik: αὐτῶν P edd. ||

γραμμαμάτων τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀρχόντων ἀναμαθῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκηκοὺς καὶ πτοηθεῖς, μήπως γένωνται μετὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐξαγάγῃσι τὰ τῆς Περσίας φοσσάτα κατὰ Ῥωμανίας, ἡρνήσατο λέγων, ὅτι· «Οὐκ ἔγραψα τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ μαγγλαβίτην περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου κάστρου καὶ 140 τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀφροσύνης τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.» Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τελείως ἀπο- 154<sup>P</sup>θεραπεῦσαι τούτους βουλόμενος, καὶ ἐδέξατο | ὁ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ μαγγλαβίτης κέλευσιν μετὰ ὕβρεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν περιέχουσιν· «Τίς διωρίσατό σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; Ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξελεθε 145 213<sup>Be</sup> ἐκ τοῦ κάστρου, καὶ ἀναλαβοῦ Ἀσώτιον, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ τελευ|τηκότος Ἀδρανασέ, τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως τιμήσωμεν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν τοῦ κουροπαλάτου.» Ταῦτα δεξάμενος ὁ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος, κατέλιπεν τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀσώτιον, τὸν καὶ Κισκάσην, εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κάστρον, τὸ Ἀρδανουτζίν, 150 κάκεῖνος ἐξελεθὼν ἀπῆει πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδ, τὸν μέγαν, καὶ ἐπιδέδωκεν αὐτῷ, ἥνπερ εἶχεν πρὸς αὐτὸν κέλευσιν, καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν 154<sup>vP</sup> εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ εὔρεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ | συνθηροισμένους τὸν τε μάγιστρον Κουρκένιον καὶ τὸν μάγιστρον Δαυίδ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀσωτίου τοῦ κουροπαλάτου. Καὶ ἤρξαντο φιλονικεῖν καὶ κατονειδίζειν τὸν πατρίκιον Κων- 155 σταντῖνον, λέγοντες, ὅτι· «Κρυπτὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τυγχάνεις, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφανέρωσας ἡμᾶς περὶ τοῦ κάστρου Ἀρδανουτζίου, ὅτι μέλλεις τοῦτο κρατῆσαι» καὶ ὅτι· «Οὐ συμφέρει τοῦτο κρατεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἡμεῖς γάρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἀνηγάγομεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐδεξάμεθα μηδαμῶς γινώσκειν τὸν βασιλέα περὶ 160 τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ σὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση.» Ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος 155<sup>pP</sup> προσαπολογησάμενος τούτοις | τὰ εἰκότα, ἀνελάβετο Ἀσώτιον, τὸν υἱὸν Ἀδρανασέ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κουροπαλάτης. 165

Τί δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τισι καιροῖς μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν συμβεβηκότων; Ἀξίον γάρ, φίλτατε υἰέ, μηδὲ τὴν περὶ τούτων 214<sup>Be</sup> μνήμην διαφυγεῖν σε, ἵν' ἐν ὁμοίοις | καιροῖς, τῶν αὐτῶν προσπιπτόντων, εἴη σοι εὐχερὴς ἢ ἐπανάρθωσις διὰ τῆς προγνώσεως.

F 168 ἐν ὁμοίοις — 169 προγνώσεως: cf. Thucyd. I. 22, 4.

V 138 φοσσάτα P || 140 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P Me: Κώνσταντα Ba Be || καί<sup>1</sup>: τὸν edd. || 144 Κωνσταντῖνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 145 διορίσατο

of these things through the letters of the aforesaid princes and having heard them from their envoys, and being terrified lest perchance they might make common cause with the Saracens and lead out the armies of Persia against Romania, denied it, saying: «I did not write to the protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, about this city and its country, telling him to take it over, but out of his own folly, so to say, he has done this.» So spoke the emperor in his desire to give them all satisfaction; and this same protospatharius Constantine, the lictor, received a mandate couched in terms of insult and menace: «Who instructed you to do this? Come you, the rather, out of the city and take Asotios, son of the late Adranase the curopalate, and conduct him hither, so that we may honour him with his father's rank of curopalate.» On receipt of these orders, the patrician Constantine abandoned the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis, in his city of Ardanoutzin, and himself took leave and departed to the elder David and gave him the mandate which he had for him, and returned and entered Iberia and found, met together in one place, the magister Kourkenios and the magister David, brother of Asotios the curopalate. And they began to quarrel with and to heap abuse upon the patrician Constantine, saying: «You are a sly and evil fellow in not revealing to us, concerning the city of Ardanoutzin, that you were about to take possession of it», and, «It is not the emperor's policy to possess himself of it, for we ourselves reported to the emperor on this affair and have received a reply that the emperor knows nothing whatsoever about this affair, but that you have done this out of love of the patrician Asotios, called Kiskasis.» The patrician Constantine made a reasonable defence to these charges, and took Asotios, son of Adranase the curopalate, and conducted him to Constantinople, and he was honoured by the emperor with the dignity of curopalate.

But what of events which have taken place at various times between the Romans and different nations? For it is worth while, my dearest son, that record of these things also should not escape you, in order that, should the same things come about on similar occasions, you may by foreknowledge find a ready remedy.

---

P || 146 τετελευτηκότος edd. || 149 Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 150 καὶ Κισκάσην V<sup>1</sup> edd.: Κεκισκάσην P V || 'Αρδανούτζιν Moravcsik: 'Αδρανουτζίν P edd. || 151 ἀπῆει edd.: ἀπέη P || μέγαν edd.: μέγα P || 152 ἥνπερ εἶχεν: ἥν περιεῖχε edd. || 155/6 Κωνσταντῖνον *per comp.* P Me: Κώνσταντα Ba Be || 156 τυγχάνεις Ba Be: τυγχάνης P || 157 'Αρδανουτζίου Moravcsik: 'Αδρανουτζίου P edd. || μέλλεις Be: μέλλης P || 158 Οὐ *om.* edd. || 162 καὶ Κισκάση V edd.: Κεκισκάση P || Κωνσταντίνος *per comp.* P Me: Κώνστας Ba Be || 163 προσαπολογισάμενος P || 164 'Αδρανασή edd. || 166 τί: Ἰσθι Be Migne || 167 τὴν περὶ: περὶ τὴν Be.

# INDEX OF SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES

## I. BIBLE

Exodus	32, 14 : P/38—39
3, 8 : 27/32—34	39, 3 : P/32
13, 19 : P/41	44, 5 : P/43
15, 16 : 13/100	54, 6 : 13/100
33, 22 : P/42—43	67, 20 : P/40
	71, 9 : P/45—46
Leviticus	71, 10 : P/38
20, 24 : 27/32—34	71, 11 : P/38—39
26, 8 : P/45	71, 17 : P/8
	77, 6—7 : 49/62—64
Numeri	88, 37 : P/33
13, 28 : 27/32—34	108, 15 : 29/143—144
	118, 5 : P/44—45
Deuteronomium	118, 133 : P/32
6, 3 : 27/32—34	
14, 2 : P/35	Proverbia
28, 7 : P/28—29	1, 5 : 1/5
	1, 7 : 30/2
Reges	1, 8 : 1/4
I, 25, 21 : 29/167—168	2, 6 : P/4
II, 11, 3—5 : 45/3—4	6, 3 : 13/13
IV, 1, 10—12 : 13/98—99	8, 15 : P/48
	10, 1 : P/2
Paralipomena	17, 13 : 29/167—168
I, 21, 3 : P/34	17, 21 : P/2—3
II, 23, 20 : P/5	23, 5 : 13/12
Esdras	Sapientia Salomonis
1, 2 : P/36	3, 1 : P/34—35
	4, 3 : P/32—33
Iob	19, 8 : P/42—43
5, 19 : P/34—35	
9, 2 : 29/143—144	Sirach
	1, 25 : P/4
Psalmi	
5, 9 : P/44—45	Isaias
9, 7 : 29/167—168	10, 18 : P/28—29
17, 34 : P/36—37	33, 14 : P/31
21, 31 : 49/62—64	49, 23 : P/45—46
	50, 4 : P/3—4

Ezechiel  
40, 2 : P/36—37  
Daniel  
9, 27 : 19/8—9  
Zacharias  
9, 15 : P/31  
Evangelium Matthaei  
1, 6 : 45/3—4  
2, 12 : 45/11  
5, 14 : P/37—38  
24, 15 : 19/8—9  
27, 8 : 53/450—451  
Acta Apostolorum  
4, 13 : 13/150  
7, 54 : 29/210  
28, 1—5 : 36/18—20

Epistola ad Galatas  
1, 15 : P/35  
Epistola ad Timotheum  
II. 4, 1 : 29/203  
Epistola Ioannis  
II. 8 : 29/203  
Epistola Iacobi  
1, 17 : P/4—5  
Apocalypsis  
20, 9 : 13/98—99  
Evangelium Apocryphum  
(ed. London, 1820)  
p. 17 : 45/6—8

## II. ANCIENT AUTHORS

Aesopus  
(ed. Halm)  
fab. 103 : 41/7—19  
Apollodorus  
(ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II B.)  
fr. 324; p. 119 : 23/2—4

Apollonius Dyscolus  
(ed. Schneider)  
p. 47 : 23/30—36

Aristophanes  
(ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. I.)  
fr. 550, 551; p. 531 : 23/20—22

Artemidorus  
(ed. Stiehle, Philologus XI.)  
fr. 21; p. 203 : 23/11—17  
fr. 22; p. 203 : 23/22—24

Asinius Quadratus  
(ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II A.)  
fr. 2; p. 448 : 23/36—38

Athenaeus  
(Dipnosophistae, ed. Kaibel)  
I. 44 b; p. 102, 15—19 : 23/40—44

Babrius  
(ed. Schneidewin)  
fab. 47 : 41/7—19

Charax  
(ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II A.)  
fr. 3.; p. 483 : 24/9—13  
fr. 26, 27; p. 488 : 24/4—8

Cratinus  
(ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. I.)  
fr. 101; p. 46 : 23/39

Dionysius Periegetes  
(ed. Müller, G. G. M. II.)  
v. 69; p. 108 : 23/26—27  
v. 282; p. 117 : 23/20

(Pseudo-) Draco  
(De metris, ed. Herrmann)  
p. 99 : 21/61—62

Habro  
(ed. Berndt, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift  
XXXV.)  
p. 1454 : 23/38

Herodianus  
(ed. Lentz)

- I. p. 76, 29—30 : 23/18  
I. p. 196, 22—29 : 23/30—36, 38, 39  
II. p. 854, 1—9 : 23/30—36, 38, 39

Herodorus  
(ed. Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. I.)  
fr. 2 a; p. 215 : 23/4—11

Herodotus  
IV. 3, 20 : 42/80—83

Homerus  
Ilias II. 672 : 23/35  
Ilias II. 867 : 23/35  
Odyssea VIII. 492 : 13/104

Marcianus  
(Periplus, ed. Müller, G. G. M. I.)  
II. 7; p. 544 : 23/28—30

Menander  
(ed. Kock, C. A. Fr. III.)  
fr. 79; p. 25 : 23/25

Parthenius  
(ed. Martini, Mythographi Graeci II.  
1. suppl.)  
fr. 10; p. 17 : 23/18

Plutarchus  
(ed. Bernardakis)  
De garrulitate c. 18; III. p. 325 : 41/7—19  
Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata  
174; II. p. 8—9 : 41/7—19.

Ptolemaeus  
Geogr. III. 6, 5 : 42/80—83

Simonides  
(ed. Diehl, A. L. Gr. II.<sup>2</sup> 5.)  
fr. 165; p. 143 : 21/61—62

Strabo  
XIV. 2, 5; p. 652 : 21/61—62

Thucydides  
I. 22, 2 : 46/168—169

### III. BYZANTINE AUTHORS

Achmes  
(Oneirocriticon, ed. Drexler)  
p. 212, 20 : 21/81—82

Basilius  
(Paraenesis, ed. Migne, P. G. 107.)  
c. XL D : 29/123—126

Cedrenus  
(ed. Bonn.)  
I. 717, 7—17 : 16/6—9  
I. p. 738, 3—739, 15 : 14/2—28, 17/2—10  
I. p. 739, 15—17, 22 : 17/10—11, 14—23  
I. p. 744, 9—21 : 14/31—36  
I. p. 746, 8—15 : 19/2—11  
I. p. 755, 1—5, 8—18 : 20/3—10, 21/51—  
62, 64—65  
I. p. 764, 18—20 : 20/11—12  
I. p. 765, 11—15 : 48/28—32

I. p. 765, 19—766, 6 : 21/4—16  
I. p. 770, 22—24 : 21/46—48  
I. p. 771, 4—15, 18—21 : 22/9—26  
II. p. 129, 21—130, 13 : 42/20—55  
II. p. 218, 22—219, 3 : 29/56—69  
II. p. 219, 4—220, 8 : 29/88—116  
II. p. 220, 9—221, 7 : 29/70—79, 88—116  
II. p. 221, 8—225, 8 : 29/116—216  
II. p. 254, 24—256, 1 : 40/7—13

Concilia  
(ed. Mansi = Ralles-Potles)  
Canon XIV. IV. Conc. (VII. c. 364 =  
II. p. 251) : 13/142—145  
Canon XXXIX. VII. Conc. (XI. c. 961  
= II. p. 395) : 48/3—21  
Canon LXXII. VII. Conc. (XI. c. 976 =  
II. p. 471) : 13/142—145



## Constantinus Porphyrogenitus

De cerimoniis (ed. Bonn. = ed. Vogt.)

p. 5, 2—4 = I. p. 2, 15—17: 1/8—13

p. 456, 3—4: 1/4

p. 456, 4—5: 30/2

p. 690, 23 (scholion): 27/69—70

## De thematibus (ed. Bonn.)

p. 31, 1—5 (= ed. Pertusi p. 73, IX. 3—6):  
50/120—126p. 61, 11—62, 18 (= ed. Pertusi p. 97,  
18—98, 42): 29/88—116

## Eparchicon biblion

(ed. Zepos)

IX. 6; p. 382: 6/8—9

## Excerpta cod. Bruxellensis II 4836

(ed. Davreux, Byzantion X.)

p. 99: 16/6—9

## Excerpta cod. Harl. 5624

(ed. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν XV.)

p. 358—359: 17/2—10

p. 359: 14/2—28, 17/14—23

p. 362: 14/31—36

p. 363: 18/1—6

## Georgius Monachus

(ed. de Boor)

p. 697, 13—699, 10: 14/2—28

p. 699, 10 (apparatus): 14/28—31

p. 700, 5—6: 17/10—11

p. 706, 1—13: 14/31—36

p. 765, 8—14: 13/61—66

## Georgius Monachus (cont.)

(ed. Bonn. = ed. Istrin)

p. 905, 19—907, 5 = II. p. 56, 8—34:  
13/147—149p. 913, 6—8 = II. p. 60, 6—8: 13/147—  
149p. 917, 11—18 = II. p. 62, 15—21: 26/  
66—72p. 853, 20—855, 7 = II. p. 27, 20—28,  
11: 40/7—13

## Leo Grammaticus

(ed. Bonn.)

p. 152, 20—153, 3: 16/6—9

p. 153, 4—154, 7: 14/2—28

p. 160, 6—10: 48/28—32

p. 267, 15—269, 4: 40/7—13

## Leo Sapiens

(Tact., ed. Migne, P. G. 107.)

XVIII. 42; c. 956 C—D: 40/7—13

XVIII. 101, c. 969 A—B: 29/82—84

XVIII. 112—115; c. 972 D—973 B: 15/  
10—14

## Lydus

(De magistratibus, ed. Wuensch)

II. 13; p. 68, 23—24: 6/9

## Menander

(ed. de Boor, Exc. de leg.)

fr. 3; p. 177, 12—34: 29/123—126

## Nicephorus

(ed. de Boor)

p. 32, 23—33, 6: 21/4—16

p. 36, 16—17: 22/22—26

p. 39, 12—14: 22/27—29

p. 53, 10—54, 1: 21/116—125

## Nicolaus III Grammaticus

(Synodalis epistola, ed. Migne, P. G.

119 = Ralles—Potles)

c. 877 D—890 A = V. p. 72: 49/4—75

## Notitiae epsicopatuum

(ed. Parthey)

No. 3, 754; p. 130: 9/72

## Procopius

(ed. Haury)

De bello Vand. I. 2—4; p. 320, 18—322,

4, 311, 5—313, 1, 317, 9—20, 322,

4—326, 4: 25/3—55

## Socrates

Hist. eccl. VII. 43: 13/98—99

## Stephanus Alexandrinus

(ed. Usener)

I. p. 3—16, II. p. 15—22: 16/1—5

## Stephanus Byzantius

(ed. Meineke)

s. v. Ἰβηρίαι: 23/2—44

s. v. Ἰσπανίαι: 24/2—13

s. v. Τάφραι: 42/80—83

(Pseudo-) Symeon  
(ed. Bonn.)

p. 695, 3—697, 2: 29/116—216

Theodosius Melitenus  
(ed. Tafel)

p. 105, 24—106, 21: 14/2—28

p. 110, 14—18: 48/28—32

p. 186, 30—188, 2: 40/7—13

Theophanes  
(ed. de Boor)

p. 93, 31—95, 25: 25/3—55

p. 273, 14—27: 29/123—126

p. 309, 15: 45/22—23

p. 333, 1—334, 19: 14/2—28, 17/2—10

p. 334, 17—27: 14/28—31, 17/14—23

p. 336, 4—8, 14—16, 28—29: 18/1—6

p. 337, 13—17: 18/1—6

p. 339, 15—24: 19/2—11

p. 343, 17—20, 24—28, 30—31: 20/2—5,  
21/51—54

p. 344, 12—15: 20/5—7

p. 345, 8—11, 16—18: 20/3—5, 7—10,  
21/54—57, 64—65

p. 346, 20—25: 20/12—13, 21/65—69

p. 346, 20—347, 4: 21/16—23, 71—74

p. 347, 26—28: 21/16—23, 71—74, 106—  
110

p. 353, 14—16: 20/11—12

p. 354, 13—17: 48/28—32

p. 355, 1—25: 20/12—13, 21/4—16

p. 356, 15—17: 21/35—37

p. 360, 13—17: 21/35—37

p. 360, 27—361, 3: 21/38—46

p. 361, 15—16, 26—28: 21/46—48, 22/  
6—9

p. 363, 1—20: 22/9—22

p. 364, 4—7: 22/22—26

p. 368, 15: 22/29—31

p. 369, 26: 22/29—31

p. 370, 6—8: 22/27—29, 35—36

p. 371, 19: 22/31—32

p. 374, 14—16, 25, 28: 22/32—35

p. 374, 28—375, 13: 22/6—9

p. 384, 15—19: 22/48—49

p. 386, 20—27: 21/112—113, 115, 22/  
48—51

p. 395, 13—396, 23: 21/116—125

p. 396, 23—24: 22/52—53

p. 398, 5: 22/52—53

p. 401, 4—8, 13—14: 22/52—54

p. 402, 19: 22/54—55

p. 403, 12—13, 24—25: 21/23—30, 22/  
36—39, 53—55

p. 421, 7—10: 22/55—56

p. 424, 12—16: 21/23—30

p. 425, 13—15: 21/23—30

p. 426, 1—7: 21/23—30, 22/36—39

p. 429, 15: 22/56—57

p. 448, 28: 22/57—59

p. 449, 1, 4—8: 22/57—59

p. 453, 25—30: 13/61—66

p. 461, 7, 10: 22/59—60

p. 465, 27—30: 22/59—61

p. 484, 5—19: 22/62—76

Theophanes continuatus  
(ed. Bonn.)

p. 73, 13—76, 7: 22/40—48

p. 74, 21—22: 27/33—34

p. 122, 19—124, 5: 42/20—55

p. 288, 18—289, 2: 29/56—69

p. 289, 2—290, 23: 29/88—116

p. 291, 1—292, 13: 29/70—79

p. 292, 14—294, 2: 29/88—116

p. 294, 3—297, 23: 29/116—216

p. 358, 7—359, 16: 40/7—13

p. 414, 1—415, 9: 13/147—149

p. 422, 10—13: 13/147—149

p. 431, 11—19: 26/66—72

p. 474, 1—7: 22/40—48

Theophylactus Simocatta  
(ed. de Boor)

p. 243, 10—244, 17: 29/123—126

## Vita Sophronii

(ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

p. 144: 19/8—9

Vita Theophanis  
(ed. de Boor)

p. 30, 11—12: 22/77—78

Zonaras  
(ed. Bonn. III.)XIV. 19; p. 219, 7—10: 20/7—10, 21/  
64—65

XIV. 20; p. 223, 16—224, 4: 48/28—32

XIV. 20; p. 224, 11—225, 7: 21/4—16

XV. 1; p. 252, 9—253, 6: 21/116—125

XVI. 9; p. 425, 1—429, 6: 29/70—79,  
88—216

XVI. 12; p. 442, 17—443, 16: 40/7—13

# BYZANCE ET ANTIOCHE

## SOUS

### LE CUROPALATE PHILARÈTE,

PAR

M. J. LAURENT,

DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE NANCY.



Dès 1074, le gouvernement de l'empereur Michel VII Ducas, pour arrêter les progrès de Philarète, donna simultanément la consigne de le combattre au duc d'Antioche et à celui de Mélitène. Ces deux chefs militaires, à plus de trois cents kilomètres l'un de l'autre, commandaient aux deux extrémités du Taurus syrien. On se fera par là une idée de l'étendue qu'avait dès lors prise la « tyrannie » (BRYENNE, II, 28) de Philarète.

Ce personnage <sup>(1)</sup>, Arménien d'origine, avait reçu de l'empereur Romain Diogène, en 1068, un important commandement sur la frontière de l'Euphrate, vers Samosate et Mélitène. Au service de l'empire, Philarète avait plus d'une fois manqué de bonheur ou de fidélité; il avait notamment, en 1069, laissé les Turcs forcer le passage et disperser ses troupes, que l'empereur dut attendre et recueillir à Kélésiné (ATTALIATES, p. 135; LAURENT, *Turcs*, p. 25). Ensuite, lorsque Romain Diogène, délivré de sa captivité chez les Turcs, avait recouru aux armes pour reprendre l'empire à Michel VII Ducas, Philarète avait profité de la guerre civile entre les armées byzantines, puis de l'invasion et de l'avance des forces turques, pour agir à sa guise et pour s'établir dans le Taurus. « Il s'était installé en des lieux difficiles d'accès, montueux, hors des courses turques; il en avait fait sa demeure; il avait entouré les défilés de

<sup>(1)</sup> Sur lui, cf. LAURENT, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, dans *Annales de l'Est*, 1913-1919, p. 81 et suiv.; et *Edesse entre 1071 et 1098*, dans *Byzantion*, I, 1924, p. 387.

nombreux murs; il avait fortifié les pentes; il en avait rendu l'accès impossible aux ennemis » (ATTALIATES, p. 301; cf. MICHEL, éd. Chabot, III, p. 173). Il faut comprendre ceci : dans le désarroi général, devant la carence des Grecs, Philarète avait assuré aux populations chrétiennes de la région du Taurus un asile contre les cruautés de l'invasion turque. Et cet asile était resté inviolable.

En conséquence, Philarète « réunit une grande force militaire, composée d'Arméniens et de réfugiés » (ATTALIATES, p. 301; MICHEL, III, p. 173). Cette force comprenait aussi ceux des auxiliaires francs que Byzance avait employés jusqu'au fond de la Mésopotamie, et qui ne savaient plus qu'y devenir, maintenant que le gouvernement de Constantinople les laissait sans ordre, sans solde et sans organe régulier de liaison. Nous connaissons par Matthieu d'Edesse (c. 106) le nom du chef franc Raimbaud, qui servit ainsi Philarète en Mésopotamie, avec 8.000 de ses compatriotes; il y avait une forteresse près de Kharpout (LAURENT, *Turcs*, p. 82).

Appuyé sur cette troupe dévouée, fort des services rendus, Philarète avait refusé de se soumettre aux combinaisons politiques égoïstes et à courte vue de la cour de Michel VII Ducas. « Il refusa obéissance à l'empereur, il se conduisit en prince indépendant » (ATTALIATES, p. 301); et les « villes impériales » (*id.*), abandonnées en fait par Byzance, redoutant l'horreur de la domination turque, se donnèrent à Philarète, à ses Arméniens et à ses aventuriers. En ce faisant, elles prétendirent rester fidèles à l'empire; car Philarète avait été investi du commandement par un empereur de Byzance; aux yeux de beaucoup, il conservait ce droit à l'autorité, même lorsqu'il eût rompu avec le gouvernement de Constantinople. D'où l'opinion, que répétait encore Michel le Syrien (III, p. 174), que « Philardos n'avait pas enlevé aux Turcs les pays et les villes, mais que les Grecs le firent régner sur elles, pour qu'il les conservât ».

De toute façon, la domination de Philarète était devenue très vaste en quatre ans. En 1074, « sa tyrannie prenait chaque jour de l'extension » (BRYENNE, II, 28). Il convoitait même Antioche, où un parti nombreux désirait lui remettre la ville : il serait plus capable que les Grecs affaiblis et lointains de la protéger contre l'assaut continu de l'Islam. Ce parti était celui du peuple (BRYENNE, II, 28), mené par les Arméniens de la ville. Ils y étaient nombreux; ils y avaient un évêché (ASOGHIK, III, c. 31, p. 196; GELZER, *Münchener Abhandl.*, t. 21, p. 563); dès le <sup>x</sup> siècle, ils avaient pu y faire une grave émeute (SCHLUMBERGER, *Épopée*, I, p. 415); ils y avaient sou-

vent été maltraités par les Grecs (MATTHIEU, c. 123). C'est à eux, prétend Matthieu (c. 155) que la ville fut enlevée par les musulmans. Tous ces éléments de désordre formaient alors un parti, qui avait à sa tête le patriarche Émilien, et qui s'opposait au parti des «archontes». Philarète espérait se servir de lui pour occuper Antioche.

Il semble qu'à la mort du duc Joseph Trachaniotès, Philarète crut avoir trouvé l'occasion de réaliser ses projets. Aussitôt le parti populaire troubla la ville. Comme le magistros Katakalon, fils du duc défunt, fut impuissant à ramener le calme, Michel VII envoya, pour gouverner Antioche, le domestique des scholes Isaac Comnène (sur son séjour à Antioche, cf. BRYENNE, II, 28-29), qui avait été récemment pris par les Turcs, puis racheté moyennant une forte rançon. C'était un jeune homme, de la grande famille des Comnènes; il était neveu de l'empereur Isaac Comnène, allié à la famille de l'empereur Romain Diogène, et attaché à la dynastie des Ducas par des intérêts communs et par des mariages. Voilà pourquoi sans doute le gouvernement de Michel VII Ducas avait assez confiance en lui — ou désirait assez l'éloigner de Constantinople — pour lui avoir confié la lointaine mission de maintenir l'autorité impériale à Antioche et dans ses environs.

Ce n'était pas une petite affaire : car Byzance et Antioche ne communiquaient plus que par mer. Sur terre, entre ces villes, les Turcs se montraient partout, des portes d'Antioche aux rives de Chalcédoine. Et pourtant, la consigne très spéciale donnée à Isaac Comnène, partant pour Antioche, fut moins de lutter contre les Turcs que d'arrêter les progrès de Philarète, tant la tranquillité d'Antioche dépendait alors, au jugement de la cour byzantine, de la suppression de l'activité de cet arménien dans cette ville et dans sa région.

Philarète gênait aussi Byzance à l'autre extrémité du Taurus, vers Mélitène. Là résidait le gouverneur ou duc de Mésopotamie. Cet emploi fut confié, en 1074, à Nicéphore Mélissène, qui reçut aussi la mission de combattre Philarète. Celui-ci avait récemment machiné la mort d'un vassal de Byzance, le prince Thornig de Sassoun, dans la vallée du Mourad Sou (Euphrate méridional), à mi-chemin entre Kharpout et Mouch. Dans la lutte qu'il mena contre Thornig, Philarète perdit Raimbaud, le chef des auxiliaires francs qui avaient rallié son pavillon (MATTHIEU, c. 106). Puis Thornig fut pris et tué par les Turcs, qui envoyèrent sa tête à Philarète (vers 1073-1074, MATTHIEU, c. 106), lequel finit par se

rendre maître de Mélitène, sans que nous sachions comment il y parvint.

Nous sommes mieux renseignés pour Antioche. Là, Isaac Comnène fut reçu, à son arrivée de Constantinople, avec tous les honneurs, par les autorités et par le patriarche (BRYENNE, II, 28). Y trouva-t-il encore la garnison de 4.000 hommes qui, vers 1051, y venait tous les deux ans de Constantinople (Ibn BOUTLAN dans *LE STRANGE, Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 370 et suiv.)? on ne le sait. En tous cas, Isaac Comnène dut tout d'abord, tant le parti de Philarète était fort, dissimuler sa mission, qui était avant tout de décapiter ce parti en envoyant à Constantinople le patriarche Émilien.

Les poursuites contre ce personnage venaient peut-être bien effectivement de ce qu'il était l'animateur du parti que devait combattre Isaac Comnène. Mais il faut savoir aussi que l'ordre concernant Émilien émanait de Nicéphoritze, le ministre dirigeant de Michel VII Ducas. Or Nicéphoritze avait gouverné Antioche; il en avait rapporté des souvenirs amers; et il exerçait sans doute une vengeance personnelle en poursuivant Émilien comme un danger public. Quand ce Nicéphoritze était parti pour Antioche, c'était parsuited'une disgrâce. Sous Constantin Ducas (1059-1067, ATTALIATES, p. 181), « il fut éloigné de la cour et envoyé comme duc à Antioche de Coelé Syrie. Il y porta le trouble et le désordre; il prétexta des hostilités pour construire des forteresses; il excita les Sarrazins à établir des points d'appui pour l'attaque de la citadelle; ne pouvant les combattre, il les poussa à s'opposer aux Romains et à attaquer les villes voisines de la frontière romaine. Il troubla le repos des habitants d'Antioche par des confiscations ou par des impôts terribles. Relevé de ce commandement, il y fut renvoyé plus tard, et il n'y fut pas moins scélérat. A la mort de l'empereur, sous le gouvernement de l'impératrice, il fut arrêté à Antioche et emprisonné ». Après ce récit, on soupçonne pourquoi Isaac Comnène reçut, en 1074, de Nicéphoritze, la mission de « pacifier » Antioche en arrêtant le patriarche Émilien.

Au demeurant, ce dernier était expert dans l'art de mener une intrigue politique et de soulever les masses populaires; il devait le montrer à Constantinople quelques années plus tard, en travaillant avec efficacité, pour atteindre Nicéphoritze et se venger de lui, à détrôner Michel VII Ducas au profit de Nicéphore Botaniatès (BRYENNE, III, 18).

Contre un tel adversaire, Isaac Comnène usa de ruse. Il se fit

ordonner par les médecins un séjour à la campagne; il s'y installa dans la maison que lui offrit le patriarche Émilien; mais il l'y laissa au cours d'une partie de chasse, qui lui permit de rentrer dans Antioche sans le patriarche, auquel il ferma les portes de la ville, en lui faisant tenir les ordres de l'empereur : Émilien, séparé des siens et isolé, dut se résigner et prendre la route de Constantinople. On l'obligea à s'embarquer à Laodicée, assez loin vers le Sud, et non au port habituel d'Antioche, à l'embouchure de l'Oronte. C'était sans doute pour éviter tout contact entre le patriarche et ses amis d'Antioche. C'était peut-être aussi pour l'éloigner du territoire et de la côte que tenait Philarète, au nord d'Antioche.

Mais les partisans du patriarche exilé se soulevèrent; le duc Isaac fut assiégé dans la citadelle; les notables furent traqués et beaucoup massacrés; leurs maisons furent pillées. Les émeutes avaient beau jeu dans une ville au périmètre de 12 milles de long, dont l'enceinte enfermait des vallées et des montagnes, des rochers et des précipices, avec « des champs et des jardins, des moulins, des pâturages et des arbres <sup>(1)</sup> ». Il fallut l'arrivée des garnisons voisines pour assurer au duc Isaac Comnène la victoire sur cette rébellion, qui avait coûté la vie à de nombreux habitants d'Antioche.

Peu après, la ville était si docile, soit par force, soit par suite de la clémence et de l'habileté d'Isaac Comnène, qu'elle racheta ce dernier pour 20.000 pièces d'or, lorsqu'il fut pris par les Turcs dans une expédition en Syrie, où fut tué son beau-frère Constantin, fils de l'empereur Romain Diogène. De toute façon, le séjour d'Isaac Comnène à Antioche s'acheva dans la concorde entre les habitants et lui (BRYENNE, II, 29). Philarète fut impuissant, tant qu'Isaac fut présent, à renouveler avec succès ses intrigues dans la ville. Isaac Comnène avait donc réussi dans sa mission, en ce qu'il avait soustrait momentanément Antioche aux menées de Philarète. Mais, comme il n'avait pu diminuer la puissance de ce dernier, il n'avait pas assuré pour l'avenir la sécurité d'Antioche, qui restait exposée à toutes les tentatives ultérieures de Philarète.

Or celui-ci n'avait cessé de renforcer sa puissance. En 1077 encore, il fit enlever Edesse (LAURENT, *Edesse*, 393) à son gouver-

(1) ISTAKHRI et IBN HAWKAL dans LE STRANGE, *Palestine*, 369, 375; IBN BOUTLAN, dans YAKOUT, I, 382-385, cités par LE STRANGE, p. 370; EDRISI, trad. JAUBERT, II, p. 131; GUILL. TYR. IV, 10; DIEHL, *Justinien*, 583, 587).

neur byzantin Léon, frère de Tavadanos, par Basile, fils d'Aboukab, général « romain », mais Géorgien d'origine (MATTHIEU, c. 116). C'était un nouvel échec infligé par Philarète à l'empereur Michel VII Ducas, dont il refusait de reconnaître la légitimité. C'était aussi pour Philarète un surcroît de force, un encouragement à poursuivre la série de ces « usurpations ».

Quand donc Isaac Comnène quitta Antioche, Philarète y reparut sans tarder. Le départ d'Isaac eut lieu lorsque son frère Alexis rentrait de sa campagne contre Basilacès, à la fin de 1078; Isaac a été rappelé par le nouvel empereur Nicéphore Botaniatès, avec toutes les troupes qu'on osa retirer d'Antioche. Tout cela faisait bien l'affaire de Philarète.

Isaac Comnène avait pourtant essayé de se faire suppléer dans Antioche par un duc qui ne serait pas enclin à favoriser Philarète et qui pourrait réunir les forces nécessaires pour lui faire échec. Isaac à cet effet avait choisi Vaçag Bahlavouni, fils de Grégoire Magistros (MATTHIEU, c. 111). Ce prince arménien appartenait à une illustre famille, autrefois très puissante dans la haute vallée de l'Euphrate méridional; elle avait passé au service de Byzance en la personne de Grégoire, qui avait été duc de Mésopotamie (LAURENT, *Turcs*, p. 39). Elle tenait en ce moment le catholicat des Arméniens par son fils Grégoire II (MATTHIEU, c. 111). Il semblait que Vaçag, devenu duc Antioche, devait assurer à cette ville le concours militaire de tous ceux des Arméniens du Taurus et de haute Syrie, qui se laissaient guider par le prestige de cette grande famille ou par leur aversion pour le parvenu qu'était Philarète. La preuve que le prestige des Bahlavounis n'avait pas disparu parce qu'ils étaient malheureux et émigrés, c'est que, dix ans après les événements rapportés ici, le propre fils de notre Vaçag, nommé Abelgharib, était encore prince autonome : il était installé à Bir lorsque Baudouin d'Edesse l'en délogea en 1117-1118 (CHALANDON, *Comnène*, II, 102). Par contre, Philarète était bien traité en parvenu et méprisé comme tel par les nobles Arméniens. Voici un exemple de leurs rapports : en 1072-1073, Philarète, devenu puissant en Mésopotamie, « manda le brave Thornig, seigneur de Sassoun, et le somma de venir lui prêter hommage. Ce message fut accueilli par Thornig avec le dédain et la dérision que méritait une telle folie. « Comment, dit-il, mais je ne l'ai même jamais vu ! » (MATTHIEU, c. 106).

Méprisé ou non, Philarète était le plus fort, et Vaçag ne régit pas longtemps Antioche. Il fut assassiné durant l'hiver 1078-1079,



sûrement avant le 1<sup>er</sup> mars 1079 (en 527 ère arménienne, qui commença le 2 mars 1078). Sa mort n'est peut-être pas imputable à Philarète; du moins, à s'en tenir à MATTHIEU, c. 111, «il fut tué dans la rue du marché par les perfides Romains. Au moment où il passait dans cette rue, deux hastaires se présentèrent comme pour lui rendre hommage; ils tenaient une lettre supposée, et tandis qu'il se baissait pour la recevoir de leurs mains, ils le frappèrent d'un coup de hache sur le front, entre les yeux».

Il y eut alors dans Antioche une période si troublée que les Vénitiens, qui fréquentaient son port, purent en profiter pour délivrer le prince serbe Bodin, qu'on avait relégué dans cette ville (cf. CHALANDON, I, 7, II, 68). Ces troubles ont laissé leur écho dans MATTHIEU, c. 111 : quand Vaçag eut été assassiné, «ses troupes se réfugièrent dans la citadelle», c'est-à-dire qu'il y eut hostilités entre elles et ceux que la mort de Vaçag avait rendus maîtres de la ville. Ces Arméniens menacés firent appel à Philarète; c'était, selon MATTHIEU, «le corps de la noblesse». Sans doute même furent-ils aidés par une partie des habitants non arméniens d'Antioche. Il est possible en effet, qu'en dehors de toute sympathie pour Philarète, ces habitants d'Antioche, maltraités par ce qui leur restait de garnison byzantine, exposés dans leur port aux coups de main des marins d'Italie, menacés par les incursions incessantes des Arabes et des Turcs, assaillis sans arrêt dans les rues et jusque dans leurs maisons par les violences des partis en lutte et par celles des pires éléments de la population, se soient décidés à se donner à Philarète, qui avait une armée organisée, un état étendu et relativement paisible, et qui était leur voisin.

Le premier soin de Philarète fut de venger la mort de Vaçag. «Au bout de quelques jours (MATTHIEU, c. 111), il convoqua tous les Romains et le corps des hastaires, sous prétexte d'une expédition qu'il voulait entreprendre, et les mena à un village. Là, il commanda à ses troupes de mettre l'épée à la main, et il fit exterminer cette milice. Il prit possession d'Antioche après avoir tiré vengeance du meurtre du grand Vaçag le Bahlavouni».

Chose curieuse, cette exécution des Grecs d'Antioche coïncide avec la réconciliation de Philarète avec Byzance. L'initiative en était venue du nouvel empereur Nicéphore Botaniatès. Pour conquérir le trône, puis aussitôt pour le défendre contre de multiples compétiteurs, Nicéphore Botaniatès avait dû rappeler d'Orient toutes les forces byzantines qui tenaient encore dans

quelques garnisons importantes. Il avait notamment rappelé Isaac Comnène et Nicéphore Paléologue : c'eût été abandonner aux musulmans Antioche et Mélitène et toute la ligne du Taurus, si Philarète n'avait pas tenu cette région avec des troupes chrétiennes. Or Nicéphore Botaniatès connaissait bien Philarète : ils avaient été compagnons d'armes contre les Turcs. De plus, Philarète était l'ami politique du patriarche Émilien, auquel Nicéphore Botaniatès devait beaucoup dans son accession à l'empire (BRYENNE, III, 16). Or Émilien, qui avait été envoyé de force à Constantinople à cause de ses relations amicales avec Philarète, ne manqua pas l'occasion de mener à Antioche la politique favorable à Philarète, qui était la sienne; il détermina Nicéphore Botaniatès à faire appel à Philarète pour la pacification et la défense de la ligne du Taurus. L'empereur y gagnait de recouvrer ses sujets de la région du Taurus Syrien, tandis que Philarète obtenait enfin un titre légal et indiscutable à la souveraineté étendue qu'il s'était acquise par des moyens peu réguliers.

Nicéphore Botaniatès fit donc la paix avec Philarète. Il augmenta sa puissance et il l'employa à son profit, en lui reconnaissant un commandement officiel sur tout ce qu'il occupait en fait. Il y eut échange de vues et négociations, suivies de décisions précisées par écrit. Sur quoi, Philarète devint, pour Botaniatès, son « serviteur en tout et obéit à ses ordres » (ATTALIATES, p. 301). En échange d'une soumission qui ne dut pas comporter une grande gêne, vu l'éloignement et la faiblesse du gouvernement de Nicéphore Botaniatès, Philarète reçut, avec le commandement des troupes byzantines restées dans quelques garnisons ou possédées par les féodaux de la montagne, avec l'investiture impériale pour le commandement de ses propres bandes, peut-être le titre de sébaste (MICHEL, III, p. 173), mais à coup sûr celui de curopalate (ATTALIATES, p. 301). C'était traiter Philarète en souverain vassal de Byzance, avec le même protocole dont on usait pour les chefs des états voisins de la frontière orientale, notamment en haute Arménie et en Géorgie. Philarète avait donc le droit pour lui en pénétrant dans Antioche.

Pour y vivre en paix, il paya tribut pour cette ville à Mouslim l'Ocailite, seigneur de Mossoul et d'Alep (Ibn el ARTHIR, *Atabecs*, p. 15); il semble même que la puissance de Philarète ait été favorisée par ce prince arabe, car elle grandit avec lui en 1083 et elle disparut avec lui en 1085.

Pendant qu'il était maître d'Antioche, Philarète rétablit son

autorité dans Edesse, où son mandataire Basile avait été remplacé à sa mort par un élu des habitants (LAURENT, *Edesse*, p. 397-399).

C'est encore sous son gouvernement qu'Antioche vit, comme les autres ports byzantins, le triomphe de Venise sur Amalfi. Les Amalfitains avaient à Antioche, pour les marchands en voyage, un hôpital fondé au <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle par Maurus (HEYD, *Commerce*, I, 103); ils y avaient une rue à eux (HEYD, I, 147; CONDER, *Kingdom*, p. 207) et un fonctionnaire dit *vicarius* (GAY, *Ital. mérid.*, p. 249; HOFMEISTER, *Zur Gesch. Amalfis*, dans *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.*, I, 1920, p. 106, 108). Antioche attirait ces marins d'Italie par l'échange des produits du lointain Orient et par ses tissus de soie et de brocard (Ibn KHORDADBEH, dans *B. G. A.*, VI, p. 115; — EDRISI, trad. JAUBERT, II, p. 131). Mais Amalfi appartenait aux Normands, lorsqu'ils attaquèrent l'empire sous Robert Guiscard. La politique de ses maîtres coûta à Amalfi sa prospérité commerciale dans les eaux grecques : l'empereur supprima partout les privilèges d'Amalfi, ville ennemie, pour les donner aux Vénitiens, qui avaient défendu l'empire contre ses agresseurs normands; les commerçants d'Amalfi dans l'état grec durent payer tribut à Venise; et ce fut la fin de leurs opérations (LEIB, *Rome, Kiew et Byzance*, 1924, p. 81). Nous ne savons du reste pas quelle fut l'attitude de Philarète envers les ressortissants des républiques italiennes qui commerçaient à Antioche.

Mais il n'y a aucun doute sur le mauvais souvenir qu'il a laissé à ses administrés. On ne rencontre son éloge que chez Anne Comnène (VI, 9, p. 299), qui ne l'a pas directement connu, et qui n'a pas fait l'expérience personnelle de sa domination. Mais voici le portrait que Lebeau a tiré (XIV, p. 481) d'Attaliates (p. 132) et de Skylitzès (p. 681) : « Philarète était un fanfaron, qui, ne désirant le commandement que pour s'enrichir et se faire des créatures, se piquait de capacité et de bravoure, quoiqu'il n'eût donné dans les emplois subalternes que des preuves d'ignorance et de lâcheté. Aussi était-il méprisé des soldats, meilleurs juges que la cour en fait de science militaire. C'était de plus un libertin, plongé dans la plus honteuse débauche ». — L'Arménien Matthieu (c. 106) lui a reproché ses « usurpations ». Philarète, dit-il, « se mit à faire la guerre aux fidèles du Christ. Lui qui était sorti du désert, il en devint l'abomination. Il s'empara d'un grand nombre de provinces et de villes, et il fit périr impitoyablement une foule de personnes ». — Il a fait aveugler ceux qui voulurent

lui enlever Edesse (LAURENT, *Edesse*, p. 397). — Il a eu maille à partir avec le clergé arménien, qui lui a fait maints reproches dont celui d'être du rite orthodoxe grec (MATTHIEU, c. 106). Il a été honni des Syriens, qui étaient nombreux surtout dans le pays de Mélitène, pour avoir voulu les tenir en bride et mettre un terme à leurs interminables querelles religieuses (MICHEL, III, p. 175, 177; ABOULFARADJ, *Eccles.*, p. 452-462; LAURENT, *Turcs*, p. 86). — Enfin il a traité avec les Turcs, sans quoi il n'eût pas gardé sa souveraineté, ni assuré à ses sujets le peu de répit et de paix qu'il leur donna. On nous dit qu'il a envoyé au prince Mervanide de Nephkert une partie de la tête du prince arménien Thornig de Sassoun (MATTHIEU, c. 107). On nous dit même qu'il s'est fait musulman (MATTHIEU, c. 128; MICHEL, III, p. 173; ABOULFARADJ, *Syr.*, p. 282), avec cette addition que le singulier résultat de son apostasie fut la perte immédiate de tous ses domaines dont ses nouveaux coreligionnaires le dépouillèrent au moment même où il venait à eux. Aussi n'est-on pas étonné qu'Ibn el Athir (*Kamel*, p. 244) contredise en partie les témoignages précédents; il dit bien que Philarète « se mit entre les mains » du sultan Mélik Chah; mais il constate que cela valut à Philarète de conserver le gouvernement d'Edesse jusqu'à sa mort. Anne Comnène ne croit pas à la réalisation de l'apostasie (VI, 9, p. 300) : « comme les Turcs pillaient sans cesse son territoire, il songea à se joindre à eux et à se faire circoncire ». Où est le vrai? il a dû, quand il fut attaqué dans le Taurus, en Cilicie et jusqu'à Antioche par Soliman, le Seldjoucide de Nicée, quand il se vit perdu sans secours possible venant de Constantinople, se tourner vers les adversaires de Soliman, vers les Arabes et les Turcs de l'est. Mais il fut victime de son entente avec son plus proche voisin, Mouslim de Mossoul et Alep : quand le sultan Melik Chah supprima la puissance de ce prince arabe, celle de son allié Philarète disparut en peu de temps.

Au surplus, Philarète n'a certainement pas possédé tous les vices et toutes les tares qu'on lui prête. Il a été assez bon soldat pour tenir tête longtemps à de multiples assaillants, assez avisé politique pour obtenir et conserver pendant plus de dix ans un état d'une étendue considérable. Il n'a évidemment pas su ni pu employer des méthodes de gouvernement douces et agréables : il fut de son temps et de sa race. En conséquence, les grandes villes qui s'étaient données à lui plus ou moins volontairement, l'abandonnèrent dès qu'elles purent le faire sans danger. Ce fut le cas

d'Edesse, qui se livra à un officier de Philarète nommé Barsauma, puis aux Turcs, par haine de Philarète (MATTHIEU, c. 128, 130; Ibn el ATHIR, *Kamel*, p. 244; ABOULFARADJ, *Syr.*, p. 282). Ce fut aussi le cas d'Antioche, dont les habitants le haïssaient parce qu'il les pressurait pour payer son armée (ABOULFARADJ, *Syr.*, p. 279). Ils tombèrent sans grand déplaisir aux mains d'un Turc. «L'émir Soliman, dit Matthieu (c. 123, en 533 ère arménienne, qui commença le 29 février 1084), fils de Koutoulmich, lequel résidait à Nicée, en Bithynie, sur les limites de la mer océane, vint secrètement par un chemin détourné jusque sous les murs d'Antioche, où il arriva sans être aperçu. Il trouva cette ville sans défense et sans garnison, et la surprit pendant la nuit, du côté qui fait face à Alep, tandis que Philarète était à Edesse et sa cavalerie éloignée. Soliman y pénétra avec 300 hommes. Le lendemain, les habitants, ayant vu les infidèles au milieu d'eux, furent consternés; car, outre qu'ils n'avaient point de troupes, ils étaient aussi peureux, aussi inhabiles à se défendre que des femmes. Aussitôt ils coururent à la forteresse. Cependant le nombre des Turcs grossissait à flots; mais ils ne faisaient de mal à personne. Ils tinrent la citadelle longtemps bloquée, et en interceptèrent entièrement les vivres et l'eau. A la fin, les assiégés ayant demandé à l'émir de leur garantir par serment la vie sauve, il y consentit, leur accorda une pleine sécurité, et chacun rentra tranquillement dans ses foyers. Philarète ayant appris ce coup de main, ne put rien faire pour secourir Antioche, et se contenta de soupirer et d'exhaler d'amers regrets en silence».

Il nous est dit par Anne Comnène (vi, 9, p. 300) qu'Antioche fut livrée par le fils de Philarète, indigné que son père songeât, pour sauver sa puissance, à passer à l'Islam. On dit aussi plus simplement que ce fils de Philarète entra en conflit politique avec son père et qu'il appela Soliman à son aide (LEBEAU, xv, p. 151, d'après TCHAMTCHIAN, iii, 8-9); ce fils est appelé Barsam. Comme d'autre part on nomme Barsauma le personnage qui trahit Philarète dans Edesse, on est fondé à se demander s'il n'y a pas confusion dans ces récits, si l'histoire de la trahison n'a pas été répétée pour Antioche alors qu'elle appartient seulement à Edesse. Il est peut-être sage de ne pas attacher trop d'importance à ces détails. Il reste le fait lui-même que Soliman occupa Antioche par surprise avec une force très faible et sans résistance sérieuse, grâce à la complicité des habitants signalée aussi par Ibn el Athir (*Atabecs*, p. 14).

A quelle date eut lieu cet événement? en 533 de l'ère arménienne, dit Matthieu, c'est-à-dire entre le 29 février 1084 et le 28 février 1085. La ville fut prise le 12 décembre 1084 et la citadelle le 12 janvier 1085, selon RÖHRICHT (*Erst. Kreuz.*, p. 228), qui renvoie à KREMER (*Wiener Denkschr.*, III, 13, 26 et suiv.) Ce fut le 4 décembre, jour de la Sainte-Barbe, à en croire le moine Michel, un témoin de l'événement (cf. PRETERS, *Anal. Boll.*, 33, 1914, p. 79).

De toute manière, la perte d'Antioche fut le début des revers de Philarète : il perdit d'abord son ami Mouslim, émir de Mossoul et d'Alep, qui fut tué en juin 1085 par Soliman, maître d'Antioche; puis un émir Turc lui enleva le pays d'Ablastha (MATTHIEU, c. 125), dans la haute vallée du Pyrame (Djihoun), c'est-à-dire dans la région inaccessible qui avait été son repaire dans les temps les plus difficiles; enfin le sultan Mélik Chah vint en Syrie pour y régler le sort de chacun en 1086; il « accorda (MATTHIEU, c. 104, 130) le repos à l'Arménie », en oubliant Philarète dans la distribution des territoires. Ce fut la fin de ce dernier, dont les malheurs avaient commencé lorsqu'il fut chassé d'Antioche, et les Grecs avec lui.

## ИЗ ИСТОРИИ СЕВЕРО-ВОСТОЧНЫХ ПОГРАНИЧНЫХ ОБЛАСТЕЙ ВИЗАНТИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ В XI ВЕКЕ

В. А. АРУТЮНОВА

С середины X в., пользуясь ослаблением и распадом Арабского халифата, Византийская империя начала вести активную завоевательную политику на Востоке, подчиняя своей власти огромные территории Сирии, Месопотамии, Каппадокии, Киликии и Закавказья. Вновь захваченные области, в соответствии с принципами административного деления империи, организуются в военно-административные округа—фемы. Так появляются фемы Приевфратских городов и Антиохии, фемы Тарон, Васпуракан, Иверия и т. д.

Статуты новых образований, их этнический состав, их исторический путь (иногда охватывающий около столетия) не изучены должным образом в историографии. Фема Иверия не составляет исключения. О ней известно только то, что она образована в царствование Василия II (976—1025) и Константина VIII (976—1028) из земель, полученных империей в наследство от последнего правителя Тайка Давида Куропалата.

В то же время высказываются совершенно разноречивые мнения по поводу таких важнейших характеристик фемы, как ее территория, этнический состав населения, даже время ее образования<sup>1</sup>. Между тем выяснение этих вопросов может пролить новый свет на политику Византии на Востоке в XI в., а также помочь четко разграничить Иверию в смысле «Объединенное грузинское царство» от Иверии византийского военно-административного пограничного округа.

\* \* \*

Давид Куропалат был последним и, пожалуй, самым блистательным представителем Багратидов на тайкском престоле. Его правление охватывало почти полувековой период с середины и до конца X в. (966—1000)<sup>2</sup>:

Он имел в наследственном владении Южный Тайк, Басен, Кол, Артаан, Джавахети и Шавшети<sup>3</sup>. Затем за помощь при разгроме Варды

<sup>1</sup> Так, например, Э. Хонигман полагает, что «территория Иверии ромеев» с 1000 г. не превышала части Тайка по течению р. Олти и Тортумскому ущелью (E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363, bis 1071, Bruxelles, 1935, стр. 159), а П. Харанис раздвигает границы этой фемы от озера Ван до Артаана (P. Charanis, The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire, Lisboa, 1963, стр. 49).

<sup>2</sup> «Картлис Цховреба», т. I, Тбилиси, 1955 (на груз. яз.), 266, 19—20; 381, 18—20; 385, 5.

<sup>3</sup> См. там же, стр. 288, 8; 384, 31—32.



Склира он получил от Византийской империи «Халтой-арич с Клисурами, Чормайри и Карин, а также гавар Севук-бердак, или Мардали, Харк и Апахуник»<sup>4</sup>. В 922—994 гг. он захватил г. Маназкерт<sup>5</sup>. Таким образом, владения Давида Куропалата граничили на северо-западе с Северным Тайком и Кларджией, на северо-востоке—с царством грузинских Багратидов, на востоке—с Ванандом карских Багратидов, на западе—с византийской фемой Халдия, на юго-западе и юго-востоке—с областями Тарон и Васпуракан, которые в это время уже входили в состав Византийской империи.

Давид Куропалат был столь могущественным династом, что его зависимость от ширакских Багратидов, его сюзеренов, и от Византийской империи была скорее номинальной. Обладая столь обширными владениями, Давид стремился играть роль третьей силы на Кавказе. Он выступал то за, то против ширакских Багратидов<sup>6</sup>, то за, то против Византии. Однако двойная политическая игра с империей ему обошлась дорого.

В 986 г. Варда Фока поднял мятеж против Василия II. На этот раз Давид поддержал повстанцев. А когда Фока потерпел поражение, Давиду пришлось обещать, что после своей смерти он передаст свои владения Византии.

Получив весть о смерти Давида, Василий II поспешил завладеть его наследством<sup>7</sup>.

Все ли владения Давида стали достоянием империи? Выяснение этого вопроса важно для определения территории фемы Иверия.

Как отмечено выше, в число владений Давида Куропалата входили: Шавшети, Джавахети, Артаан, Кол, Южный Тайк, Карин, Басен, Халтой-арич с Клисрами, Чормайри, Мардали, Харк и Апахуник.

Нет сомнения в том, что области византийской Армении, пожалованные Давиду всего лишь в пожизненное владение<sup>8</sup>, вновь отошли к империи. Какова же была судьба Шавшети, Джавахети, Артаана, Кола и Южного Тайка?

Аристокэс Ластивертци пишет, что когда император прибыл в гавар Екелеац, навстречу ему вышел полк азатов Тайка, которых он щедро одарил и признал их владельческие права. Оттуда он, продвигаясь на восток, прибыл в страну Алори, в крепость Хавачич. Здесь ему представились абхазский царь Баграт и его отец Гурген. «Самодержавный император воздал им великие почести, Баграту пожаловал титул куропалата, а отцу его—магистра. Сам же пересек Харк и Маназкерт и, ис-

<sup>4</sup> «Առեփանոսի Տարոնցոյ Ասողկան պատմութիւն տիեզերական», Պետերբուրգ, 1885, стр. 192; «Մատթէոս Ունշախցի ծածանակադրութիւն», Վաղարշապատ, 1898, стр. 266.

<sup>5</sup> См. *Ասողիկ*, стр. 266.

<sup>6</sup> См. там же, стр. 187—188, 252.

<sup>7</sup> См. В. Р. Розен, Император Василий Болгаробойца, извлечения из летописи Яхьи Антиохийского, СПб., 1883, стр. 41.

<sup>8</sup> См. «Повествование вардапета Аристокэса Ластивертци». Перевод, вступительная статья и комментарий К. Н. Юзбашяна, М., 1969, стр. 66.



пользуя их в качестве опоры, повернул на Багреванд, прибыл в город Ухтеац (=Олти), овладел множеством крепостей и городов. Он назначил там чиновников, судей и надсмотрщиков, а сам с миром пустился в путь и прибыл в свой царский город Константинополь. Это было в 450 г. (1001 г.), и в стране на 14 лет воцарился мир»<sup>9</sup>.

Из сообщения Асолика также явствует, что Василий прибыл в г. Олти, «покорил под свою власть все крепости и неприступные места, дав их в руки верным людям, остальных же тайкских дворян взял с собою, чтобы поселить их в земле греческой»<sup>10</sup>.

Из этих сообщений армянских хронистов с несомненностью следует, что в 1001 г. часть земель, принадлежащих Давиду Куропалату, вошла в состав вновь образованного византийского административного округа. Однако оба армянских источника, помимо областей Византийской Армении, вновь отошедших к империи, упоминают только Южный Тайк. Значит фема Иверия, организованная в 1001 г. Василием II, включала в себя только эти земли. Название фемы «Иверия» зафиксировано Скилицей, который называет земли Давида, отошедшие к Византии, «Иверией», а области к северу от Южного Тайка—«внутренней Иверией»<sup>11</sup>.

Что же произошло с владениями Давида, находящимися в районе «внутренней Иверии»? Судьба их выясняется из сопоставления сведений Аристокеса и «Картлис Цховреба». Аристокес сообщает, что после смерти Баграта III (980—1014), царя Абхазии, Василий II потребовал от его сына Георгия I (1014—1027): «Оставь все, что я пожаловал твоему отцу из владений Куропалата, и владей лишь собственными вотчинами»<sup>12</sup>. А «Картлис Цховреба», повествуя о заключительном этапе борьбы между Василием II и грузинским царем, указывает, что последний должен был сдать императору ромеев «Тао, Басен, Джавахети и Шавшети»<sup>13</sup>. Часть этих земель (Южный Тайк, Басен) были захвачены Грузией в ходе военных действий<sup>14</sup>, а остальные, очевидно, были пожалованы Василием II Баграту во время встречи в крепости Хавачич. Можно предположить, что сан куропалата, который император даровал Баграту, был ему дан вместе с большей частью куропалатства, прежде принадлежавшего Давиду. Именно эти земли потребовал император после смерти Баграта III, и это требование нарушило четырнадцатилетний мир. По-видимому, переход земель Давида, расположенных к северу от Южного Тайка, к грузинским Багратидам и был залогом этого мира.

Войну с Византией начал Георгий I. При этом интересно отметить, что он не только отстаивал земли, отошедшие с согласия Василия II к

<sup>9</sup> Там же, стр. 57.

<sup>10</sup> *Ասոլիկ*, стр. 276.

<sup>11</sup> „Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Skylitzae opera“, II, Bonnæ, 1838, стр. 447, 13—23.

<sup>12</sup> Аристокес, стр. 58.

<sup>13</sup> «Картлис Цховреба», стр. 384, 31—32.

<sup>14</sup> См. ниже.

Баграту III, но и попытался завладеть всем наследством Давида Куропалата. Он заключил союз с египетским султаном и с армянским царем Иоанном-Смбатом и захватил весь Тайк и Басен<sup>15</sup>. По свидетельству Яхьи Антиохийского, в 1018 г. «Георгий, царь абхазов, овладел крепостями и областями из тех, которые дядя его Давид Куропалат уступил царю Василию»<sup>16</sup>. Однако грузинский царь потерпел поражение. Скилица сообщает, что под натиском ромеев Георгий укрепился в горах внутренней Иверии<sup>17</sup>, т. е. в Северном Тайке. Георгий, следовательно, отступил из византийских владений. В 1022 г. в Трапезунде начались мирные переговоры. К Василию прибыл посол Георгия I, который от имени своего царя обещал вернуть владения Давида Куропалата. Яхья Антиохийский сообщает, что Георгий прислал к императору сановников и епископов, «и взял он (Василий) себе с них такое обеспечение клятвами, которое берется с лиц, исповедующих различные религии»<sup>18</sup>.

Однако трапезундские переговоры были прерваны восстанием Никифора и Ксифия. Георгий I немедленно поддержал мятежников. В союз против империи были вовлечены Иоанн-Смбат и Ашот IV. Значительную роль в восстании играл некий Ферс (Перс), который обещал Георгию I все прежние владения Давида Куропалата вплоть до Халтой-арича<sup>19</sup>. Это, очевидно, тот самый Ферс, который вместе с братьями Ваче и Февдатом был одним из полководцев Давида при сражении с Самланом, эмиром Атропатены, а затем был (также вместе с братьями) в числе сановников, передавших Василию II Тайк и получивших от него чин патрикия<sup>20</sup>. По-видимому, эти милости не заставили Ферса принять власть Византии, и он стремился оставить родные земли под властью иверских Багратидов. Мятеж, однако, не увенчался успехом. Ферс и его родственник Андроник были казнены в крепости Халтой-арич греками, так как они обещали Георгию земли Давида «до этого места»<sup>21</sup>.

Переговоры в Трапезунде возобновились. По свидетельству Аристакэса, император требовал у Георгия, чтобы он вернул вотчину, заве-

<sup>15</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 477, 2—4; Аристакэс, стр. 61.

<sup>16</sup> Яхья, стр. 61.

<sup>17</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 478, 9—10; Аристакэс, стр. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Яхья, стр. 63. Это очень странная фраза. Георгий I и его приближенные придерживались халкидонитского вероисповедания и, следовательно, были единоверцами Василия II. Единственное объяснение, которое здесь можно предложить, заключается в том, что Георгий послал не своих приближенных, а знать из окружения Давида Куропалата.

Это было бы вполне естественно, поскольку именно владения Давида должны были перейти к императору. Среди этих аристократов были армяне-монофизиты, армяне-халкидониты и грузины. По-видимому, в посольстве Георгия I оказалась и монофизитская армянская знать из армянских владений Давида, и, разумеется, эти посланцы принесли Василию II клятву, как люди другой религии.

<sup>19</sup> Аристакэс, стр. 65.

<sup>20</sup> См. *Ишан Ртну*, стр. 37; Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 447, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Аристакэс, стр. 65.



щанную Василию II Давидом Куропалатом<sup>22</sup>. И тут же имеется уточнение, что именно из этой вотчины должно остаться во владении Византии «три крепости с их дастакертами»<sup>23</sup>. Где же были расположены эти крепости?

Георгий «вынужден был согласиться,— пишет Аристакэс,— после чего император назначил в гаваре ишханов, которые поделили между собой дом за домом, деревню за деревней и агарак за агараком, как было прежде»<sup>24</sup>. А прежде это было, как мы отметили выше, в гаваре Южный Тайк.

Сведения Аристакэса подтверждаются данными Скилицы. Сообщение Скилицы о перипетиях борьбы за наследство Давида Куропалата является отражением событий первого и последнего этапа этой борьбы: «Василий II отправился в Иверию. Там умер Куропалат Давид, отдав по завещанию свои земли императору. Прибыв туда, устроив данное наследство и заставив Георгия, архонта внутренней Иверии (ἐνδοτέρου Ἰβηρίας), управлять собственными землями и не нападать на чужие, заключил с ним договор, и, взяв в заложники его сына, отправился в Финикию»<sup>25</sup>. Таким образом, фема Иверия, образованная Василием II в 1001 г., была вновь восстановлена в 1025 г. в своем прежнем виде, т. е. в нее, помимо областей византийской Армении, вошел только Южный Тайк.

Все вышензложенное заставляет усомниться в том, что империя получила также земли в Джавахети и Шавшети<sup>26</sup>. Может быть, как полагает Э. Хонигман, Василий II взял ряд крепостей в Джавахети и Шавшети в качестве энклава, земли же вокруг этих крепостей были оставлены царю Георгию I<sup>27</sup>.

В 1045 г. Византия захватила Ширакское царство<sup>28</sup>. Войну против Ани вел по приказу Константина IX Мономаха (1042—1055) Михаил Иасит, «архонт Иверии»<sup>29</sup>. Ширакское царство административно вошло в состав византийской фемы Иверия. Михаил Иасит после 1045 г. стал дукой Иверии и Ани<sup>30</sup>. Это указывает на то, что Ани стал столицей этой фемы. Неясно, когда именно в ее состав вошла Кларджия. Известно только, что в 1059 г. византийский феодал Евстафий Воила, получив земли в Кларджии, был в подчинении у правителя фемы Иверия<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> См. там же, стр. 67.

<sup>23</sup> Там же, стр. 66.

<sup>24</sup> Там же, стр. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 447, 13—20.

<sup>26</sup> См. «Картлис Цховреба», стр. 384, 31—32.

<sup>27</sup> См. E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze, стр. 165.

<sup>28</sup> См. Аристакэс, стр. 79—85.

<sup>29</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 557—558, 1—2.

<sup>30</sup> См. там же, стр. 559, 13, ср. Аристакэс, стр. 85, 160.

<sup>31</sup> См. S. Vryonis, The Will of a provincial Magnate Eustathius Boilas (1059), *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11, 1957, стр. 272.



Итак, к середине XI в. в византийскую фему Иверня входили: Кларджия, Южный Тайк, Карин, Басен, Халтой-арич с Клисрами, Чормайри, Мардали, Ширакское царство, Харк и Апахуник. Это была огромная территория. Однако значение указанной фемы в жизни Византии определялось не столько размерами<sup>32</sup>, сколько ее положением форпоста империи на Востоке, принимавшего на себя первые удары сельджуков в течение почти всего периода своего существования.

До 1048 г., т. е. до первого большого наступления турок-сельджуков, правители фемы Иверня были греками<sup>33</sup>. А после 1048 г., начиная с Катакалона Кекавмена, во главе фемы находятся в основном представители армяно-халкидонитской знати (Катакалон Кекавмен, Иоанн Моностириот, Багарат Вхкаци, Григорий Пакурриан)<sup>34</sup>. Это обстоятельство знаменует перемену политического курса империи во второй половине XI в.

Захватив армянские земли, империя предприняла ряд мер, которые должны были укрепить ее позиции в завоеванной стране. В Армении была введена византийская административная и налоговая система. Опасаясь оставить очаги сопротивления, империя переселяла армянских владетелей после захвата их земель в глубь ромейской державы. Вместе с князьями и их военными отрядами на новые места уходила и часть трудового населения. Эту политику начал проводить еще Василий II Болгаробойца и ее активно продолжали его преемники.

Первые сокрушительные поражения, нанесенные сельджуками ромеям в начале второй половины XI в., отрезвили византийских политиков. Они поняли, что армяне, заинтересованные в недопущении сельджуков на родные земли, могут быть с успехом использованы для защиты этих земель, включенных в византийские фемы. Империя доверяет ведущие посты в своих восточных провинциях знатым армянам-халкидонитам, причем их халкидонитское вероисповедание было необходимой гарантией преданности империи.

Почти все правители фемы Иверня носили звание дуки или катепа<sup>35</sup>, а их титулатура охватывала все самые высокие титулы византийской табели о рангах от вестарха до севаста, что говорит об огромной важности фемы Иверня для Византийской империи в XI в.

<sup>32</sup> Следует учитывать, разумеется, что территория фемы в этот период не только увеличивалась, но и сокращалась, что во время набегов турок-сельджуков какие-то области оказывались под их контролем. Границы фемы находились в постоянном движении, даже до того, как турки-сельджуки, не ограничиваясь уже только набегами, предприняли оккупацию всей территории фемы.

<sup>33</sup> См. Аристакэс, стр. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Все правители Ивернии этого периода армяне-халкидониты, кроме Ларона Болгарина

<sup>35</sup> Звание дуки было самым высоким для правителя провинции, затем шли звания катепапа и стратига. Дуками были правители наиболее важных, чаще всего пограничных фем (Н. А. С к а б а л а н о в и ч, Византийское государство и церковь в XI в., СПб., 1884, стр. 187, ср. также H. A h r w e i l e r, Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantine aux X—XI siècles. Athenes—Paris, 1960, стр. 6).



\* \* \*

В 1048 г. турки-сельджуки совершили набег на армянские земли. Они двинулись через Васпуракан в области Багреванда и Басена, опустошая все на своем пути<sup>36</sup>. В 1049 г. сельджуки во главе с Абраамом Алимом вновь дошли до Карина и Басена и отсюда, грабя и убивая, рассеялись по всей области. Имни был разрушен богатый торговый город Арцн. Уцелившие от резни жители поселились в соседнем г. Карине, названном ими ромейским Арцном—Арзан-ар-рум (Эрзерум)<sup>37</sup>.

По свидетельству Скилицы, правитель Васпуракана вест Аарон и правитель Ани и Иверии Катакалон Кекавмен разошлись во мнениях относительно места сражения. Кекавмен полагал встретить врага за пределами империи, но победило мнение Аарона, который предложил, чтобы все войска укрепились «на равнине Иверии»<sup>38</sup>, т. е. в пределах Византийской империи.

В ответ на обращение Катакалона и Аарона о помощи император повелел им ждать войска князя Липарита. Однако и объединенным силам трех полководцев не удалось остановить сельджуков. Сельджуки разграбили Васпуракан и фему Иверия. Липарит попал в плен<sup>39</sup>.

После четырехлетнего мира в 1054—1055 гг. султан Тогрул-бек вновь вторгся в пределы империи. Скилица отмечает, что вся фема Иверия была заполнена укрепленными крепостями, в которых укрывались жители<sup>40</sup>. Султан разгромил Карс и осадил Маназкерт, откуда его войско рассеялось для грабежа по всей стране. По свидетельству Матфея Эдесского, на севере сельджуки доходили до пределов Грузинского царства, на юге—до Армянского Тавра<sup>41</sup>.

Описывая военные успехи турок-сельджуков, Атталиат отмечает, что это произошло из-за прежней (ὑστέρων) скупости императора: «В Иверии прежде находилось воинственное войско, которое получало содержание из государственной казны. Император лишил их этого содержания»<sup>42</sup>. Скилица рассказывает, что император «распустил иверское войско (в количестве) около 50 000 человек» для того, чтобы получать из этих стран большие подати и «придумал много других взысканий, настолько дурных и незаконных, что о них и говорить стыдно»<sup>43</sup>. В этот период нельзя было предпринять ничего более опасного для империи, чем замена военной службы, которой были обязаны местные отряды, податями в императорскую казну.

В «Истории Византии» это событие описывается следующим образом: «Константин распустил 50-тысячное грузинское войско, приказав,

<sup>36</sup> См. E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze, стр. 178.

<sup>37</sup> См. *Ушнѣтнѣ*, стр. 102; Аристакэс, стр. 87.

<sup>38</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 575, 15—16; 576, 1—4.

<sup>39</sup> См. там же, стр. 576, 9—22; *Ушнѣтнѣ*, стр. 107—109; Аристакэс, стр. 87—95.

<sup>40</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 590, 10—14.

<sup>41</sup> *Ушнѣтнѣ*, стр. 118—119.

<sup>42</sup> „Michuelis Attaliotae Historia“, Bonnæ, 1853, стр. 44, 19—21.

<sup>43</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 608, 20—24.

чтобы поступавшие ранее в качестве опсония налоги с нескольких областей поступали теперь в казну»<sup>44</sup>. Это наглядный пример смешения двух понятий: Иверии—Грузии с Иверией—византийской фемой. Разумеется, у Скилицы идет речь не о войске объединенного Грузинского царства, поскольку Грузия была независимым государством, не вносила податей в казну Византии и не поставляла ей армию. Значит, речь идет не о «грузинских войсках», а об «иверских войсках» Скилицы и Атталиата, а это уже совсем другое дело. Византийские авторы, жившие в первой половине XI в. и являвшиеся современниками образования и существования византийской фемы Иверия (Скилица, Кедрин, Атталиат), часто упоминают Иверию, причем в подавляющем большинстве случаев Иверия Скилицы и Атталиата—это византийская фема Иверия<sup>45</sup>. Произведения византийских историков, живших во второй половине XI в. — начале XII в., Никифора Вриенния и Анны Комнины отражают уже иную действительность, нежели историческая действительность Скилицы и Атталиата. В их время вся Малая Азия была захвачена сельджуками, и империя лишилась всех своих восточных фем, в том числе и фемы Иверия. В их произведениях мы вообще не находим названия «Иверия», а слово «ивер» упомянуто всего лишь один раз у Никифора Вриенния и два раза у Анны Комнины<sup>46</sup>.

И Скилица, и Атталиат, пытаясь найти причины успехов турок-сельджуков, выдвигают, помимо вполне материальной причины—нераспорядительности и военной бездарности Константина IX, еще и основание теологического порядка. «Кажется, что такое нашествие язычников и истребление народов, подвластных ромеям,—пишет Атталиат,—было следствием божьего гнева против еретиков, населяющих Иверию и Месопотамию». И на первое место среди этих еретиков и Атталиат, и Скилица ставят армян<sup>47</sup>.

Эти причины и привели к частым разрушительным набегам турок-сельджуков, которые грабили и разоряли византийские земли, уводили жителей в плен, и «поэтому счастливая земля Иверии была совершенно разорена и покинута и той же страшной участи подверглись Месопотамия и Халдия, а также Мелитена и Колония и земли, лежащие по Евфрату и даже Армениак и Васпуракан»<sup>48</sup>. Скилица, как мы видим, здесь

<sup>44</sup> «История Византии», т. II, М., 1967, стр. 270. Это мнение о распущенном Константиновом войске является общераспространенным в историографии.

<sup>45</sup> Att., 43, 21—22; 41, 1—8; 78, 12—17; 80, 5—10; 97, 1—4; 147, 16—17; 166, 12—21; 221, 1—3; 222, 3—17; Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 478, 9—10; 572, 17—22; 300, 11—16; 447, 13—23; 519, 5—6; 557, 2—5; 558, 1—2; 559, 13; 560, 20; 561, 16—19; 562, 7, 574, 3—4; 576, 1—10, 19—22; 588, 18; 590, 10—14; 606, 11—20; 608, 20—24; 653, 4—10; 687, 10—13; 701, 24; Ср. также Michel Psellos, Chronographie ou histoire d'une siècle de Byzance (976—1077), Paris, 1926—1928, т. I, 10, 7; т. II, 15, 26—27;

<sup>46</sup> См. „Nicephori Bryennii Commentarii“, Bonnac, 1836, стр. 56, 5—9; Anne Comnene, Alexiade, Paris, 1937—1945, т. II, стр. 66; т. III, стр. 217.

<sup>47</sup> Att., стр. 57, 1—4; Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 687, 10—13.

<sup>48</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 653, 4—10. То же самое говорит и Атталиат (см. Att., стр. 78, 9—16).



перечисляет все византийские фемы, подвергавшиеся набегам, но на первое место ставят Иверию.

«Находясь в Иверии,— пишет он,— султан Тогрул-бек опустошал ее огнем и мечом». Император поэтому, спешно призвав с запада Михаила Аколуфа, посылает его в византийскую фему Иверия<sup>49</sup>. Михаил, оказавшись там, собирает рассеянных по Халдии и Иверии франков и варягов, чтобы воспрепятствовать дальнейшему продвижению султана. Войскам наемников, расквартированным в фемах Иверия и Халдия, удалось на сей раз заставить сельджуков отступить<sup>50</sup>.

В этот период правителем фемы Иверия был Аарон Болгарин, сменивший на этом посту Катакалона Кеавмена, а Михаил Аколуф не занимал никакого официального поста в феме. Он был чрезвычайным посланцем императора Константина Дуки. Здесь мы вновь (и отнюдь не в последний раз) сталкиваемся с фактом двойственности власти в феме Иверия. Надпись на анийском соборе свидетельствует о том, что в 1055—1056 гг. Аарон Болгарин правил Ани и Иверией<sup>51</sup>, а в 1059 г. он уже является дукой Месопотамии<sup>52</sup>. В. Н. Бенешевич полагает, что Аарон был наместником в Ани до 1057 г.<sup>53</sup> Может быть, в том же году его сменил Иоанн Монастириот. Во всяком случае в памятной записи монаха Феодула отмечено, что в 1059 г. правителем фемы Иверия был Иоанн Монастириот<sup>54</sup>. В Ани сохранилась фрагментарная греческая надпись «Иоанна вестарха, катепана Армении и Иверии Монастириота в лето 6567 г.». В этой же памятной записи монаха Феодула упомянут магистр Василий, который, по мнению Р. М. Бартияна, является, наряду с Иоанном Монастириотом, правителем фемы Иверия<sup>55</sup>. С этим, однако, трудно согласиться. Двуначалье в управлении отдельной областью не практиковалось в империи, поскольку противоречило бы основному принципу ее фемного устройства. Но в истории Византии довольно часты случаи, когда при особенно опасном положении области на помощь ее правителю высылался экстраординарный помощник. Так, в том же XI в., когда на Балканах появились узы, к Василию Апокапу был послан Никифор Вотаниат, а когда дука Адрианополя Константин Арианит в 1049 г. потерпел поражение от печенегов, Константин Мономах послал ему на помощь ректора Никифора<sup>56</sup>. Возможно, магистр Васи-

<sup>49</sup> Skylitz.-Sedren., II, стр. 606, 11—20.

<sup>50</sup> См. там же.

<sup>51</sup> В. Н. Бенешевич, Три анийские надписи XI в. из эпохи византийского владычества, СПб., 1921, стр. 2.

<sup>52</sup> См. В. Н. Бенешевич, Завещание византийского боярина XI в. ЖМНП, 1907, май, стр. 220.

<sup>53</sup> См. В. Н. Бенешевич, Три анийские надписи..., стр. 9.

<sup>54</sup> См. В. Н. Бенешевич, Завещание византийского боярина..., стр. 220.

<sup>55</sup> Р. М. Бартиян, Относится ли прозвище Παράβοϋχης к магистру Василию в памятной записи монаха Феодула, «Известия АН Арм. ССР» (общ. науки), 1959, № 8, стр. 86.

<sup>56</sup> См. В. И. Златарски, История на Българската държава през средните векове, т. II, София, 1934, стр. 493, 99—100.

лий занимал то же положение, что и вышеупомянутый Михаил Аколуп, т. е. был экстраординарным помощником Иоанна Монастирнота.

Около 1060 г. пост правителя Ани и фемы Иверия занял катепан Востока Багарат Вхкаци<sup>57</sup>.

В 1064 г. произошло новое нашествие сельджуков. Они шли через Арран и Грузию в Армению, разоряя все на своем пути. Грузинский царь Баграт IV и армянский царь Ташир—Дзорагета Кюрике I (1048—1089) во избежание окончательного разгрома своих царств заключили мир с сельджуками<sup>58</sup>. Из Грузии Алп-Арслан вторгся в фему Иверия, проник в Ширак и осадил Ани. II вновь рядом с правителем области появляется чрезвычайный и полномочный посланник императора: на сей раз это был Георгий Пакурнан. Не занимая никакого официального положения в феме, он, тем не менее, разделил с Баграмом всю полноту власти<sup>59</sup>.

Однако город пал. II греческие историки (Атталнат и Скилица) и армянские (Аристакэс Ластивертци, Матфей Эдесский) сурово осуждают правителей Ани за сдачу города<sup>60</sup>. Несколько иная оценка деятельности Баграта и Григория содержится в летописи Смбата Спарапета, который считает, что виновниками сдачи города были не полководцы, а горожане, «помышляющие более о бегстве, чем о защите города»<sup>61</sup>.

После падения Ани Гагик Карский, самый значительный владетель Армении и старший в роде Багратидов, не надеясь в одиночку устоять против турок-сельджуков, передал свои владения Византии<sup>62</sup>. Земли Карского царства вошли в состав фемы Иверия. Автор «Истории царя царей Давида» пишет, что к царю Георгию II (1072—1089) в Бана (Северный Тайк) «пришел Григорий, сын Бакурнана, зоравар Востока, который был господином Олти, города Карина и Карса. Передал (он) царю Георгию город-крепость Карс и окружающие его гавары, затем они расстались»<sup>63</sup>.

Это важное свидетельство позволяет предполагать, что в 70-е годы XI в. фема Иверия состояла только из земель Ванандского царства, Карина и Южного Тайка (Олти), а все остальные области фемы были утрачены. Армянский титул «зоравар» (стратиг), который грузинский

<sup>57</sup> См. В. Н. Бенешевич, Три анийские надписи..., стр. 25—26.

<sup>58</sup> См. *Մատթևոս*, стр. 145—146.

<sup>59</sup> См. В. А. Арутюнова, К истории падения Ани (Личность царского раба в «Истории» Михаила Атталната). «Вестник общественных наук АН Арм. ССР», 1969, № 9, стр. 68—72. О Багарате Вхкаци см. К. Н. Юзбашян, Греческая надпись патрикия Григория КНХКАТЗИ, 1006 (1007) и проблема авторства «Стратегикона», сборник «Эллинистический Ближний Восток, Византия и Иран», М., 1967, стр. 118—120.

<sup>60</sup> См. Att., стр. 80, 81; Skylitz.-Cedren., II, стр. 654; Аристакэс, стр. 128—129; *Մատթևոս*, стр. 148.

<sup>61</sup> «Տարեգիրք Սմբատի Սպարապետի», ֆորթ. 1859, стр. 76.

<sup>62</sup> См. *Մատթևոս*, стр. 151, ср. также С. Т. Еремян, Присоединение северо-западных областей Армении к Византии в XI в. «Вестник общественных наук АН Арм. ССР», 1971, № 3, стр. 12.

<sup>63</sup> «Картлис Цховреба», стр. 318.



автор относит к византийскому полководцу, свидетельствует о том, что к Григорию Пакуриану перешла от Багарата Вхкаци власть над всеми вооруженными силами империи на Востоке<sup>64</sup>.

Визит Григория Пакуриана к царю Георгию II относится к периоду весьма драматических событий в Малой Азии. Сельджуки дошли почти до азиатского берега Босфора. Сулейман ибн Кутулмыш оттеснил византийцев к Константинополю, и в 1074 г. империя была вынуждена заключить с ним мирный договор. По этому договору, Сулейман был признан владельцем всех земель, занятых сельджуками в Малой Азии. А в 1077 г. Сулейман провозгласил себя султаном вновь образованного им государства—Румского султаната<sup>65</sup>.

В то же время верховный сельджукский султан, покоривший армянские земли, натолкнулся на сопротивление Грузии. Именно в этот период главнокомандующий византийскими войсками на Востоке и глава фемы Иверия Григорий Пакуриан, получив, без сомнения, санкцию своего правительства, передал грузинскому царю то, что еще оставалось от фемы Иверия. Это событие произошло между 1072 и 1074 годами, поскольку Георгий II вззошел на престол в 1072 г., а в 1074 г. турки-сельджуки захватили Карс, сделав его земли плацдармом для наступления на Грузию.

Таким образом, византийская фема Иверия, основанная в начале XI в., просуществовав около полувека, разделила судьбу всех восточных провинций Византии, захваченных сельджуками.

### ԲՅՈՒԶԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԿԱՅՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀՅՈՒՄԻՍ-ԱՐԵՎԵԼՅԱՆ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱՄԵՐԶ ՄԱՐԶԵՐԻ XI ԴԱՐԻ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՅ

Վ. Ա. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՎԱ

(Ա մ փ ո փ ո լ մ)

Բյուզանդիայի արևելյան սահմանները մինչև 1071 թ. պաշտպանում էին կայսրության զբաղած հողերից կազմավորված ռազմա-վարչական բանակաթեմերը: Այդպիսի բանակաթեմերից էր նաև Բվերիան, որը կազմավորվել է 1001 թ. Բարսեղ Բ Բուզարասպանի կողմից: Նրա տերիտորիայի մեջ էին մտնում Տալրի վերջին կառավարիչ Դավիթ Կյուրոպաղատի հողերի մի մասը, նրա տիրույթներին հարևանությամբ անող Բյուզանդական Հայաստանի՝ հարավային Տալրի, Զորմայրի, Խաղոռ-Առիճի, Կարինի, Բասենի, Ապահունիքի,

<sup>64</sup> В «Типике» Григория Пакуриана упоминается хрисовул, касающийся его службы в Карсе, и два хрисовула относительно его службы в Карине (Феодосиполе). Georgica, t. V, Tibilisus, 1963, стр. 246 (30), 248 (1—2), 250 (25). Сохранилась свинцовая печать севаста и дуки Григория Пакуриана. Б. А. Панченко предполагает, что этот моливдовул относится именно к тому времени, когда Григорий был дукой Карина, Карса и Олти (см. Б. А. Панченко, Каталог моливдовулов, ИРАИК, т. 13, 1908, стр. 85).

<sup>65</sup> См. В. Гордлевский, Государство сельджуков в Малой Азии, М.—Л., 1941, стр. 23.

ինչպես նաև Կղարջքի հողերը: 1045 թ. Իվերիա բանակաթեմին միացվում է նաև Շիրակի, իսկ 1065 թ.՝ Կարսի Բաղրատունիների թագավորության հողերը: Այսպիսով, Իվերիա բանակաթեմի մեջ մտնում էին Կղարջքի ու Տայքի մարզերը՝ հայ-վրացական խառն բնակչությամբ և զուտ հայկական մարզերը:

XI դ. 70-ական թթ. Իվերիա բանակաթեմի տերիտորիան նշանակալից չափով կրճատվում է թուրք-սելջուկների հարվածների հետևանքով և սահմանափակվում է միայն Տայքի, Կարինի և Կարսի թագավորության հողերով: Թեմի վերջին կառավարիչ Գրիգոր Բակուրիանը 1072—1074 թթ. մնացած տերիտորիան հանձնեց վրաց թագավոր Գեորգի Բ-ին, սակայն արդեն 1074 թ. այդ հողերը ևս ընկան սելջուկների ձեռքը:

Այսպիսով, բյուզանդական կայսրության Իվերիա բանակաթեմը, գոյատևելով մոտ 70 տարի, Բյուզանդիայի արևելյան բոլոր նահանգների նման լիովին նվաճվեց սելջուկների կողմից և դադարեց կայսրության մասը լինելուց:



В. А. АРУТЮНОВА-ФИДАНЯН

«ИВЕР» В ВИЗАНТИЙСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ XI в.

В исследованиях византинистов часто встречается утверждение о произвольности этниконов в источниках, освещающих историю империи. Действительно, многие кочевые народы, появившиеся у западных границ Византии (печенеги, узы, половцы), носят традиционное название «скифов», хотя подлинные скифы давно уже сошли с арены истории. Под именем «франков» подвизаются в византийском мире представители самых разных народов Западной Европы. Турки-сельджуки именуются «персами». Армянские авторы называли турок-сельджуков и «персами» и «татчиками». Последнее наименование, сначала прилагаемое только к арабам, позже стало обозначать все народы мусульманского вероисповедания. Даже из этих беглых замечаний видно, что византийские авторы, сохраняя традиционные этникины<sup>1</sup>, исходили из территориальной или вероисповедной близости народов, обозначаемых одним и тем же названием. И, по-видимому, скорее можно говорить о многозначности этниконов у византийских авторов.

Этнимон «ивер», являющийся предметом исследования в настоящей статье, был особенно многозначен в XI в. Пренебрежение этой многозначностью приводило и приводит к досадным ошибкам в современной историографии.

В греческих источниках XI в. упоминаются три разных Иверии: Западная Иверия — Испания, Иверия — Грузия и Иверия — тема Византийской империи.

Нет необходимости приводить примеры, подтверждающие, что «ивер» из Западной Иверии — испанец, а «ивер» из Грузии — грузин<sup>2</sup>.

Один пассаж «Истории» Михаила Атталиата являет собой весьма своеобразное отражение представлений средневековых византийцев о Западной и Восточной Ивериях и связи между ними. На западном море, — пишет Атталиат, — лежит земля Иверия, называемая также Испанией, которую населяли люди доблестные и храбрые. Римляне, воевавшие с ними, с великим трудом подчинили их себе. Константин Великий «вывез оттуда — из Западной Иверии — немалую часть жите-

<sup>1</sup> Традиционные или библейские названия народов подчеркивали также эрудицию автора.

<sup>2</sup> См., например, об иверах (грузинах) в составе войск Фомы Славянина Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Skylitzes op. Bonnae, 1838—1839, II, 78, 11—12.



лей и поселил их на Востоке в областях Ассирии, и эта земля получила название Иверии. Прежде ведь эту землю населяли ассирийцы, потом мидяне, затем долгое время армяне и нет никого, кто помнил бы об иверах в более раннее время в древней истории»<sup>3</sup>. Интересно свидетельство Иоанна Цеца об «ивере» как этническом понятии. Иоанн Цец пишет, что «иверы, абасги и аланы составляют единое племя, внутри которого иверам принадлежит «первенство» (Ἰβήρας καὶ Ἀβασγοὶ καὶ Ἀλανοὶ ἐν γένος, οἱ Ἰβήρας, Πρωτεύοντες)<sup>4</sup>.

Гораздо сложнее обстоит дело с ивером — уроженцем фемы Иверия. Этот вопрос требует специального рассмотрения.

Фема Иверия — это административный округ Византийской империи, образованный в царствование Василия II (976—1025) из земель, полученных империей в наследство от последнего тайкского династа Давида Куропалата.

Для того, чтобы выяснить, что понимали византийцы XI в. под словом «ивер» — «уроженец фемы Иверия», — необходимо определить территориальные границы фемы и ее этнический состав. Вопрос о территориальном составе фемы и времени ее существования рассмотрен мною в статье «Из истории северо-восточных пограничных областей Византийской империи в XI в.»<sup>5</sup>, поэтому я приведу здесь только основные выводы статьи.

Сопоставление сведений армянских, греческих и грузинских источников позволяет утверждать, что:

1. Фема Иверия просуществовала с 1001 по 1072/74 г.

2. С 1001 по 1045 г. в фему Иверия входили: Южный Тайк, Карин, Басен, Халтой-арич с Клисрами, Чормайри, Мардали, Харк и Апахуник.

В 1045 г. к этим областям было присоединено Ширакское царство с Ани, который стал столицей фемы.

В 40—50-х годах XI в. в состав фемы вошла Кларджия, а в 1065 г. — земли Карсских Багратидов.

Под натиском турок-сельджуков территория фемы сокращается, и к 1072—1074 гг. она состояла только из Карса, Карина и Южного Тайка.

Каков же был этнический состав фемы Иверия? Карин, Басен, Халтой-арич с Клисрами, Чормайри, Мардали, Харк, Апахуник, Ширакское царство и владения Карсских Багратидов — земли центральной Армении, разумеется, были заселены армянами. Что же касается Кларджии и Тайка, то их население в этот период уже не было однородным. Среди местного армянского населения широко распростра-

<sup>3</sup> Michaelis Attaliothae Historia, Bonnae, 1853, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> P. Gautier, La curieuse ascendance de Jean Tzetzés, „Revue des études byzantines“, XXVIII, 1970, p. 207. Его информация, безусловно, достоверна, поскольку он, по его собственным словам, происходит „от абасгского корня“ (ibidem., p. 212).

<sup>5</sup> «Պատմա-գեոգրաֆիկան հանդես», 1972, № 1:



ется халкидонитство грузинской ориентации и одновременно начинает проникать грузинский элемент<sup>6</sup>.

Византийские авторы XI в., современники образования и существования фемы Иверия (Скилица, Кедрин, Атталиат), часто упоминают Иверию, но чрезвычайно редко их Иверия — это территория Грузинского царства.

Для Атталиата Грузия — это чаще всего Абасгия<sup>7</sup>.

Для того, чтобы выяснить, что понимал Михаил Атталиат под «Иверией», рассмотрим все случаи упоминания Иверии в «Истории» Атталиата.

Византийский хронист рассказывает о нашествии гунов-эфталитов (тюрок-сельджуков), которые «пошли на запад, приблизившись к пределам Иверии (τοὺς Ἰβηρικοὺς ὁρίους) и захватив какую смогли территорию, взяли в плен ромейского правителя по имени Лихуд, облеченного (περιεζωσμένον) властью над Сирией. И постоянными ежегодными набегами этот народ причинил немалый урон ромейской земле. Ромей, поставленные в крепостях и оказавшие им (сельджукам, — В. А.) сопротивление, униженные отступали»<sup>8</sup>. «Поэтому они, грабя городки и села, разрушая большие города и опустошая земли, быстро овладели всей Иверией. Это произошло из-за прежней скупости императора. В Иверии прежде находилось воинственное войско, которое получало опсоний из государственной казны. Император лишил их этого содержания и, сокрушив эту силу, не только погубил своих соратников, но даже усилил врагов и сделал их непобедимыми»<sup>9</sup>.

Далее Атталиат рассказывает, что по приказу императора Константина IX Мономаха (1042—1055) «в пределах Иверии» было собрано войско, которое должно было выступить против сельджуков под начальством князя Липарита<sup>10</sup>.

Как мы видим, во всех трех отрывках речь идет об Иверии, находящейся в Византийской империи. Эта область подчиняется ромейским правителям, в ее крепостях стоят гарнизоны под управлением ромеев, местные военные силы получают содержание из имперской казны и могут быть распущены или вновь собраны по приказу императора ромеев. Совершенно очевидно, что эта Иверия — фема Византийской империи.

Атталиат пишет, что вследствие набегов тюрок-сельджуков и пренебрежения воинскими делами со стороны правительства Византии «счастливая земля Иверии была совершенно разграблена и опустошена и

<sup>6</sup> Георгий Мерчул, Житие св. Григория Хандзгийского, грузинский текст, Введение, издание, перевод Н. Марра. СПб., 1911, стр. XVI—XVII, см. также о содействии Багратидов распространению халкидонитского вероисповедания (стр. 92 (1—4), 96 (50—54), (106—107)). Ср. Р. М. Бартиян, Критические заметки о завещании Евстафии Воилы (1059), Византийский Временник, т. XIX, стр. 32; Н. Я. Марр, Дневник поездки в Шавшию и Кларджию. СПб., 1911, стр. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Michaelis Attaliotae Historia, Bonnæ, 1853, 231, 17, 235, 11, 14, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Att., 44, 7—15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, 18—23.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, 45, 2—9.



той же страшной участи подверглись и находящиеся рядом с нею области Месопотамия и Халдия, Мелитена и Колония и земли, лежащие по р. Евфрату»<sup>11</sup>. В этом отрывке Атталиат перечисляет византийские фемы, ставшие ареной набегов сельджуков, и на первое место ставит Иверию, поскольку в силу своего географического положения эта область первой принимала на себя удары кочевников. Атталиат отмечает, что город Ани был «великой крепостью» (μεγάλην ἑκκλήνην), которая «служила нам защитой от варваров, стремившихся вторгнуться в Иверскую область» (ἐξ ἧς τῆς Ἰβηρίας)<sup>12</sup>. Э. Хонигман, перечисляя основные укрепленные пункты, защищавшие восточные границы Византийской империи после образования фем Васпуракан, Тарон и Иверия, называет «крепости Васпуракана на берегу оз. Ван, Манцикерт, укрепленные города Тайка и крепость Ани»<sup>13</sup>.

Размышляя над причинами победоносного движения сельджуков, Атталиат приходит к выводу, что «такое нашествие язычников и истребление народов, подвластных ромеям, было следствием божьего гнева против еретиков, населяющих Иверию и Месопотамию и распространившихся до Ликанда и Мелитены: армяне, иудеи, исповедующие несторианскую и акефалическую ересь»<sup>14</sup>. В этом пассаже речь идет вновь об Иверии, подвластной ромеям и упоминаемой наряду с другими византийскими фемами.

Рассказывая о походе Романа IV Диогена (1068—1071), Атталиат упоминает среди фем, по которым он проходил, и область τῶν Ἰβηρίων<sup>15</sup>. После поражения под Манцикертом Роман некоторое время находился в Феодосииполе, «затем он решил идти в ромейскую землю» и в числе других областей прошел и через иверийские земли<sup>16</sup>. Имеется в виду, несомненно, фема Иверия, поскольку речь идет об Иверии в «ромейской земле».

Из десяти упоминаний Иверии в «Истории» Михаил Атталиат восемь раз имеет в виду византийскую фему, один раз Грузию и один раз Испанию<sup>17</sup>.

У Скилицы Иверия упоминается гораздо чаще. При Романе Лакапине, «в столицу прибыл из Иверии ивер Куропалат. Он был принят с блеском и почестями»<sup>18</sup>. Под Иверией здесь, по-видимому, подразумеваются владения иверских Багратидов<sup>19</sup>, но какие именно — неизвестно. Скилица рассказывает, что, узнав о смерти Давида Куропалата, Василий II отправился в Иверию, чтобы завладеть его землями. «Прибыв

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, 78, 9—16.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, 80, 5—10.

<sup>13</sup> E. Hönigmann, Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches, Bruxelles, 1961, p. 178.

<sup>14</sup> Att., 96, 22—23—97, 1—5.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 147, 16—17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, 166, 13—21.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, 222, 3—17, см. выше, стр. 46—47.

<sup>18</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 300, 12—13.

<sup>19</sup> См. выше.



туда и устроив данное ему наследство, и заставив Георгия, архонта внутренней Иверии, управлять собственными землями и не нападать на чужие, (Василий) заключил с ним договор и, взяв в заложники его сына, отправился в Сирию, имея с собой и первых по роду в своей (κατ' αὐτόν) Иверии, среди которых самые знатные были братья Пакуриан, Февдат и Ферс, которых он возвел в сан патрикиев»<sup>20</sup>. Земли, полученные Василием II от Давида Куропалата и вошедшие во вновь организованную фему, названы «Иверией» или «его (т. е. Василия II) Иверией». Владения грузинского царя именуются здесь «внутренней Иверией».

В ходе борьбы за наследство Давида Куропалата Панкратий (Баграт), владыка Абасгии, сильно теснил катепана Иверии Иасита<sup>21</sup>. Когда Византия предприняла захват Ширакского царства, то вести войну против Ани было поручено «весту Михаилу Иаситу, который был архонтом Иверии»<sup>22</sup>. После Михаила Иасита дукой Иверии стал Кекавмен<sup>23</sup>. Патрикий Лев Торник почти в то же время был стратигом в Иверии<sup>24</sup>. Позже он поднял мятеж и, чтобы противостоять Торнику, император Константин X Дука «послал в Иверию к Константину гонца... с царской грамотой, приказывающей оставить все... и как можно скорее прибыть с войском к царю»<sup>25</sup>. В этих пассажах рассказывается об области, где сидит наместник империи, следовательно, речь идет о феме Иверия.

В 1048—1049 гг. турки-сельджуки опустошали восточные провинции ромеев. По свидетельству Скилицы, вест Аарон, правитель Васпуракана, и Катакалон Кекавмен, правитель Ани и Иверии, разошлись во мнениях относительно места сражения. Кекавмен полагал встретить врага за пределами империи, но победило мнение Аарона, который предложил, чтобы все войска укрепились на равнине Иверии, называемой местными жителями Осуртру<sup>26</sup>. Поскольку Скилица говорит об Иверии «в пределах Византийской империи», то речь идет, разумеется, о феме Иверия и понятно стремление Кекавмена уберечь свою фему. В ответ на обращение Катакалона и Аарона о помощи император повелел им ждать войска князя Липарита. Однако и соединенным силам трех полководцев не удалось остановить сельджуков. Сельджуки разграбили Васпуракан и Иверию<sup>27</sup>. Липарит попал в плен. После четырехлетнего мира в 1054—1055 г. султан Тогрул-бек вторгся вновь в

<sup>20</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 447, 13—23. Ниже Скилица вновь упоминает об организации этой фемы (Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 557, 2—5).

<sup>21</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 519, 5—6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 557, 23—558, 1—3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, 560, 20. Ср. также 574, 3—4.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, 561, 16—19. См. В. А. Арутюнова-Фиданян, Византийские правители фемы Иверия, Вестник общ. наук АН Арм. ССР, 1973, № 2, стр. 70—72.

<sup>25</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 562, 7—10.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, II, 575, 15—16, 576, 1—4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, 576, 9—22.



пределы империи. Скилица отмечает, что вся Иверия, т. е. фема Иверия, была заполнена укрепленными крепостями, в которых укрылись жители<sup>28</sup>.

Византийское правительство намеревалось послать для борьбы с сельджуками «в Иверию» печенегов. Это предприятие не увенчалось успехом, печенеги вернулись на Балканы<sup>29</sup>. В этом контексте речь идет, разумеется, о феме Иверия, поскольку Византия беспокоилась об обороне собственных областей.

Скилица рассказывает, что сельджуки осадили Карс и захватили весь город, кроме акрополя, затем все их войско вступило в Иверию. Находясь в Иверии, султан Тогрул-бек опустошал ее огнем и грабежом. Император поэтому, спешно отозвав Михаила Аколуфа с Запада, посылает его в Иверию. Михаил, собрав «рассеянных по Халдии и Иверии франков и варягов», воспрепятствовал дальнейшему продвижению султана<sup>30</sup>. Речь идет об областях, где расквартированы наемные отряды империи, т. е. Иверия здесь опять-таки — фема Византии.

Описывая военные успехи турок-сельджуков, Скилица так же, как и Атталиат, отмечает, что этим успехам содействовала скупость императора, который «распустил иверское войско (в количестве) около 50.000 человек» для того, чтобы получать из этих стран большие подати и «придумал много других взысканий, настолько дурных и незаконных, что о них и говорить стыдно»<sup>31</sup>. Помимо этой, вполне материальной, причины Скилица, как и Атталиат, выдвигает основание теологического порядка: божий гнев против еретиков, населяющих Иверию, Месопотамию, Ликанд и Мелитену<sup>32</sup>. Именно поэтому Иверия, как и другие византийские фемы «Месопотамия, Халдия, Мелитена, Колония, земли, лежащие по Евфрату, Армениак и Васпуракан», была «совершенно разорена и покинута»<sup>33</sup>. Через иверские комы (κῶμας) проходил Роман Диоген в своем походе на сельджуков<sup>34</sup>. «Иверия» в тексте Скилицы названа 20 раз, причем в одном случае — это какие-то владения Иверских Багратидов<sup>35</sup>, в трех случаях — Грузия<sup>36</sup>, и 16 раз — фема Византийской империи. «Ивер» упоминается в тексте 9 раз. Куропалат Ивер — это, очевидно, представитель рода иверских Багратидов<sup>37</sup>. Скилица упоминает Григора Иверицу, domestika schol, выступившего против мятеж-

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, II, 590, 10—14.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, II, 588, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, 606, 11—20.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, II, 608, 20—24.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 687, 10—13.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, II, 653, 4—10.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, 701, 24. Ср. Атталиат (см. выше).

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, II, 300, 12—16.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, 447, 18—20; 478, 9—10; 572, 17—22. Царь Грузии у Скилицы — это царь Абасгии (Ibidem, II, 511, 24—25; 519, 5—6; 557, 1).

<sup>37</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 300, 12—13. Н. Адонц полагает, что речь идет об Адарперсе иверском (N. Adontz, Etudes armeno-byzantines, Lisbonne, 1965, стр. 216).



ного Андроника Дуки (906—907)<sup>38</sup>, и магистра Григора Иверицу, принимавшего участие в восстании Константина Дуки (913)<sup>39</sup>. Какова была этническая принадлежность Иверицы (или Ивериц, если это не одно лицо) определить затруднительно. Прямых указаний в источниках нет<sup>40</sup>, так же как и об этнической принадлежности Пниемия ивера<sup>41</sup>. «Иверы» в составе войск Фомы Славянина и Никифора Фоки, очевидно, грузины, поскольку они названы наряду с представителями других национальностей<sup>42</sup>.

В византийских источниках XI в., наряду с уроженцами фем Халдия, Месопотамия, Армениак, Тарон, Васпуракан — халдами, месопотамитами, армениакцами, таронитами, васпраканитами, встречаются и иверы.

После организации фемы Иверия при Василии II находились братья Пакуриан, Февдат и Ферс, которых он возвел в ранг патрикиев. Вначале Скилица именует эти лица «первыми по роду в его Иверии» (ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτόν Ἰβηρίᾳ)<sup>43</sup>, т. е. в Иверии Василия II, переданной ему по завещанию Давидом Куропалатом, а позже просто «иверами». Так, царь Василий II в 1016 г. получил письмо от «стратига Доростола Цоцикия (Джоджика), сына патрикия Февдата ивера»<sup>44</sup>. В 1019 г., когда был составлен заговор Константина Диогена, правителя Сирмия, в нем приняли участие «Георгий и Варазваче, который основал Афонский монастырь на горе Афон, племянники патрикия Февдата»<sup>45</sup>. Варазваче ивер в 1038 г. занимал пост стратига Эдессы<sup>46</sup>. Упоминается также Фаресман Апокан «из иверов»<sup>47</sup>.

Три раза Скилица употребляет определение «иверский»: «иверский монастырь на горе Афон», «иверское войско», распущенное Константином IX<sup>48</sup>, и «иверское войско» Михаила Иасита<sup>49</sup>. В первом случае

<sup>38</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 267, 9—11.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, 279—280.

<sup>40</sup> Р. Гийан называет его одним из князей Иверии (*R. Guillard, Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967, стр. 440). Н. Адонц полагает, что Иверица был армянином-халкидонитом (*Etudes...*, p. 219). В 1007 г. жил некий Стефан Иверица, протоспафарий и вестиярит (*F. Dolger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, II, Berlin-München, 1925, № 795). Михаил Пселл упоминает в 1049 г. протоспафария Иоанна Иверицу вестиярита, младшего сына протоспафария Стефана Иверицы (Μεταφραστὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἐπιστολά Κ. Ν. Σάββα ἐν Βενετίᾳ, 1872—1894, t. V, pp. 197—198, ср. *R. Guillard, Recherches...*, II, p. 109).

<sup>41</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 627, 5—6.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, II, 78, 11—12; 361, 14—16.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, II, 447, 13—23.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, II, 465, 16—17.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, II, p. 488, 2—4.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, 520, 12.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, 675, 21—23—676, 1. О происхождении Апокапов из Тайка см. В. А. Арутюнова-Фиданян, «Византийские правители Эдессы» (принята к печати журналом «Византийский временник» для тома 34).

<sup>48</sup> См. выше.

<sup>49</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, 559, 13.



эпитет «иверский» определяет, по-видимому, вероисповедную принадлежность монахов монастыря<sup>50</sup>. А иверское войско, которое получало опсоний из государственной казны империи и подчинялось катепану фемы — это фемное войско Иверии<sup>51</sup>.

Интересно отметить, что почти все случаи упоминания слова «ивер» в значении «грузин» или в значении, не поддающемся истолкованию, встречаются у Скилицы до рассказа об образовании фемы Иверия, а после 447 страницы почти все иверы<sup>52</sup>, встречающиеся в тексте — это уроженцы фемы Иверия.

Пассажи Зонары об Иверии, в основном, повторяют повествование Скилицы, поэтому я не буду их здесь подробно рассматривать, ограничусь только подсчетом. В одном случае Иверия Зонары — Грузия<sup>53</sup>, два раза он упоминает «внутреннюю Иверию» (Северный Тайк)<sup>54</sup>, а в остальных случаях его Иверия — фема Византийской империи<sup>55</sup>.

У Михаила Пселла и «ивер» и «Иверия» встречаются сравнительно редко. В одном случае «иверы» упоминаются, наряду с арабами, скифами, кельтами, т. е. в значении «грузины»<sup>56</sup>. Затем упоминается «иверская армия» Давида Куропалата, участвовавшая в восстании Варды Фоки<sup>57</sup>. И наконец, в рассказе о восстании Льва Торника (1047) отмечается, что он прежде правил Иверией, т. е. фемой Иверия<sup>58</sup>.

В императорских указах этого периода царь Грузии обычно именуется абхазским царем: письмо Василия II к царю Георгию Абхазскому (1015/1016)<sup>59</sup>, четыре посольства Василия II к царю Георгию Абхазскому в 1021—1022 гг.<sup>60</sup>, договор Романа III Аргира (1028—1034) с Баграта IV (1030)<sup>61</sup> и еще один договор с Баграта IV Абхазским (1048)<sup>62</sup>. В указах упоминается князь Липарит, оспаривавший власть у Баграта IV (1068) — он именуется Липаритом Абхазским<sup>63</sup> в отличие

<sup>50</sup> См. ниже.

<sup>51</sup> Г. Г. Литаврин, справедливо считая эти войска войсками фемы Иверия, называет их «грузинскими» (см. в кн. «История Византии», II, М., 1967, стр. 270). Однако войско, набранное, в основном, из областей Центральной Армении (см. выше, стр. 47), разумеется, не могло быть «грузинским». Это были армянские феодальные отряды. Их предшественники получали плату за военную службу (арм. роджик, виз. руга) от персов, арабов и позже византийцев (см. Н. Адонц, Армения в эпоху Юстиниана, СПб., 1908, стр. 278).

<sup>52</sup> Неясен только Пинемий ивер.

<sup>53</sup> Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum, Bonnae, 1897, t. III, 229, 10.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, 557, 9, 13; 568, 4—5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, 626, 4—6; 638—639; 643, 20.

<sup>56</sup> Michel Psellos, Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976—1077), Paris, 1926, t. I, p. 19, 8—10.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, t. I, p. 7, 15; 10.

<sup>58</sup> Michel Psellos, Chronographie, t. II, 1928, p. 15, 26—27.

<sup>59</sup> F. Dolger, Regesten, t. I, p. 103.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, p. 104—105.

<sup>61</sup> F. Dolger, Regesten, t. II, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem.



от Липарита, который находился на службе Византийской империи и именовался Липаритом Иверским<sup>64</sup>.

Сигиллографический материал этого времени, к сожалению, не дает сколько-нибудь интересных наблюдений над термином «ивер»<sup>65</sup>.

Произведения византийских историков, живших во второй половине XI в. — начале XII в., Никифора Вриенния и Анны Комнины отражают уже иную действительность, нежели историческая действительность Скилицы и Атталиата. В их время Малая Азия была захвачена сельджуками, и империя лишилась всех своих восточных фем, в том числе и фемы Иверия. В их произведениях мы вообще не находим слова «Иверия», а слово «ивер» упомянуто всего один раз у Никифора Вриенния и два раза у Анны Комнины.

Никифор Вриенний пишет, что Михаил Дука женился на дочери владыки иверов Марии, двоюродная сестра которой дочь владыки Алании Ирина была замужем за старшим сыном куропалатиссы (Анны Далассины) Исааком<sup>66</sup>. Здесь «владыка иверов», разумеется, — царь Грузии. Анна Комнина упоминает какой-то «иверский монастырь»<sup>67</sup>, а также некоего Чауша, который «по отцу был турок, а по матери ивер»<sup>68</sup>. «Ивер» здесь также, очевидно, определяет национальную принадлежность. «Иверы» Никиты Хониата — также грузины<sup>69</sup>. В императорских указах первых Комнинов «иверы» не встречаются<sup>70</sup>.

Все эти наблюдения позволяют считать, что в византийских источниках мирского содержания до образования и после утраты фемы Иверия слово «ивер» имело, в основном, значение «грузин», а те же источники, отражающие период существования фемы Иверия, в большинстве случаев, употребляют слово «ивер» в значении «лицо, происходящее из фемы Иверия», так же как халд, месопотамит, армениакец, таронит, васпраканит — это уроженцы фем Халдия, Месопотамия, Армениак, Тарон, Васпуракан<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, p. 9. В указах упоминается также монастырь Иверон (Ibidem, p. 2, 22). О нем ниже. Об иверах в документах «духовного» содержания (житиях, типиках) см. ниже.

<sup>65</sup> См. G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin, Paris, 1884. V. Laurent, La collection C. Orghidan, Paris, 1952; idem, Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin, V, 2, Paris, 1965; idem, Les sceaux byzantins du Medaillier Vatican, Città del Vaticano, 1962.

<sup>66</sup> Nicephori Bryennii Commentarii, Bonnae, 1836, p. 56. 5—9.

<sup>67</sup> Anne Gommène. Alexiade, Paris, 1937—1945, t. III, p. 217.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, t. II, p. 66.

<sup>69</sup> Nicetae Choniatae Historia, Bonnae, 1835, 45, 22; 499, 19.

<sup>70</sup> См. F. Dolger, Regesten, t. II.

<sup>71</sup> Например, халд Адриан и халд Татчат (армянин) (Leonis Grammaticae Chronographia, Bonnae, 1842, p. 308 (16—22)). Адриан, Калокир (греки) из Армениака и Иоанн Куркуас (армянин) из Армениака (Theophanis Continuatus Chronographia, Bonnae, 1898, p. 419 (17—22), 423 (8—10), 426 (3—21). Примеры эти можно было бы умножить. Впрочем, таронит — это всегда армянин, поскольку Тарон — область с чисто армянским населением.



Если тот или иной автор об одном и том же уроженце фемы Иверия пишет, что он и «ивер» и «армянин», то вовсе не следует считать это заявление признаком некомпетентности или путаницы. Это утверждение обозначает всего лишь то, что данное лицо рассматривается и с точки зрения территориальной, и с точки зрения национальной принадлежности. Так, например, двояко охарактеризован представитель известного армянского рода Апокапов Фаресман Апокап<sup>72</sup>.

Атталиат рассказывает, что император Роман Диоген «решил населить город Иерополь и послать туда стратига, чтобы в короткое время был и новый город для ромеев и место пребывания армян... и стратигом туда он поставил некоего Фарасматия, веста Апокапа, ведущего род от армян (ἐξ Ἀρμενίων τοῦ γένους ἑλκοντα)»<sup>73</sup>. А Скилица, поведывая о восстановлении Иерополя, отмечает, что правитель этой крепости Фаресман Апокап был «из иверов»<sup>74</sup>.

Пселл, рассказывая о восстании Льва Торника (1047), пишет, что Торник был правителем Иверии<sup>75</sup>. Скилица отмечает, что патрикий Лев Торник был из Иверии и являлся стратигом этой фемы<sup>76</sup>. А Матфей Эдесский пишет о нем: «один армянин патрикий по имени Торник, храбрый, могучий и воинственный»<sup>77</sup>.

Багарат Вхкаци, правитель фемы Иверия и катепан Востока, в своей анийской надписи называет себя «ивером»<sup>78</sup>. Он был родом из Вихика — селения в южном Тайке, недалеко от Ошка, т. е. происходил из фемы Иверия. А Атталиат и Скилица называют его «некий армянин Панкратий», подчеркивая не территориальное его происхождение, а этническое<sup>79</sup>.

\* \* \*

В греческих источниках XI в., в особенности, в источниках не «мирского», а духовного содержания (в житиях, типиках, богословских сочинениях) появляется и еще одно значение слова «ивер», связанное с таким своеобразным явлением христианского Востока, как армяне, исповедующие халкидонитство грузинской ориентации.

Проблема армян-халкидонитов как греческого, так и грузинского толка до сих пор не привлекла внимания, соответствующего важности этой проблемы.

<sup>72</sup> Γαργάριος, I, 151—152. Об Апокапе см. Н. Скабаланович, Византийское государство и церковь в XI в., СПб., 1898, стр. 197, ср. также В. Н. Златарски, История на Българската държава през средните векове, т. II, София, 1934, стр. 115—118, а также В. А. Арутюнова, Византийские правители Эдессы, там же библиография.

<sup>73</sup> Att., p. 116, (4—12).

<sup>74</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, p. 675 (21—23)—676 (1).

<sup>75</sup> Michel Psellos, Chronographie, t. II, p. 15, (26—27).

<sup>76</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, p. 561 (15—19), ср. также Zon., III, p. 626 (1).

<sup>77</sup> Γαργάριος Παφλαγῆς, Φωκιστὴς καὶ ἑκπρωτοβουλὸς, 1898, I, 100.

<sup>78</sup> В. Н. Бенешевич, Три анийские надписи XI в. из эпохи византийского владычества, Пб., 1921, стр. 27—28.

<sup>79</sup> Att., p. 80 (11—28), Skylitz.-Cedren, II, p. 653 (23—34).



Литература, касающаяся в той или иной мере армян-халкидонитов, чрезвычайно скудна, а круг вопросов, затронутых в этих немногочисленных работах, весьма ограничен<sup>80</sup>. Свидетельства нарративных источников, эпиграфики, памятников архитектуры позволяют утверждать довольно широкое распространение халкидонитства в Армении в XI в. Армяне-халкидониты жили в Ани, Карсе, Карине, Басене, Тароне, Васпуракане<sup>81</sup>. Особенно сильно было халкидонитство грузинской ориентации в областях, соседних с Грузией, в Тайке, Кларджии, Ардаане, Гугарке, где армяне-халкидониты становились в зависимость от грузинской церкви. Несмотря на победу монофизитской церкви в Армении, в результате которой многие армяне-халкидониты были вынуждены эмигрировать в другие страны, значительная их часть продолжала жить в родной стране, ведя борьбу с монофизитами, борьбу, которая подогревалась вмешательством извне (Византия, Грузия) и временами достигала значительного напряжения. Постоянная внутренняя борьба с халкидонитами нашла, помимо прочего, отражение еще и в том, что для армянских средневековых авторов, ревностных последователей национальной церкви, армяне-халкидониты не были истинными армянами<sup>82</sup>. Они в большинстве случаев и не называют их армянами. Для Аристокеса Ластивертци, Матфея Эдесского и, в особенности, для Степаноса Таронского (Асолика), ученого вардапета и яркого противника халкидонитов, эти армяне — либо «ромен», либо иверы («враци» — *Վրացի*). «В Басенской области, — пишет Асолик, — был убит фанатиками — враци (*Վրացի*) толкователь священных книг Иоанн»<sup>83</sup>. Очевидно, имеются в виду не грузины по национальности, а армяне, исповедовавшие грузинскую веру, т. е. армяне-халкидониты. Аристокес сообщает о некоем Захарии, епископе Валаршакерта, который в 1021 г. был посредником между грузинским царем и императором ромеев, и называет его «враци» (ивер). Совершенно очевидно, что в этой чисто армянской области, где среди населения были армяне-халкидониты, епископом тоже был армянин-халкидонит, исповедовавший грузинскую веру и потому названный грузином<sup>84</sup>.

Асолик в своей «Всеобщей истории» рассказывает о некоем Деметре, владельце Гагской крепости, который перешел в «грузинскую веру» и отделился от Гагика I. Впоследствии он потерял крепость и умер

<sup>80</sup> Обзор литературы см. В. А. Арутюнова, К вопросу об армянах-халкидонитах, «Вестник общественных наук АН Арм. ССР», № 3, 1971, стр. 85—87.

<sup>81</sup> См. там же, стр. 87—89.

<sup>82</sup> Павел Таронский (XI—XII вв.) говорит, что «цаты» (армяне-халкидониты греческой ориентации) — греки, хотя и с армянским языком. Мхитар Апаранский почти дословно повторяет это утверждение о цатах (*Н. Я. Марр*, Аркауи — монгольское название христиан в связи с вопросом об армянах халкидонитах, СПб., 1905, стр. 31—33). По свидетельству Асолика, ученые вардапеты, собравшиеся по приказанию католикоса Аниани (943—965), «глубоко исследовали книги и на их основании установили второе крещение для последователей халкидонского собора (*Աստված, էջ 178*)».

<sup>83</sup> *Աստված, ՄԳՐ, 1885, էջ 185*.

<sup>84</sup> Аристокес Ластивертци, Повествование, пер. К. Юзбашяна, М., 1968, стр. 66, ср. В. А. Арутюнова, К вопросу об армянах-халкидонитах, стр. 88—89.



страшной смертью, а род его прекратился. Асолик несколько не сомневается в том, что такая участь постигла Деметра именно за то, что он перешел в халкидонитскую веру, стал «грузином» и «удалился от господ»<sup>85</sup>. Этот факт говорит о том, какую глубокую вражду возбуждали среди единоплеменников догматические разногласия. Асолик называет войска Давида Куропалата, посланные на осаду города Хлат, «иверскими» именно по вероисповедному признаку, что подчеркивается самим содержанием этого эпизода. Асолик возмущенно рассказывает, что за-городная армянская церковь, архиепископский дворец и другие святые места армян были обращены в лагерь и конюшни «иверского» войска. А когда арабы (татчики) со стен города упрекали «воинов Куропалата в пренебрежении к христианским святыням, те отвечали: «Мы одинаково смотрим на армянскую церковь и на вашу мечеть». Именно за это нечестие, по мнению Асолика, и были разбиты и рассеяны войска Давида. «Во время бегства погибли магистр Баграт, племянник (по брату) монаха Торника, и взяты в плен князь князей Бакуран и многие другие»<sup>86</sup>.

Акоб Карнеци, описывая тайкский округ Мамрван, рассказывает, что этот гавар «велик и имеет множество сел и жители этой страны армяне и вращи». И далее в тексте содержится уточнение, каких именно «вращи» имеет в виду автор: «И были жители этой страны половина — армяне, а другая половина по религии были грузинами, но говорили на армянском языке» (*ի լէւոն հայ տղաքս եւ լէւոն կրօնիւք փրացի, բայց հայի լեզուաւ խօսէին*)<sup>87</sup>.

Эти примеры можно было бы умножить, однако мы ограничимся вышеуказанными, приведя еще только одно чрезвычайно интересное свидетельство. Мхитар Айриванкский под 821 годом сделал следующую запись: «Во дни владыки Давида священник Парсман Какальский отделил от армян и обратил в грузин цондеев» (*ի փրս Գարձույց զծոնդէացիսն*)<sup>88</sup>, т. е. люди, принявшие грузинскую веру, по мнению армянских средневековых авторов, становятся «грузинами». Грузинские авторы средневековья держались той же точки зрения. Для грузинских агнографов Иоанн Торник и члены его семьи (Тайкские Торникяны) армяне-халкидониты, ревностные последователи и защитники грузинской церкви, не менее истинные грузины, чем грузины по крови<sup>89</sup>. Более того, обозначение армянина-халкидонита как «армяннина» могло вызвать недоразумение, как показывает следующий эпизод из догматической борьбы

<sup>85</sup> Ասողիկ, էջ 257.

<sup>86</sup> Ասողիկ, էջ 268—269. О Торнике и его родственниках см. ниже.

<sup>87</sup> «Մանր ժամանակագրություններ 13—18-րդ դդ.», հազմեց Վ. Ա. Հակոբյան, Երևան, 1956, էջ 554.

<sup>88</sup> Մխիթարայ Այրիվանկեցոյ Պատմություն հայոց, Մոսկվա, 1860, էջ 54.

<sup>89</sup> См. Analecta Bollandiana XXXVI—XXXVIII. Bruxelles—Paris, 1917—1919, p. 16 (14—20). 19 и сл. О Торнике и Тайкских Торникянах. Ն. Ակիմյան, Մասենադրական հետազոտություններ, բնութիւն եւ բնագիր, Ն. Գ. Վիեննա, 1898, էջ 49—88. N. Adontz Etudes armeno-byzantines, Lisbonne, 1965, p. 309—318.



между греками и грузинами (в XI в.), зафиксированный в «Житии св. Иоанна и Евфимия».

К вновь назначенному патриарху Антиохии Феодосию пришли греки из монастыря св. Симеона, братия которого состояла из греков, сирийцев и «иверов», и обратились к нему с просьбой избавить их «от великого зла», «от людей чужого рода». Они заявили патриарху, что в их монастыре «60 человек, которые называют себя иверами, но никто не знает, что они думают и какова их вера».

На изумленный вопрос патриарха — «Как может случиться, что иверы не обладают истинной верой?» — последовал ответ: «Иверы они или армяне, мы не знаем, но никакой их священник в нашем монастыре не может служить службу»<sup>90</sup>.

Среди «иверов» этого монастыря были, очевидно, армяне-халкидониты, которые именовали себя «иверами», в силу своей конфессиональной принадлежности и боясь подозрений в монофизитстве. Именно такие подозрения и пытались вызвать греки в антиохийском патриархе, упоминая национальную принадлежность этих «иверов». Позже к патриарху был вызван некий «образованный монах из этого племени», который «греческие книги переводил на грузинский язык». Он убедил патриарха и епископов Антиохии в православии своих собратьев. В результате, пишет агнограф, кара патриарха обрушилась на клеветников, а «в обители св. Симеона было разрешено иверам служить литургию, что не дозволялось до святого старца»<sup>91</sup>.

Мы располагаем документом, неоспоримо доказывающим, что среди «иверов» обители св. Симеона были армяне-халкидониты. Это «Тактикон» Никона Черногорца (XI в.), свидетельствующий о том, что дело о неправославии армян-халкидонитов обители св. Симеона получило дальнейшее развитие и вылилось в переписку о православии армян-халкидонитов вообще между различными церковными деятелями. Помимо истинности вероисповедания дебатировался также вопрос о возможности для армян-халкидонитов вести церковную службу на родном языке<sup>92</sup>. Обычно и греки и грузины требовали от своих армянских единоверцев ведения церковной службы на греческом или грузинском языках и в целях единства церковной службы и опасаясь проникновения монофизитского влияния. Эта тенденция заключала в себе угрозу денационализации. И если на родине, окруженные иноверными единоплеменниками, армяне-халкидониты, в основном, не теряли национального облика<sup>93</sup>, то оказываясь в чужих странах, в больших монастырях в окрестностях Антиохии и на Афоне в этнически чуждой среде, ведя богослужение на грузинском или греческом языках и даже повседневно

<sup>90</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, p. 113 (4—29).

<sup>91</sup> *Analecta*, p. 114 (12—15), 115 (7—9).

<sup>92</sup> См. В. Արմեն, Հայ-ժառանգի ծագման մասին, «Հանդես անդորհար» 1912, № 5. Н. Я. Марр, Аркаун, стр. 31—33.

<sup>93</sup> Например, в Тайке и Кларджии. См. В. А. Арутюнова, К вопросу..., стр. 95—98.



говоря на этих языках, армяне-халкидониты не только называли себя грузинами (или греками), но постепенно становились ими.

В «Житии св. Григория Хандзтийского» есть чрезвычайно выразительное заявление: «Грузией считается обширная страна, именно вся та, в которой церковную службу совершают и молитвы творят на грузинском языке»<sup>94</sup>. Тенденция именовать армян-халкидонитов грузинского вероисповедания грузинами проникает и в греческие источники, преимущественно в источники канонического характера. Наглядный пример такого проникновения дает типик Саввы Освященного.

В биографии знаменитого иерусалимского игумена рассказывается, что к преподобному Савве явились армяне: некий Иеремия с двумя учениками Петром и Павлом<sup>95</sup>. А. А. Дмитриевский, сравнивая типик св. Саввы и его биографию, отметил, что биограф св. Саввы говорит, что к нему явились армяне, в типике же, в той фразе, которая дословно повторяет это место из биографии, слово «армяне» заменено словом «грузины». А. А. Дмитриевский отмечает, что рукопись типика восходит к IX—X вв., и полагает, что именно в это время греческие переписчики заменили слова *τοὺς Ἀρμένους* словами *τοὺς Ἰβήρας*<sup>96</sup>. К Савве явились, разумеется, армяне-халкидониты, а для монастырских переписчиков IX—X вв. было важно подчеркнуть не их этническую, а вероисповедную принадлежность.

Рассмотрим показания источника, вызывающего в последнее время много споров — «Типика» Григория Пакуриана. Продолжение полемики об этнической принадлежности Григория — наглядный пример пренебрежения многозначностью слова «Ἰβήρ» в греческих источниках XI в. (как, впрочем, и слова «*φραγί*» в современных им армянских источниках).

Григорий Пакуриан — выдающийся полководец и государственный деятель Византийской империи второй половины XI в. Уроженец Южного Тайка, он был земляком Багарата Вхкаци и его сподвижником при обороне Ани от турок-сельджуков в 1064 г. Впоследствии он занимал пост правителя фемы Иверия и катепана Востока. Григорий Пакуриан сыграл значительную роль во время воцарения Алексея I Комнина (1081—1118) и в первое десятилетие его царствования, находясь на посту великого доместики Запада.

Анна Комнина считает Григория Пакуриана армянином («из знатного армянского рода») <sup>97</sup>.

В грузинском источнике «Картлис Цховреба» его называют «зораваром» — армянским титулом полководца<sup>98</sup>, а в армянском источнике, в «Хронике» Матфея Эдесского, напротив, и Григорий Пакуриан и Ба-

<sup>94</sup> *Георгий Мерчул*, Житие св. Григория Хандзтийского, стр. 123 (5—8).

<sup>95</sup> См. А. А. Дмитриевский, Путешествие по Востоку и его научные результаты, Киев, 1890, Приложение II, стр. 181.

<sup>96</sup> См. там же, стр. 182.

<sup>97</sup> *Anne Comnène*. *Alexiade*, Paris, 1937—1945, t. I, cap. II, p. 73 (12—14).

<sup>98</sup> «Картлис Цховреба», г. I, стр. 318.



гарат Вхкаци названы «ромейскими князьями грузинского рода»<sup>99</sup>. В уставе Петрицонского монастыря, который Григорий основал в 1083 г. во Фракии, он рассказывает, что происходит «из блестящего рода иверов»<sup>100</sup>. Он говорит, что монахи его монастыря — «иверы»<sup>101</sup> и должны знать грузинское письмо и язык<sup>102</sup>. Григорий подчеркивает, что он исповедует халкидонитскую веру «по преданиям рода этих иверов»<sup>103</sup>. В описи богослужебных книг монастыря упоминается грузинское евангелие<sup>104</sup>. В то же время Григорий подписывает свой устав собственной рукой армянскими буквами<sup>105</sup>. Этот устав написан, кроме греческого и грузинского, также и на армянском языке, поскольку, как отмечает Григорий, монахи его монастыря «иверы» и не знают греческого»<sup>106</sup>. В списке хрисовулов, жалованных Григорию, упоминается хрисовул, который признает право Григория передавать свои имения, кому он захочет — родственникам своим и людям, даже если бы они оказались армянами по вероисповеданию<sup>107</sup>.

До появления работы Н. Я. Марра об «Аркауне» исследователи считали Григория грузином, затрудняясь объяснить противоречивые показания источников или игнорируя их<sup>108</sup>.

В «Аркауне» Н. Я. Марр впервые выдвинул объяснение, разрешавшее эти противоречия. Выдающийся кавказовед установил, что Григорий Пакуриан был армянином-халкидонитом из Тайка, т. е. был армянином по крови, по происхождению, но исповедовал халкидонитскую веру, воспринятую от грузинской церкви<sup>109</sup>.

Сторонники грузинского происхождения Григория выдвинули гипотезу, которая не столько разрешала, сколько устраняла противоречия в типике. Эти исследователи, не учитывая сложности такого явления, как армяне-халкидониты тайкского происхождения<sup>110</sup>, полагают упоминание об армянах в типике либо позднейшей вставкой<sup>111</sup>, либо фальсификацией<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Մատթև, էջ 148:

<sup>100</sup> „Typicon Grigorii Pacuriani“. Georgica, Thbilisi, 1963, p. 98 (25).

<sup>101</sup> См. Рас., p. 100 (27—29).

<sup>102</sup> См. там же, p. 98 (18—20).

<sup>103</sup> См. там же, p. 114 (23—24).

<sup>104</sup> См. там же, p. 242 (1).

<sup>105</sup> См. там же, p. 252 (27).

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem, p. 254 (4—7).

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, p. 250 (14—16).

<sup>108</sup> Г. Μουταῖος Γρηγόριος Πακουριανός. Dissertatio philologica, Lipsiae, 1888, σελ. 209; L. Petit, Typicon, de Grégoire Pacourianos pour le monastère de Pétritzos [Bačkovo] en Bulgarie, BB, 1904, XI, прил. I, p. XIII—XIV; W. Nissen, Die Diatäxes des Michael Attaleiates von 1077, Jena, 1894, p. 6.

<sup>109</sup> См. Н. Я. Марр, Аркаун, стр. 19—24.

<sup>110</sup> Следует иметь в виду и малоизученность проблемы.

<sup>111</sup> С. Г. Каухчишвили в предисловии к типуку Пакуриана (Georgica, т. V, p. 273—276). См. возражения П. М. Мурадяна, поддержавшего точку зрения Н. Я. Марра новыми аргументами (Պ. Մ. Մուրադյան, Գրիգոր Բակուրյանի «Սահմանք»-ի հոնարին և վրացերեն խմբագրությունների գնահատության հարցի շուրջը: «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես», 1968, № 1, էջ 103—119):

<sup>112</sup> Убедленным сторонником последней точки зрения выказал себя акад. А. А.



А между тем, если взглянуть на свидетельства «Типика» без предвзятости, то четко выступит следующее обстоятельство. Там, где речь идет об исповедании веры, о богослужебных книгах на грузинском языке и умении ими пользоваться, о приеме в монастырь новых братьев,

Шанидзе в своей работе «Великий domestik запада Григорий Бакурианис-дзе и грузинский монастырь, основанный им в Болгарии» (Тбилиси, 1970). Аргументация, приведенная в этой брошюре, дословно повторена в вышедшей вслед за ней книге того же автора «Грузинский монастырь в Болгарии» (Тбилиси, 1971. Цитируем по брошюре). Автор утверждает, что Бакуриан—имя грузинское (стр. 3), а Матфей Эдесский, говоря что Багарат Вхкаци и Григорий Пакуриан «*գրքով տղայու*», имел в виду не их вероисповедание, а их этническую принадлежность, но не объясняет почему (стр. 8, 17, 21). Анна Комнина, считавшая Григория армянином, по мнению А. А. Шанидзе, ошибалась (стр. 19—20). Наличие армянских родственников у Григория Шанидзе объясняет или вторым браком его матери, или же замужеством его сестер (стр. 22—23). Исследование П. М. Мурадяна относительно второго богослужебного языка в Петрицонской обители встречает следующее возражение А. А. Шанидзе. Он напоминает, что область Тайка до армян была занята лазо-мегрельскими племенами, которые впоследствии были вытеснены или ассимилированы армянами, и полагает, что поскольку речь в типике идет об уроженцах Тайка, то вторым их богослужебным языком мог быть не армянский, а лазский (стр. 30—31). Тот факт, что Григорий в грузинском тексте назван «зораваром», А. А. Шанидзе объясняет не тем, что он был армянином, а тем, что он жил или служил среди армян (стр. 41). Армянское слово «танутэр» в типике, по мнению грузинского ученого,—позднейшая вставка (стр. 40), а упоминание о составлении типика на трех языках (греческом, армянском и грузинском) в греческой редакции—фальсификация (стр. 43—44). Такой же фальсификацией, по мнению А. А. Шанидзе, является армянская подпись основателя монастыря (стр. 45). Возразить на это можно многое. Прежде всего, заявление о неаутентичности исторического источника или отдельных его частей является настолько ответственным, что требует серьезнейшей аргументации и не может быть доказано простой декларацией. Поэтому наличие армянской редакции типика, армянская подпись Григория и слово «танутэр» продолжают оставаться неопровергнутыми свидетельствами источника. И кроме того, если, как утверждает А. А. Шанидзе, армян в Петрицонском монастыре не было, а позже монастырь перешел к грекам и затем к болгарам (там же, стр. 17), то кому же нужно было подделывать подпись настоятеля монастыря именно по-армянски? Вопрос: *Cui prodest?*—не находит ответа. Развернутая аргументация П. М. Мурадяна относительно первичности греческой редакции по отношению к грузинской редакции типика также не нашла соответствующего ответа его оппонентов. Утверждая, что армянское слово «зоравар» могло обозначать воеводу, не армянина, служившего в местах с армянским населением, автор не приводит ни единого примера в подтверждение этой мысли (стр. 41). Интересен также факт, который Шанидзе обходит молчанием и который нельзя объяснить брачными узами. Это то, что у Григория не только родственники, но и «люди» (т. е. его вассалы) были армянами. А. А. Шанидзе полагает, что Бакуриан—имя чисто грузинское, однако с этим именем мы встречаемся в армянских источниках, в частности, у представителей армянского владельческого рода Ошинидов. А. А. Шанидзе считает, что Анна Комнина не могла точно знать национальность Григория, поскольку ей было три года, когда он погиб (странно в таком случае, что А. Шанидзе безоговорочно доверяет Матфею Эдесскому, который писал чуть ли не столетием позже). Однако Я. Н. Любарский, исследователь «Алексиады», отмечал несомненную надежность источников информации Анны Комнины в той части, где речь идет о политических деятелях Византии ее эпохи (Анна Комнина, Алексиада, вступительная статья, перевод, комментарий Я. Н. Любарского, М., 1956, стр. 28). И, наконец, лазский язык никак не мог быть богослужебным языком в Петрицонском монастыре, как впрочем и ни в каком ином. Лазский язык—не богослужебный и даже не литературный язык.



непременно исповедующих халкидонитство не греческой<sup>113</sup>, а грузинской ориентации и т. п., Григорий неукоснительно напоминает, что и монахи его монастыря и он сам — «иверы». Там же, где речь идет о вполне мирских вещах — о передаче по наследству владений или даже об умении лучше читать и писать на родном языке, выявляются черты армянского происхождения Григория и его сподвижников и земляков<sup>114</sup>. Свидетельство типика Пакуриана (греческая редакция) не единственный случай, когда армянин-халкидонит подписывается на родном языке. Повидимому, это было если не обычным, то не редким явлением. Прот афонской горы армянин-халкидонит Феоктист подписывается также собственной рукой армянскими буквами<sup>115</sup>.

Анна Комнина была светской писательницей, жила в конфессионально однородной среде и, кроме того, как было показано выше, в ее время фемы Иверия уже не существовало. По этим причинам понятия «армянин», «ивер» в «Алексиаде», в подавляющем большинстве случаев, однозначны, устанавливая национальную принадлежность. И поэтому свидетельство Анны Комнины об армянском происхождении Григория позволяет уточнить и национальность членов его семьи, тех, которые жили и действовали во времена существования фемы Иверия и потому назывались в хрониках Скилицы-Кедрина или Атталиата либо лицами «из его (Василия II) Иверии», либо просто «иверами». Григорий был, по мнению Э. Хонигмана, сыном того Пакуриана, о котором упоминает Скилица в рассказе об организации фемы Иверия. Три брата Пакуриан, Февдат и Ферс, представители знатнейших родов Тайка, были возведены тогда Василием II в ранг патрикиев<sup>116</sup>. Матфей Эдесский, рассказывая о нападении эмира Мамлана на владения Давида Куропалата (998—999), отмечает, что конницей Давида Куропалата командовали Ваче, Февдат и Ферс<sup>117</sup>. Э. Хонигман, полагая, что речь идет о тех же трех братьях, устанавливает, что отца Григория Пакуриана звали Ваче Пакуриан. Отцом этих трех братьев был Джоджик<sup>118</sup>. Очевидно, тот самый князь Джоджик, который в 979 г. вместе с Иоанном Торником был послан Давидом Куропалатом на помощь Василию II

В этом ареале христианская церковь имела только четыре богослужебных языка: сирийский, греческий, грузинский и армянский. Попытка разрешить мнимые противоречия типика создает угрозу впасть в противоречия совершенно реальные.

<sup>113</sup> Прием ромеев в монастырь воспрещался. Допускалось только присутствие писца-ромеев (Рас., р. 218, 5—24).

<sup>114</sup> В книге А. А. Шанидзе приводятся интересные фактические данные, свидетельствующие о том, что и в XIV в. монастырь в Петрицоне пополнялся уроженцами Тайка (Грузинский монастырь, стр. 358).

<sup>115</sup> См. *Actes de Lavra*, ed. par P. Lemerle, A. Guillou N. Svoronos, Paris, 1970, p. 186, ср. *Addenda*, p. 374, где приводится его армянская подпись в латинской транскрипции и отмечается, что Феоктист был армянином по роду и халкидонитом по вероисповеданию.

<sup>116</sup> См. *Skyllitz.-Gedren*, II, 447 (20—23), ср. *E. Honigmann*, *Die Ostgrenze*, p. 222.

<sup>117</sup> *Wampleni*, I, 37.

<sup>118</sup> *Ասողիկ*, I, 270.



против восставшего Варды Склира<sup>119</sup>. Известен также Джоджик, стратиг Доростола, сын патрикия Февдата Ивера, возможно, внук первого Джоджика<sup>120</sup>. Если принять генеалогию, предложенную Э. Хонигманом, которая представляется вполне вероятной, то Джоджик, князь князей (979), дед Григория Пакуриана, Ваче, Февдат и Ферс (998—999) (соответствующие Пакуриану, Февдату и Ферсу в 1001 г.) — отец и дядя. Ваче Пакуриан — отец Григория и Апасия магистра. Джоджик (Цоцкикий), стратиг Доростола, — сын Февдата и, следовательно, двоюродный брат Григория.

Это, безусловно, высшая знать. Дед Григория носил титул «князя князей», этот же титул мы видим и у сыновей его Ферса и Ваче. Григорий упоминает в своем типике, что отец его был «ἀρχὸν ἀρχόντων»<sup>121</sup>. У Скилицы представители этого рода названы «κατὰ γένος πρωτεύοντες». Скилица упоминает некоего Варазваче, стратига Эдессы в 1038 г., племянника патрикия Февдата<sup>122</sup>. Может быть, речь идет о том же самом Февдате, дяде Григория Пакуриана. А если Варазваче приходился родным племянником Февдату<sup>123</sup>, значит, он находится с Григорием Пакурианом в довольно близком родстве. Установление этого факта открыло бы перед нами новые возможности для уточнения происхождения Григория. Варазваче принадлежал к роду знаменитых Торникянов из Тайка<sup>124</sup>. Тайкские Торникяны были ветвью рода князей Мамиконянов<sup>125</sup>, и представители этой семьи играли значительную роль как в истории Армении, так и в истории Византии.

Представители армяно-халкидонитской знати особенно часто появляются во главе восточных провинций империи со второй половины XI в. Это связано с новыми внешнеполитическими условиями и переменной политической курс Византии.

<sup>119</sup> Սկլիրի, էջ 192—193.

<sup>120</sup> В. Н. Златарский полагает, что командующий войсками в Доростоле (Дристре), несомненно, получил этот пост еще в 1001 г. вслед за покорением северо-восточной Болгарии (В. Н. Златарски, ук. соч., стр. 6). Стратиг Доростола может быть тот Джоджик, который в 1036 г. обновил церковь Иоанна Крестителя в Ошке (Южный Тайк). На восточной стене алтаря храма в Ошке сохранилась фресковая надпись: «[Я] привел в великолепие и украсил храм святого предтечи иждивением блаженные души Патрика Джоджика, да благословит и возвеличит его бог!» (Е. Такайшвили, Археологическая экспедиция 1917 г. в южные провинции Грузии, Тбилиси, 1952, стр. 65). Такайшвили ошибочно считает этого Джоджика идентичным Джоджику, посланному против Варды Склира Давидом Куропалатом (там же), ср. E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze, p. 223.

<sup>121</sup> Рас., р. 98, (23—24).

<sup>122</sup> См. выше, стр. 52.

<sup>123</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren, II, p. 488, 2—4. Интересно отметить, что этот Февдат, родной дядя Григория Пакуриана, был, очевидно, человеком весьма известным, поскольку византийские хронографы называют его родственником со ссылкой на него. Тот же Скилица, повествуя о некоем монахе Захарии, участнике заговора против Константина VIII, характеризует его как родственника вестя Февдата (ibidem, 483, 16).

<sup>124</sup> См. Ե. Ալիբեյան, Մամիկոնյանների հետազոտություններ, էջ 58.

<sup>125</sup> См. там же, стр. 49—50.



Захватив армянские земли, империя предприняла ряд мер, которые должны были укрепить ее позиции в завоеванной стране.

В Армении была введена византийская административная и налоговая система. Опасаясь оставить очаги сопротивления, империя переселяла армянских владетелей после захвата их земель в глубь ромейской державы. Вместе с князьями и их военными отрядами на новые места уходила и часть трудового населения. Эту политику начал проводить еще Василий II Болгаробойца и ее активно продолжали его преемники. Первые сокрушительные поражения, нанесенные сельджуками ромеям во второй половине XI в., отрезвили византийских политиков. Они поняли, что армяне, заинтересованные в недопущении сельджуков на родные земли, могут быть с успехом использованы при обороне этих земель, организованных в византийские фемы. Со второй половины XI в. Византия доверяет ведущие посты в восточных провинциях знатным армянам-халкидонитам. Причем их халкидонитское вероисповедание служило гарантией преданности империи<sup>126</sup>.

\* \* \*

В конце X в. на Афоне был основан монастырь Иверон (τὸν Ἰβήρων), где были собраны монахи, исповедующие грузинскую православную веру, но при этом совсем не всегда грузины. Достаточно сказать, что у истоков основания этого монастыря стояли Иоанн Торник и его ближайшие родственники. Обычно грузинские агиографы избегали называть своих единоверцев армянами, однако в «Житии Иоанна и Евфимия» упоминается один из людей князя Джоджика, который «хотя и был армянином», но принял православную (грузинскую) веру и постригся в монахи под именем Арсения<sup>127</sup>. И если в Ивероне армяне-

<sup>126</sup> V. Laurent, La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous le second domination byzantine, Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, t. 38, 1962, p. 247—251. См. также В. А. Арутюнова-Фидания, Византийские правители фемы Иверия, Вестник общ. наук АН Арм.ССР, № 2, 1973; она же, Византийские правители Эдессы, «Византийский временник», № 34, 1973.

<sup>127</sup> Имя этого Арсения в миру было по «Житию» Gvirpel — *Grigori* (как расшифровывает П. Петерс). Он был princeps praefectorum aerario Tzitzicii. После многих лет жизни в лавре «он собрался уходить, чтобы навестить сыновей своего патрона» (Analecta Bollandiana, t. 36—37, Bruxelles-Paris, 1917—1919, p. 50. 11—16) П. Петерс считает, что здесь речь идет о Джоджике, посланном Давидом Куропалатом на войну с Вардой Склиром (ibidem, p. 50, прим. 1). Если идентификация П. Петерса верна, то «сыновьями патрона» кир Бэла оказываются Пакуриан, Февдат и Ферс. Пребывание этого армянина-халкидонита в стенах Ивирона дает возможность утверждать связь Пакурианов с лаврой Ивирон. Факт, находящий также подтверждение и в поминальных списках Ивирона, где мы находим Григория и Апасия Пакурианов, пожаловавших богатые дары Иверской лавре (R. P. Blake, Some Byzantine Accounting Practikes illustrated from Georgian Sources, Harvard studies in classical philology, v. 11, 1940, p. 23, 29). Национальная принадлежность Арсения упомянута здесь, может быть, потому, что его халкидонитство не было наследственным и традиционным (как у Торников и Пакурианов), а вновь приобретенным. Ср. отзыв Матфея Эдесского о халкидоните (греческой ориентации) в первом поколении, Филарете Варажнуни: «Его не признавали ни армянином, ни греком, ибо по образу жизни и по религии он был греком, а по отцу и матери—армянином» (Gumpkau, t. 2, 206).



халкидониты, очевидно, были частью состава братии, то на знаменитой Черной горе находилась грузинская обитель, где велось богослужение на грузинском языке, а стены покрывали грузинские надписи и одна из этих надписей гласила, что церковь эта предназначена для «сомхури», т. е. для армян<sup>128</sup>.

Обратимся к рассмотрению актов Иверской лавры.

В документах архива Иверона встречаются, наряду с подписью игумена Иверского монастыря, также подписи игуменов и монахов других афонских монастырей. Под *ἀσφάλεια*, датированной 996 г., подписались Ἰωάννης ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους, Νικήφορος ὁ μοναχὸς ἡγούμενος τοῦ Βατοπαίδιου, Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Ἰβήρων<sup>129</sup>. А при составлении другого документа от 1000 г. присутствовали Никифор прот Святой горы, Рафаэл Ксеропотамит, монах Козьма Глоссит, монах Никифор из монастыря Ставроникиты и Евфимий Ивер<sup>130</sup>.

В составлении документа от 1017 г. участвовали прот Святой горы монах Никифор, монах Иоанн Амальфитин, монахи Евфимий и Георгий Иверы, монах Никифор из монастыря Ставроникиты, Григорий монах Калиниса, монах Козьма Торнарй<sup>131</sup>. Некоторые из них поставили под этим документом свои подписи и кресты (Νικήφορος μοναχὸς ὁ πρῶτος, Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Ἀμαλφειτίνος, Εὐθόμιος καὶ Γεώργιος μοναχοὶ οἱ Ἰβηρες, Νικήφορος μοναχὸς ὁ Στραβονικήτας)<sup>132</sup>. А асфалия от 1017 г. была подписана «монахом Никифором протом Святой горы, монахом Иверона Георгием (ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων), монахами Евфимием и Георгием Иверами и монахом Нилом Ксеропотамитом»<sup>133</sup>. В актах Лавры Афанаasia Афонского также, наряду с подписями представителей других монастырей, встречаются подписи Иоанна Ивера и Евфимия Ивера<sup>134</sup>. Издатели актов Лавры (П. Лемерль, А. Гийу, Н. Зворонос) считают, что в этих документах слово «ивер» равнозначно понятию «монах монастыря Иверон»<sup>135</sup>.

На греческом манускрипте XV в. «Истории Варлаама и Иоасафа», хранящемся в национальной библиотеке в Париже (№ 1771), есть упо-

<sup>128</sup> См. P. Peeters, *Le Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Brussels, 1950, p. 162. Эта обитель именуется Сурутма—арм. *Սուրբ Բոսմա*—св. Фома (ibidem).

<sup>129</sup> Georgica, t. VIII, Tbilisi, 1970, p. 192.

<sup>130</sup> См. Georgica, p. 194, 195, ср. также ibidem, p. 203.

<sup>131</sup> См. ibidem, p. 205.

<sup>132</sup> Ibidem, p. 206, 207.

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem, p. 208, ср. также Georgica, t. VIII, p. 209 (Εὐθόμιον τὸν Ἰβήρα) p. 210 (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰβήρ) и т. п.

<sup>134</sup> См., например, акт прота Иоанна от 996 г. (Actes de Lavra, édition diplomatique par P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, Paris, 1970, № 12, 25). Акт прота Никифора от 1012 г., где, наряду с Павлом Ксеропотамитом и др., подпись Евфимия Ивера (ibidem, № 17, 14, 46, 50), гарантия монаха Георгия Харзана от 1024 г., где упоминается кир Иоанн Ивер (ibidem, № 25, 6, 8).

<sup>135</sup> См. индекс: μονή τῶν Ἰβήρων = ὁ Ἰβήρ(ας) = οἱ Ἰβηρες = οἱ Ἰβηρίται = Ἰβηριώται (Actes de Lavra, p. 400), ср. также F. Dolger, *Regesten*, pp. 2, 22.



минание „Εὐθυμίου τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἰβήρου“<sup>136</sup>, а в греческом кодексе из Венеции «Истории Варлаама и Иоасафа» указано, что эта «душеполезная история» «переведена с грузинского на греческий язык чтимым святым мужем Евфимием, именуемым ивером», (τοῦ λεγομένου Ἰβήρου)<sup>137</sup>. Как мы видим, в такого рода источниках слово «ивер» значит «монах иверского монастыря», так же как «ватопедит» — «монах монастыря Ватопеда» или «студит» — «монах Студитского монастыря».

Итак, греческие источники XI в. свидетельствуют, что слово «ивер» употреблялось византийцами этого времени в пяти значениях:

1. Ивер — испанец.
2. Ивер — грузин.
3. Ивер — уроженец фемы «Иверия» Византийской империи.
4. Ивер — армянин, исповедующий халкидонитство грузинской ориентации.
5. Ивер — монах Иверского монастыря на Афоне.

#### ՎԻՍԻՍ ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՎԱՆՅԻՄԱՆՅԱՆ

#### «ԻԲԵՐ» (ՎԻՐՔ) ՏԵՐՄԻՆԸ XI ԴԱՐԻ ԲՅՈՒՋԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԱՂԲՅՈՒՐՆԵՐՈՒՄ

(Ա մ փ ո փ ու մ)

Հոգվածի քննության առարկան է XI դարի հունական աղբյուրներում հանդիպող «իբեր» բառը: Հեղինակը փորձում է որոշել, թե ինչ իմաստով էր քննակվում «իբեր» բառը այդ ժամանակաշրջանում բյուզանդացիների կողմից:

Հոգվածում քննության են առնվում ամենաբազմազան սկզբնաղբյուրների, ինչպես աշխարհիկ (միջնադարյան պատմիչների աշխատություններ, կայսերական հրովարտական, արձանագրություններ), այնպես էլ հոգևոր (վանական կանոնագրքեր, վարքեր, վանական վավերագրեր) բովանդակությամբ:

Այդ սկզբնաղբյուրների վկայությունների վերլուծության հիման վրա հեղինակը դալիս է այն եզրակացության, որ «իբեր» բառը XI դ. բյուզանդացիների կողմից կիրառվում էր 5 տարբեր նշանակությամբ. 1. իբեր — իսպանացի, 2. իբեր — վրացի, 3. իբեր — Իբերիա թեմի տեղաբնիկ, 4. իբեր — վրացական բաղկեղտնական դավանանքի հայ, 5. իբեր — Աֆոնի Իբերյան վանքի միաբան:

<sup>136</sup> P. Peeters, Le Trefonds..., p. 217.

<sup>137</sup> Ibidem, p. 216.



V. A. HAROUTIOUNOVA-FIDANIAN

LE MOT „IBÈRE“ DANS LES SOURCES BYZANTINES DU  
XI SIECLE

(Résumé)

L'objet de l'étude de cet article est le mot „ibère“, se rencontrant dans les sources grecques du XIe siècle. L'auteur essaie d'éclaircir la signification qu'avait le mot „ibère“ pour les byzantins à cette époque.

L'auteur de l'article analyse les sources les plus diverses, tant laïques (oeuvres d'historiens médiévaux, chartes impériales, inscriptions) qu'ecclésiastiques (livres de canons des monastères, vie des saints, archives des monastères). L'analyse des témoignages de ces sources permet à l'auteur de conclure qu'au XIe siècle le mot „ibère“ était employé par les byzantins avec 5 significations différentes: 1. ibère—espagnol, 2. ibère—géorgien, 3. ibère—aborigène du diocèse d'Ibérie, 4. ibère—arménien de foi géorgienne chalcédonienne, 5. ibère—moine du monastère ibérique d'Athos.

АРМЯНСКИЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ ИСТОРИКИ ОБ ЭКСПАНСИИ  
ВИЗАНТИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ НА ВОСТОК В X—XI вв.

В. А. АРУТЮНОВА-ФИДАНЯН

Неуклонное и планомерное проникновение Византийской империи в восточные части малоазийских территорий сопровождалось закреплением на них и основанием военно-административных округов (фем), ставших плацдармами для дальнейшей экспансии. Первыми шагами на этом пути, очевидно, следует считать военные успехи Млех-Ментца и Иоанна Куркуаса, приведшие к созданию фемы Ликанд (во втором десятилетии X в.<sup>1</sup>) и учреждению императорской куратории в области Мелитины (934 г.)<sup>2</sup>. Последовавшая в начале 50-х гг. X в. контратака арабского мира<sup>3</sup> замедлила, но не остановила движения империи, обеспеченного уже с конца 50-х гг. победами Никифора Фоки и Иоанна Цимисхия. К середине XI в. значительные территории Сирии, Месопотамии, Киликии и Армении оказались под властью Византии.

Около середины XI в. малоазийские владения империи становятся ареной набегов тюрок-сельджуков, а с 70-х гг. сельджуки переходят от набегов на византийские владения к их освоению. Роковое для империи сражение при Маназкерте (1071 г.) можно считать завершающей точкой на линии отсчета византийской экспансии. Итак, первая четверть X в. и 70-е гг. XI в.—хронологические рамки экспансии Византии на Восток.

Произведения армянских историков XI—XII вв. с их пристальным вниманием к экспансии Византии являются наиболее ценными источниками для установления хронологии и событий этого периода и долгое время широко использовались только как сборники фактических данных по византийской экспансии.

В настоящей статье будет сделана попытка взглянуть на армянские источники не как на сумму фактов (ставших почти хрестоматийными), но как на сумму идей, т. е. как на самостоятельные произведения, отражающие взгляды авторов, их тенденции. Иными словами, нас сейчас интересует не *что* написано об экспансии Византии на Восток (это изучено достаточно хорошо), а *как* об этом написано (это не изучено совсем). При этом мы не ставим перед собой задачи установить источники авторов и те влияния, которые сформировали их произ-

<sup>1</sup> H. Grégoire, Notes épigraphiques, „Byzantion“, VIII, 1933, стр. 79—80.

<sup>2</sup> История Византии, М., 1967, т. II, стр. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Там же, стр. 208.



ведения. Эти произведения будут рассматриваться в их общепринятом, так сказать, «каноническом» виде. Для наших целей не имеет серьезного значения наличие в них поздних вставок, ошибок, смещений и т. п., так как эти моменты неизбежно нивелируются значительно большим количеством оригинальных страниц и не могут решительным образом повлиять на выявление тенденций их авторов.

Восточная экспансия Византии, продолжавшаяся целое столетие, была глубоким и сложным явлением, включавшим в себя политические, дипломатические, социальные, экономические, демографические, идеологические и культурные аспекты. Результаты этого процесса весьма разнообразно и глубоко сказались в разных областях жизни как Армении, так и Византии; при этом если на армянских землях, захваченных в ходе экспансии, империя попыталась ввести византийский правопорядок, административную и фискальную систему и халкидонитскую ортодоксию, то и сами армянские земли, став лимитрофными областями Византии, оказывали на нее постоянное социальное и культурное влияние<sup>4</sup>.

Востоковеды и византинисты обычно подчеркивают три этапа византийской экспансии на востоке: аннексия империей армянских царств и княжеств, переселение владельцев с их военными отрядами и частью населения в глубь империи и, как следствие всего этого,—победное нашествие сельджуков. Армянские историки с XIX в. и до наших дней вполне естественно сосредотачивают свое внимание на утрате армянскими царствами политической независимости и на трагедии армянского народа, ушедшего с родной земли, положив тем самым начало диаспоре. Учитывая детальную разработанность этих вопросов, мы не будем их специально касаться в настоящей статье. Нас интересуют не результаты, а пути и методы византийской экспансии. Определенный свет на эти методы может пролить, как нам кажется, изучение отношения современников к Византии, выяснение тенденций современных экспансии историков.

Рассматриваемые авторы, различные по происхождению, образованию, таланту, задачам и стилю работы, обладают и некоторой общностью, позволяющей проводить сравнение между ними:

1) они описывают основные этапы экспансии Византии на Восток в X—XI вв.;

2) они—очевидцы или близки по времени к описываемым ими событиям (что упрощает вопрос об их источниках);

3) и, самое главное, все они писатели национальные и как таковые отражают этапы современного им общественного сознания, что делает их взгляды особенно ценными для нас.

<sup>4</sup> Этот вопрос мало разработан в историографии. Непосредственно ему посвящен только доклад советских византинистов на XIV Международном конгрессе византиноведов (З. В. Удальцова, А. П. Каждан, Р. М. Бартиян, Социальная структура восточных границ Византийской империи в IX—XII вв., „XIV Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Rapports“, II, Bucarest, 1971, стр. 21—26).

Историк Степанос Таронечи по прозвищу Асохик, автор «Всеобщей истории»<sup>5</sup>, третью часть своего труда назвал «Историей времен, повествуемых самостоятельно». Начинается она от времени царствования царя Абаса (929 г.) и доведена до 1004 г. Это период политического и экономического расцвета Армении, получивший в историографии название «эпохи мирного строительства», хотя, разумеется, в это время были и столкновения с арабскими владетелями, и феодальные междоусобицы.

На этот же период приходится и ряд важнейших этапов поступательного движения Византии на Восток: аннексия Тарона, присоединение Маназкерта, Антиохии, владений Давида Куропалата. «В 415 (966 г.), — пишет Асохик, — было затмение солнца, скончался Ашот, князь Таронский, и греки завладели Тароном» (стр. 183). Столь же эпически рассказывает Асохик и о взятии Маназкерта. «В 417 (968 г.) Вард, племянник по брату Никифора, пришел с многочисленным войском в Апахуник, окружил город Маназкерт, а, взяв его, срыл до основания городские стены, а в 418 (969 г.) взял великий сирийский город Антиохию» (стр. 183)<sup>6</sup>. Тон повествования не меняется — судьба Тарона и Маназкерта и судьба Антиохии описываются одинаково бесстрастно. Асохик рассказывает о войнах империи с арабскими владетелями, в результате которых многие малоазийские территории отошли к Византии (стр. 184, 186—187, 245, 260—263, 264—265, 374), и восхваляет мужество византийских императоров и полководцев, среди которых было немало армян (Тарониты, Далассины).

Значительное место уделяет Асохик восстаниям малоазийских феодалов против империи<sup>7</sup>. При этом Варда Склир, избранный царем, все же чаще именуется им «*բռնիշխի*» (тиран, захватчик). Интересно, что несмотря на то, что в восстаниях Варды Склира, Варды Фоки, Никифора Црвиза и Ксифия принимали деятельное участие многие армянские князья, для Асохика все эти смуты не свое, не кровное армянское дело, все это, по Асохику, происходило «в греческом государстве» (*ի Բաղադատիս Գրիկն Յունաց*, стр. 192). Последней искрой мятежей было выступление магистра Чордванела, которого разбил в Дерджане патрикий Иоанн. «С той поры, — отмечает Асохик, — вся Греция, покоренная под власть Василия, стала наслаждаться миром» (стр. 251, см. также стр. 260). Иными словами: во-первых, все происходившее касалось непосредственно Византии и ее императора, а во-вторых, Асохик скорее на стороне последнего<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> «Ստեփաննոսի Տարոնեցւոյ Ասոիկան Պատմութիւն տիեզերական», Պետերբուրգ, 1885. Страницы, указанные далее в тексте, приведены по этому изданию.

<sup>6</sup> Перевод по Н. Эмину, см. «Всеобщая история Степаноса Таронского Асохика по прозвищу, писателя XI столетия». Переведена с армянского и объяснена Н. Эминым, М., 1864, стр. 127.

<sup>7</sup> Главы XXIV—XXVII.

<sup>8</sup> Асохик отмечает мужество армянских отрядов, входивших в войско мятежников, храбрость Григора и Баграта, сыновей князя Таронского, и князя Мокка, которые наводили ужас на греческое войско (стр. 191), однако сам мятеж Варды 13 Հմեղես, № 2



Дальнейшая экспансия империи на Востоке связана с новым походом Василия II в Сирию (см. гл. XLII, стр. 274) и присоединением владений Давида Куропалата. Асохик пишет: «так как у него не было ни сына, ни брата, которые бы унаследовали престол его царства, он поручил своих вассалов и свою страну (*ղաղափառներն և դաշխարն*) греческому царю Василию» (стр. 275).

Вину за обострение отношений между Византией и Грузией Асохик возлагает всецело на грузинского царя Гургена, а мирное завершение конфликта связывает с терпимостью и миролюбием Василия II, который «выполнил желание Гургена» (стр. 279).

Асохик рассказывает, с каким почетом встречал и как щедро одаривал император явившихся к нему армянских владетелей (стр. 277). Он даже отправил послания к соседним арабским эмирам с требованием оставить в покое Васпуракан (стр. 281).

Асохик немного, но благожелательно рассказывает и о внутренней политике империи. Василий II переселил «часть армян из находившихся под его властью в Македонию, чтобы... дать им возможность заняться устройством страны» (стр. 201). Армянский историк отмечает веротерпимость Василия II (стр. 276). И вообще, по его словам, император «остановил нашествия, облегчил тяжкие налоги и положил конец грабёжам и пленению» (стр. 281)<sup>9</sup>. Так освещается политический курс Византии у Асохика на первых этапах движения империи на Восток.

«Повествование» Аристакэса Ластивертци<sup>10</sup> было написано между 1072 и 1087 гг. и охватывает события с 1001 по 1072 гг. Автор—современник и очевидец захвата Византией обширных малоазийских территорий и армянских земель, завершения экспансии Византии на Восток и нашествия сельджуков. К. Н. Юзбашян обратил внимание на то, что Аристакэс далеко не был таким ярким противником византийского владычества, как следовало бы ожидать<sup>11</sup>. Исследователь полагает, что «двойственное отношение Аристакэса к византийской политике» происходит от «происхождения его с имперской территории (из г. Арца)», а также оттого, что ромен были «все же предпочтительнее сельджуков»<sup>12</sup>. В какой мере происхождение с территории, захваченной империей, могло способствовать симпатиям к империи, — вопрос сложный.

Склира не вызывает его одобрения. К. Н. Юзбашян вслед за Н. Адонцем полагает, что сыновья Ашота Багратуни примкнули к восстанию Склира из-за «острого недовольства византийским владычеством» (в кн.: «Повествование вардапета Аристакэса Ластивертци». Перевод с древнеармянского, вступительная статья, комментарий и приложения К. Н. Юзбашяна, М., 1968, стр. 18—19). Однако не надо забывать, что целью этого восстания была отнюдь не отмена византийского владычества в Тароне и вообще в Армении; речь шла просто о замене одного императора другим.

<sup>9</sup> Перевод по Н. Эмину, стр. 180.

<sup>10</sup> «Արիստակիւի Լաստիւրտցոյ Պատմութիւն», Երևան, 1963. Страницы в тексте приведены по этому изданию.

<sup>11</sup> «Повествование», стр. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Там же, стр. 28—29, 34.

Параллелей между ромеями и сельджуками Аристакэс, в отличие, например, от Маттеоса Урхаеци (см. ниже), нигде не проводит. Кроме того, терпимость к Византии, характерная не только для Аристакэса, но и для младших и старших его современников, нуждается в объяснениях, приложимых ко всем этим писателям. «Двойственность», пожалуй, не совсем точное определение отношения Аристакэса к византийской экспансии. На наш взгляд, он придерживается единой и очень четкой концепции по отношению к политике Византии: везде, где Аристакэс порицает акции политического курса Византии, он делает это с оговорками. Так, он намекает, что Василий II инспирировал убийство Давида Куропалата, и тут же рассказывает о казни,—очевидно, по приказу императора—тайских азатов, замешанных в этом преступлении (стр. 23).

Глава X, посвященная падению Ширакского царства, захвату Ани—это плач о гибели «страны нашей Армянской». В ярких, удивительно драматичных выражениях описывает Аристакэс запустение некогда богатой и цветущей земли. Ромейские войска четырежды вторгались в Ширак, Ани был захвачен «не по закону войны», а «лукавой речью», Константин IX Мономах нарушил клятву на кресте,—казалось бы, полное и безоговорочное осуждение политического курса Византии. Однако и здесь империя виновата не одна, следовательно, не так уж виновата: ответственность за падение Ани делят с ромеями провизантийская группировка Саркиса hАйказна и католикоса Петроса Гетадардза, некий священник Кюракос, спрятавший, а позже продавший грамоту Константина VIII о самоуправлении Армении, Гагик II, покинувший страну «из-за незрелого ума и боязливости», и т. п. (стр. 55—64)<sup>13</sup>. Примеры наблюдений такого рода можно было бы умножить.

По большей же части политические акции империи воспринимаются Аристакэсом почти без оговорок. Давид Куропалат, по Аристакэсу, передал свои земли императору Василию II, как вассал сюзерену. О каком бы то ни было нажиме историк не упоминает (стр. 35, 20—25). Вину за войну ради наследства Давида он возлагает не на Василия II, а на грузинского царя Георгия I, не вернувшего владения, некогда пожалованные империей Давиду (стр. 25): «Справедливый господь воздал ему через посредство ромеев» (27, 20; см. «Повествование» в пер. К. Н. Юзбашяна, стр. 59). Аристакэс все время подчеркивает миролюбие и терпимость Василия II (стр. 36, 6—8; 37, 24—26). Он называет Василия «могущественным императором, постоянным победителем в войнах, увлеченным подвигами мужества» (*յարհազանքի քարտեզի*, «*յարհազանքի*», стр. 42, 6—8, «Повествование», стр. 71). Столь же хвалебно отзываясь Аристакэс о Константине VIII, «муже миро-

<sup>13</sup> О коллективной ответственности за падение Ани см.: К. Н. Юзбашян, «Повествование» Аристакэса Ластивертци и закат «эпохи Багратидов». Автореферат докт. дисс., Л., 1975, стр. 19.



любивом и щедром» (стр. 40, 20), осмотрительном и мудром (стр. 41, 9—10). Именно Константину VIII Аристакэс приписывает указ, дарующий Армении самоуправление на вечные времена (стр. 57, 1—17). Он одобряет дипломатию Феодоры, откупившейся от набегов султана (стр. 95, 24—25; 96, 1—8; 101, 19—21), пишет о помощи, которую оказал Василий II брату Ованнеса-Смбата Ашоту Багратуни (стр. 28, 1—7), отмечает между прочим, что все поднимавшие мятеж против императора ромеев кончали позорным образом (стр. 33, 15—20).

Какой же предстает внутренняя политика Византии на завоеванных ею землях в освещении Аристакэса? Страна опустела. Князья, цари и азаты рассеялись по чужим землям, сам же Аристакэс пишет об этом в своих плачах-отступлениях. И в то же время он подчеркивает, что азаты не по принуждению, а по убеждению (хотя бы и «лукавыми речами») пересхали в империю и там получили новые владения (стр. 41, 17—21).

Исследователи чаще приводят данные Аристакэса о разгуле сельджукского нашествия и в Армении и в соседних областях, о поражениях ромейских войск. Однако у Аристакэса есть немало данных и об успехах империи, направленных на оборону восточных провинций. Так, историк пишет о строительстве оборонительных сооружений, о восстановлении Феодосополя (стр. 28, 8—11). Аристакэс рассказывает о сражении с сельджуками византийских наместников фем Тарон, Васпуракан, Иверия, Месопотамия (стр. 80—81), отмечает, что византийцы сосредоточили в восточных провинциях военные контингенты: «на востоке было значительное количество ромейской конницы, которая защищала страну—число ее, говорят, доходило до 60 тысяч» («Պատմութիւն», стр. 80, 7—8; «Повествование», стр. 94). Аристакэс восторженно повествует об успешной обороне Маназкерта от сельджуков, возглавленной комендантом города ишханом Василем (Василем Апокапом,— В. А.). В городе, очевидно, находился византийский гарнизон, поскольку Аристакэс упоминает «некоего военачальника из ромейских войск» (стр. 92, 21), изготовившего так называемый «греческий огонь», проникшего во вражеский лагерь и поджегшего осадную машину сельджуков (стр. 92—93).

Ромейские военачальники пытались защищать вверенные им области, хотя и не всегда успешно из-за численного перевеса сельджуков (см., например, о вылазке отряда ромейского гарнизона Мелитины, о сражении с сельджуками гарнизона крепости в Хордзене—стр. 116, 13—14; 118, 1—7). Аристакэс восхищается Феодором, сыном Аарона, таронским наместником (стр. 96—97), проявившим отвагу в битвах с сельджуками. И, наконец, с уважением и сочувствием пишет он о мужестве и трагической судьбе Романа IV Диогена (1068—1071) (стр. 137). С гибелью Диогена Аристакэс связывает крушение могущества ромейской державы (стр. 140). Таково отношение Аристакэса к политическому курсу Византии.



В конце «Истории дома Арцруни»<sup>14</sup> есть приложение (гл. XII), содержащее краткий обзор истории княжества Васпуракан от года смерти царя Гагика Арцруни до первой четверти XII в. В нем упоминаются годы 1021, 1041, 1097 и 1121. Автор приложения (второй аноним этого источника) жил при Хеденеке, внуке князя Абдельмсеха Арцруни, владельца крепости Амюк, из той ветви семьи Арцруни, которая осталась на родине. Последнее событие труда анонима датируется 1121 г., т. е. автор жил в начале XII в. и был старшим современником Аристакэса Ластивертци. Не будучи очевидцем событий, он опирался, по-видимому, на непосредственную традицию<sup>15</sup>. Из интересующих нас событий он описывает переселение в Византию Сенекерима Арцруни в 1021 и Гагика Багратуни в 1041 гг. Описание политики Византии здесь почти идилично. Армянские цари добровольно передают свои владения, — император ромеев принимает их с почестями и дарами и дает им равноценные и даже лучшие владения: вместо просто городов—города великие (*մեծամեծ*), взамен крепостей — неприступные (*անմատուց*) крепости (стр. 499—500).

Следующий по времени источник—«Хронография» Маттеоса Урхаеци<sup>16</sup>. Маттеос родился и жил в Эдессе (Урхе) во второй половине, может быть, в конце XI в. и умер между 1138 и 1144 гг. Его труд состоит из трех частей. Первая часть охватывает события с 952 по 1051 гг., вторая—с 1051 по 1101 гг., третья—с 1101 по 1136/37 гг., т. е. интересующий нас период времени описан в первой и второй частях его работы, и если события последних лет второй и третьей части происходили при нем, то для первой и большей части второй он пользовался какими-то источниками. Сам Маттеос пишет, что историю событий 952—1051 гг. он изложил на основании рассказов «много раньше родившихся очевидцев и свидетелей и читая труды старых историков, бывших очевидцами всех происшествий» (стр. 112).

До недавнего времени было неясно, какого или каких историков имеет в виду Маттеос, так как он не использовал ни одного из известных нам историков этого периода (Шапух Багратуни, Ованнес Драсханакертци, Степанос Таронечи—Асохик, Аристакэс Ластивертци). В 1971 г. появилась статья Л. С. Хачикяна, в которой он рассматривает новооткрытые фрагменты исторического труда вардапета Акопа Санаинци и убедительно доказывает, что именно этот труд является главным первоисточником первой и ряда мест второй частей «Хронографии»<sup>17</sup>. Акоп Санаинци умер в 1085 г. в Эдессе. Соответственно *terminus ante quem*

<sup>14</sup> «Թովմայի Վարդապետի Արժրունույ Պատմութիւն տանն Արժրունեաց», Թիֆլիս, 1917:

<sup>15</sup> См. М. Абебян, История древнеармянской литературы, Ереван, 1975, стр. 255.

<sup>16</sup> Մատթեոս Արխայեցի, Ժամանակագրութիւն, Հաղարշապատ, 1898: Ниже страницы этого издания приводятся в тексте.

<sup>17</sup> Л. Խաչիկյան, Հակոբ Սանահնեցի՝ Ժամանակագիր XI դարի, «Вестник Ереванского университета», 1971, № 1, стр. 22—48.

его работы — 1085 г., следовательно, он современник Аристакэса Ластивертци.

Рассказывая о действиях Византии на Востоке середины X в., Акоп Санаинци полностью сочувствует ромеям, отнимающим у арабов малоазиатские территории. Военачальники и императоры удостоиваются его похвал, например некий Паракаманос, захвативший Самосату (стр. 2), или Никифор Фока, взявший Тарс, Адану, Мсис, Анаварзу («муж добрый, святой и благочестивый, исполненный добродетели и справедливости») (стр. 5). Автор сочувствует поражению domestika Млеха у Амиды (стр. 14) и описывает союз между императором Иоанном Цимисхием и царем Ашотом Багратуни как сотрудничество в борьбе с арабами. Письмо Иоанна Цимисхия Ашоту об успешном продвижении по Сирии, Финикии и Палестине воспринимается читателем как отчет союзнику, содействовавшему успеху похода войсками и снаряжением (стр. 17, 18—27).

В своем продвижении на восток Византия присоединяет владения Давида Куропалата; автор первой части «Хронографии» фиксирует только расправу греческого императора с убийцами Давида (стр. 38), отмечает союз «любви и единения» (*եղև սէր և միմիայնութիւն մեծ*) между Василием II и васпураканским царем Сенекеримом (стр. 42), затем пишет, что 20 лет спустя после заключения этого союза (1021 г.) Сенекерим, теснимый тюркскими племенами, передал 72 области и 4400 деревень Васпуракана Василию II, а последний, помимо того, что отдал Севастию «со множеством гаваров» Арцрунидам, усыновил старшего сына Сенекерима Давида в св. Софии (стр. 49). И далее автор неоднократно подчеркивает, что Давид относился к Василию II как сын к отцу, т. е. как верный вассал<sup>18</sup>.

Подобно Аристакэсу, автор не одобряет мятежей против ромейских императоров, отмечая, например, что Склир—нечестивец и мятежник, а армянские войска—союзники ромеев в войне против него (стр. 33—34).

Повествуя о дальнейшем продвижении Византии, историк отмечает, что Василий II потребовал от армянского царя Ани и Карс и получил соответствующее письменное обещание (стр. 49—50), а при Константине Мономахе Ширакское царство отошло к Византии. При этом повествование по общему тону сходно с произведением Аристакэса Ластивертци. Вина ромеев умаляется вероломством содействовавшей им армянской провизантийской группировки (стр. 94—95). Константин IX Мономах, из-за которого «разрушилось царство Багратидов» (стр. 97) и тюрки стали нападать на армянскую землю, конечно, подвергается резкому осуждению (стр. 102), но вообще негативных оценок Византии

<sup>18</sup> После того как Давид убил мятежного Никифора Црвиза, Василий даровал ему Кесарию, Цамндав и Хаватанек (стр. 51). Ср. также обращение сыновей Сенекерима к памяти Василия II, когда их заподозрили в попытке поднять мятеж против Византии (стр. 82—83).



и ее деятелей в этой части немного, и чаще осуждаются не политические акции, а моральные качества (например, осуждаются Иоанн Цимисхий и Феофано, убившие Никофора Фоку,—стр. 6—7, 12, или императрица Зоя, по приказу которой был убит Роман III,—стр. 64). Обычно ромейские военачальники и императоры удостоиваются панегириков. Особенно восхваляется Василий II (при котором, кстати сказать, или были присоединены к империи армянские земли, или были созданы предпосылки для этого присоединения) (стр. 30), ему приписывается посмертный наказ Константину VIII заботиться об армянском народе и его князьях (стр. 55). Религиозная политика Византии в этой части «Хронографии» отличается терпимостью<sup>19</sup>.

По мнению хрониста, сам Василий II принял армянское вероисповедание и был признан *զհար աշխարհի հայոց* — «отцом страны Армянской» (стр. 50). В очень интересном пророчестве, которое автор вкладывает в уста вардапета Иоанна Козерна, содержится сообщение о приходе крестоносцев, о тех неисчислимых бедствиях, которые принесет христианским народам нашествие «персов» (тюрок-сельджуков), о ромеях же сказано только, что через 50 лет они победят «персов» и восстановят свое господство на всей земле (стр. 73—74).

Можно заключить, следовательно, что первая часть «Хронографии» Маттеоса Урхаеци, чей бы исторический труд ни лег в ее основу, в общем отмечена терпимым, иногда даже одобрительным отношением к восточной политике ромеев. Она резко контрастирует со второй частью, которую историк писал самостоятельно со слов очевидцев, «отцов наших», и по своим собственным впечатлениям уже в начале XII в. (1113—1121 гг.).

В первых же строках второй части ромеи уравниваются с «нечестивыми тюрками» по степени бед, которые они принесли армянскому народу (стр. 113); следует рассказ о насильственных обращениях в халкидонитское вероисповедание, о сожжении сирийского евангелия греческим епископом Антиохии и тут же о возмездии—землетрясении, жертвой которого стал епископ, греческие церкви и вообще большая часть Антиохии в 1053 г. (стр. 114—117).

Междоусобица претендентов на византийский престол приносит неисчислимые беды христианам (стр. 125). Однако, сражаясь между собой, византийцы совершенно не в состоянии противостоять нашествиям извне. Если Аристакэс отмечает, что гарнизон ромейской крепости сразился с сельджукским отрядом, разграбившим Мелитину, то у Мат-

<sup>19</sup> Василий II завещает Константину VIII (1025—1028), которого наш автор называет «добрым и боголюбивым», заботиться об армянах, как и вообще обо всех христианах (стр. 55),—нет речи о различиях в догме. Василий призвал армянского вардапета Самвела разобраться в споре о праздновании пасхи и щедро одарил его за мудрость (стр. 42—43); переписка между греческими и армянскими церковниками, приведенная автором, лишена ожесточения (стр. 38—39). Армянских католиков с почетом встречают в Константинополе (прибытие в столицу Византии Петроса Гетадардза—стр. 104—105).

теоса ромен даже не посмели вступить в битву с сельджуками, которых позже разгромил храбрый Торник Мамиконян (стр. 131). Вслед за рассказом о героическом поведении Торника Маттеос нагнетает ужасы: зверства тюрок, красный снег, голод, смерть, и в заключение обличает причину этих несчастий—вероломное племя ромеев, «которые разрушили стену крепости дома армянского и оставили его открытым для оружия персов (тюрок-сельджуков,—В. А.), а тюрки нашли беззащитным весь Восток, и в это время усилилась военная мощь иноплеменников, и в течение года завоевали они всю землю ромеев и приморские города и острова и достигли ворот Константинополя и заперли как пленников народ греческий в Константинополе» (стр. 135—136).

«Многие гавары не были готовы [к обороне]», пишет Маттеос Урхаеци (стр. 138), ромейские командиры из-за зависти друг к другу не могли действовать совместно и тем самым успешно против сельджуков (дука Эдессы Даватанос погиб у Амиды из-за коварства Франкопола (1063 г., стр. 142—144); Бехт-дука Антиохии выступил против тюрок, а помощник («проксимос») дукки Эдессы Пигонита по его приказу предупредил неприятеля о приближении антиохийских отрядов (1066—1067 гг., стр. 157—158). В падении Ани (1064 г.) виновны нечестивые (*անորէի*) ромейские князья (стр. 148). Даже если ромейские отряды вступают в сражение с сельджуками, они чаще всего терпят поражение (например, сражение у Кесарии в 1067 г., где потерпел поражение Арвандан, дук Эдессы,—стр. 186—188, ср. также о поражении у Севастии,—стр. 193).

Маттеос пишет о стремлении ромеев подчинить армянскую веру греческой, упразднить престол католикоса или сделать его халкидонитским (стр. 137, 221). С восторгом отзывается он о Гагике II, защитнике армянского вероисповедания (стр. 162—178).

У Маттеоса далеко нет того сочувствия, которое высказывает Аристакэс к мужественному и несчастному Роману Диогену. Оказывается, Диоген поверил наветам на армян и решил уничтожить их веру. Его прокляли армянские вардапеты, потому он и не вернулся с поля боя (стр. 198). В уста Алп-Арслана, узнавшего об убийстве Диогена, Маттеос вкладывает суждение, что «ромен—народ, не знающий бога», который нужно уничтожить (стр. 203).

Маттеос рассказывает о гибели Васака Пахлавуни, дукки Антиохии (стр. 213), ширакского князя Епихта (Бехта) (стр. 214—215), наконец, Гагика II Анийского (стр. 219—220) от руки «коварных ромеев». Он с ненавистью пишет об армянах, принявших ромейское вероисповедание (например о Филартосе Варажнуни, стр. 206—210).

Нет никакой необходимости приводить здесь все высказывания Маттеоса Урхаеци о ромеях. Если в трудах Аристакэса Ластивертци и Акопа Сананици<sup>20</sup> определенная сложность акцентов в описании различ-

<sup>20</sup> Так вслед за Л. С. Хачикяном мы называем автора произведения, легшего в основу первой части «Хронографии».



ных моментов византийской экспансии обязывает к рассмотрению всех (или почти всех) этих мест, то отношение Маттеоса к ромеям и к их восточной политике в собственно ему принадлежащей части «Хронографии» резко и однозначно негативно<sup>21</sup>. Третья часть «Хронографии», события которой выходят за рамки рассматриваемого здесь периода, также отмечена безоговорочным осуждением ромеев, как, впрочем, сельджуков и франков<sup>22</sup>.

Итак, Асохик, Аристокс, Акоп Санаинци, Аноним Арцруни рассказывают о движении Византии на Восток, об аннексии империей малоазийских и армянских земель в общем спокойно, и даже повествуя о трагических событиях, задевающих кровные национально-государственные интересы армян, приводят какие-то оправдания имперскому политическому курсу, а Маттеос Урхаеци говорит о восточной политике ромеев не иначе как в форме обличений и проклятий (см. например стр. 135—136). Между тем первые четыре автора так же резко отличаются друг от друга по образованию, таланту, задачам и стилю работы, как и от Маттеоса, и нет, казалось бы, никаких причин для такой близости в их суждениях о Византии. Единственное, что сближает их между собой и удаляет от Маттеоса,—это чисто временной фактор. Действительно, Асохик писал в самом начале XI в., события третьей части его «Всеобщей истории» доведены до 1004 г., Аристокс описывал события с 1001 по 1072 г., Акоп Санаинци — до 1085 г., последняя дата второго анонимного продолжателя «Истории дома Арцруни»—1121 г., а у Маттеоса Урхаеци—1136/37 г. Иными словами, Асохик, Аристокс, Акоп Санаинци, Аноним Арцруни—очевидцы или близки по времени к экспансии Византии, в то время как Маттеос Урхаеци отделен от этих событий целым поколением.

Таким образом, чем ближе армянский историк во времени и пространстве к основным событиям экспансии, тем терпимее он к ним относится, чем дальше он от них, тем негативнее их оценивает. При этом все позднейшие исследователи восприняли оценку экспансии Византии именно от Маттеоса Урхаеци. Во всех работах, так или иначе

<sup>21</sup> Нельзя сказать, что в «Хронографии», где безоговорочно осуждается восточная политика Византии, нет ни единого доброго слова о ромеях вообще, однако процент таких высказываний ничтожен (см. например, стр. 122, 212, 216, 217).

<sup>22</sup> Такая же тенденция прослеживается и у продолжателя Маттеоса—Григория Монаха, доведшего повествование до 1162/1163 г. Он считает ромеев главными врагами армян, осуждает и крестоносцев, захвативших владения армянских князей. Сведения об интересующих нас событиях в «Хронике» Самвела Анеци, современника Григория Монаха, взяты из вторых рук, очень скупы и отрывочны и не дают возможности выявить отношение автора к событиям. См. «Սամուէլի քահանայի Անեցոյ Հաւաքութիւնը», Վաղարշապատ, 1893, стр. 101—114. Смба́т Спарапет, историк XIII в., описал в своей «Летописи» события с 951 по 1276 гг. (1276—terminus ante quem). Основной его источник для описания событий с 951 по 1156 гг.—«Хронография» Маттеоса, и он почти дословно повторяет уничтожающие суждения своего источника о ромеях и об их восточной политике. См. «Սմբատայ Սպարապետի Տարեգիրքը», Վենետիկ, 1963.

касающихся политического курса Византии на Востоке в XI в., этот курс объявляется одновременно «коварным», «близоруким и недальновидным», а поражение при Маназкерт — логическим завершением этого курса. Получается, с одной стороны, что Византийская империя, прославленная своей мудрой, даже изощренно мудрой политикой в отношении сопредельных стран, постоянно и планомерно ослабляла свои границы на Востоке, с другой же стороны, что обширные территории со значительным населением, развитой экономикой и торговлей, с цветущими городами под управлением сильных владетелей, обладавших боеспособным войском, покорились Византии в результате ее «неразумной и недальновидной политики».

Источники, однако, позволяют утверждать, что Византия провела серьезную подготовку своей экспансии на Востоке, включавшую тщательное изучение местных условий (см. труды Константина Порфирородного), создание провизантийских группировок (таких, как партия Саргиса и Айказна и католикоса Петроса Гетадардза, облегчившая Константину IX захват Ани), дипломатическую игру с владетелями, раздачу титулов и привилегий. Захват восточных земель, растянувшийся на столетие, проходил на узаконенных основаниях<sup>23</sup>.

Владетели либо оставляли Византии свои земли по завещанию, либо обменивали их на имперские территории. Военные действия (только в случае крайней необходимости) имели в этой системе завоевания меньший удельный вес, чем дипломатия (см. образование фем Тарон, Иверия, Васпуракан). Эта «деликатность» аннексии несомненно оказывала влияние на суждения современников о ней — в особенности если учесть, что аннексия Византии пришлось на то столетие, которое отделяло владычество арабов от нашествия сельджуков, чьи методы завоевания Армении значительно разнились от византийских. Например, Тарон или Васпуракан отходили к Византии в результате дипломатического нажима, а к арабам или сельджукам — просто потому, что они физически уничтожали население, предавая огню и мечу города и села целых областей; если империя переселяла армянских владетелей в глубь своей территории, то мусульманские завоеватели истребляли армянские княжеские семейства, сжигали их жилища, подвергали пыткам<sup>24</sup>.

Разумеется, в результате и арабская, и византийская, и сельджукская агрессии вели к утрате политической независимости армянских царств и княжеств и к подпадению их под власть иноземцев, и последующие историки (будь то Маттеос Урхаеци или современные исследователи) вправе ставить между этими агрессиями знак равенства, счи-

<sup>23</sup> См. К. Н. Юзбашян. «Повествование» Аристокеса Ластивертци и закат «эпохи Багратидов», стр. 12, 20—21.

<sup>24</sup> Вспомним хотя бы свидетельства Ованнеса Драсханакертци о зверствах арабов («Հովհաննէս Կաթողիկոսի Դրասխանակերտցոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց», Երևան, 1853, стр. 88—94) или Аристокеса Ластивертци о сельджуках («Պատմութիւն», стр. 78—79, 84—89 и сл.).



тая методы завоевания второстепенным моментом, однако современники событий, чьих жизней непосредственно касались эти методы, такого знака равенства поставить не могли<sup>25</sup>.

Исследователи, ссылаясь на Маттеоса Урхаеци, утверждают, что Византия, захватывая малоазийские и армянские территории, переселяя князей, их военные дружины и часть населения в глубь империи, разрушила барьер между собой и ордами кочевников. Иными словами, предполагается, что если бы Византия не захватила Армению и смежные с ней территории и не основала бы на этих землях свои военно-административные округа (фемы), то восточные владения империи были бы в безопасности под защитой отрядов армянских владетелей. Трудно, разумеется, судить о том, что ждало бы империю, если бы она в X в. не начала победоносного движения на Восток; история не дает возможности проводить эксперименты. Однако можно предполагать, не выходя далеко за пределы реальной вероятности, что судьба Византии и в этом случае вряд ли была бы иной. Какие силы могла бы противопоставить сельджукам полчищам Армении—не централизованное государство с армией под единым командованием, но раздробленная на ряд мелких царств и княжеств, нередко враждовавших между собой? Какое время могли бы эти силы держать щит перед Византией? Учитывая опыт арабского завоевания, очевидно, не слишком долго.

Напротив, идея организации крупных военно-административных округов из мелких политических образований была весьма выгодной для Византии. Наместники фем, подчиняющиеся единым приказам из Константинополя и долженствующие объединять свои силы перед лицом наступающего врага<sup>26</sup>, могли оказать более эффективное сопротивление, нежели независимые друг от друга владетели.

Переселение армянских владетельных князей в глубь империи, очевидно, помимо прочего, преследовало и цель убрать из аннексированных областей лиц, чей авторитет в глазах населения мог быть с успехом противопоставлен авторитету византийских наместников. Вслед за владетелями уходила и часть населения, однако массового переселения не было. Даже самое крупное переселение—исход васпураканцев в Себастию вслед за Сенекеримом Арцруни, отнюдь не обезлюдило Васпуракан<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> В частности, армянские политические и церковные деятели видели в великой христианской державе союзницу в борьбе с мусульманскими завоевателями, см., например, послание католикоса Ованнеса Драсханакерци императору Константину (*«Հովհաննէս Կաթողիկոսի Պատմութիւն»*, стр. 148—154).

<sup>26</sup> См., например, о совместных действиях против сельджуков Аарона, правителя Васпуракана, и Катакалона Кекавмена, катепана Ивирии— Georgius Cedrenus Joannis Skylitzae op.е, Вонпае. 1838, т. II, стр. 573, 19—23; 574, 1—5.

<sup>27</sup> В частности, армянские политические и церковные деятели видели в великой христианской державе союзницу в борьбе с мусульманскими завоевателями, см., например, послание католикоса Ованнеса Драсханакерци императору Константину (*«Հովհաննէս Կաթողիկոսի պատմութիւն»*, стр. 148—154).

В хронике Маттеоса Урхаеци упоминается некий Хачик, князь из васпураканского гавара Торнаван, сыновья которого Хасан и Чнчилук с войсками находились на службе императора Мнханла<sup>28</sup>. Не указано, проходила ли служба императору в Константинополе, или же они находились при византийском наместнике Васпуракана. В пользу последнего предположения говорит быстрота, с которой Хасан отомстил за смерть отца и младшего брата, погибших во время набега мусульман из Гера и Саламаста<sup>29</sup>. Есть и другие свидетельства источников, доказывающие, что в византийских фемах, организованных на армянских землях, оставались армянские военные силы<sup>30</sup>.

Эти факты могут поколебать установившееся в историографии представление о том, что Византия, переселяя правящие дома Армении с их дружинами в глубь империи, полностью лишала страну ее военных сил. На месте оставались менее крупные князья, прежде бывшие вассалами Арцруни и Багратидов, а затем ставшие подданными империи в лице ее наместников, и их отряды, очевидно, составляли немалую часть фемного войска. Скилица полагает, что распущенное по приказу Константина IX Мономаха местное войско фемы Ивирия включало в себя около 50000 человек<sup>31</sup>. Лев Сервлия, который распустил эти войска и ввел вместо этого новые налоги, упоминается в «Советах и рассказах» Кекавмена. «Сервлия,—пишет Кекавмен,—отправившись по его (Константина Мономаха,—В. А.) приказу в Ивирию и Месопотамию, чтобы произвести опись имущества и наложить подати, которых никогда не ведали тамошние жители, осуществил это»<sup>32</sup>. Эта акция правительства Константина Мономаха, дружно и резко осуждавшаяся и в источниках и исследователями, очевидно, шла в русле общего процесса быстрой тагматизации византийской армии, начавшейся в середине X в.<sup>33</sup> Разумеется, регулярные тагмы (состоявшие из наемных войск, местных и иностранных) не могли сразу восполнить значительную

---

только исход васпураканцев, которые, как мы видим, не ушли в Византию всей областью. Впрочем, далее Бартикян отмечает: «миграция армян на запад приобрела большие масштабы, особенно после завоевания Армении сельджуками» (Р. М. Бартикян, Миграция армян в XI в.: причины и последствия, «XV Congres International d'Études byzantines. Rapports», Athenes, 1976, стр. 6—7, 8).

<sup>28</sup> *Մ Մ թ է ու*, стр. 90.

<sup>29</sup> Там же.

<sup>30</sup> См. там же, стр. 75, 88. а также Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 571, 3—4; см. также Р. М. Бартикян, указ. соч., стр. 10—11.

<sup>31</sup> Skylitz.-Cedren., II, 698, 20—24.

<sup>32</sup> Советы и рассказы Кекавмена. Сочинение византийского полководца XI в. Подготовка текста, перевод и комментарий Г. Г. Литаврина, М., 1972, стр. 152.

<sup>33</sup> Р. М. Бартикян полагает в этом роспуске дисциплинарную меру. Он считает, что Константин IX распустил армянские отряды с тем, чтобы лишить возможные выступления местного населения против Византии поддержки регулярного войска и вспоминает в связи с этим реформы Юстиниана I, который упразднил армянские вооруженные силы Четвертой Армении и ввел там византийские гарнизоны (указ. соч., стр. 15).



убыль сил, защищавших фему, а новые налоги, введенные вместо воинской повинности, конечно, порождали недовольство населения.

В настоящей статье трудно охватить все аспекты политического курса Византии, направленного на ромеизацию новых фем империи. Однако следует отметить, что наряду с мероприятиями, вызывавшими недовольство населения (такими, как внедрение халкидонитского вероисповедания и имперской налоговой системы), были и мероприятия, им одобряемые: строительство крепостей, служивших пунктами обороны, войны с арабскими владетелями, некоторое облегчение налогов и т. п. Это одобрение отдельных мероприятий империи, войдя в общественное сознание, должно было найти отражение и в произведениях национальных писателей, служа основой для смягчения их тона в отзывах о византийской экспансии, которая все же «разрушила царство Армянское», привела к утрате политической самостоятельности, к уходу с родной земли части наиболее энергичных сил страны, положила начало миграции, столь трагично вошедшей в жизнь армянского народа в последующие века.

Однако, если не говорить о трагедии армянского народа, которая вряд ли могла интересовать византийских политиков, и о близком нашествии сельджукских полчищ, весь размах которого они, по-видимому, не могли себе представить,—византийский политический курс в Армении и на смежных с ней малоазийских территориях был тщательно продуманным путем к укреплению пограничных территорий империи. В него входили:

- 1) централизация завоеванных земель путем объединения их в крупные военно-пограничные округа (фемы);
- 2) учет халкидонитских слоев населения и стремление внедрить имперскую ортодоксальную религию;
- 3) переселение царей и владетельных князей с их военными отрядами в глубь империи;
- 4) продуманность в назначении фемных наместников (с учетом внешних и внутренних условий)<sup>34</sup>;
- 5) вхождение местных отрядов в фемные войска империи.

Все эти политико-дипломатические мероприятия свидетельствуют как об изощренности византийского политического курса, опирающегося на многовековой опыт владычества над народами и непрерывность государственной традиции, так и о стремлении создать укрепленную пограничную зону. Однако стремительность наступления сельджуков не оставила времени на то, чтобы эти мероприятия успели принести плоды. Иными словами, имела место политика вполне разумная и дальновидная, пришедшая в конфликт с изменившимися внешне-

<sup>34</sup> Подробнее об этом см.: В. А. Арутюнова-Фиданян, Византийские правители фемы Иверия, «Вестник» АН АрмССР (обществ. науки), 1973, № 2, ее же, Византийские правители Эдессы в XI в., «Византийский временник», т. 35, 1973; ее же, Фема Васпуракан, там же, т. 38, 1977.

политическими обстоятельствами. Успех тюрок-сельджуков зиждился, по нашему мнению, главным образом на том, что к моменту их наступления на востоке старая система обороны этих земель (наследственные владетели и их отряды) была разрушена, а новая имперская не успела закрепиться.

Очевидцы проведения в жизнь мероприятий Византии в какой-то мере надеялись на их эффективность, а Маттеос Урхаецц увидел, как над ними восторжествовала военная мощь сельджуков. Относительная (ср. мусульманские завоевания) «мягкость» и дипломатичность византийской агрессии (нужно учитывать и ее столетнюю продолжительность), одобрение современниками мероприятий империи по обороне захваченных ею армянских земель и их надежды на эффективность этих мероприятий против восточных кочевников способствовали смягчению отзывов о Византии армянских историков, современников византийской экспансии. Но эти доводы уже не могли играть роли для последующих историков (начиная с Маттеоса Урхаецца), которых интересовали не методы, а результаты византийской экспансии. Этим, по-видимому, и объясняется разница в освещении византийского политического курса у армянских историков XI—XII вв.

**ՄԻՋՆԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ ՀԱՅ ՊԱՏՄԻՋՆԵՐԸ ԲՅՈՒՋԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԿԱՅՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
X—XI ԴԱՐԵՐԻ ԱՐԵՎԵԼՅԱՆ ԷՔՍՊԱՆՍԻԱՅԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ**

Վ. Ա. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՎԱ-ՅԻԴԱՆՅԱՆ

(Ա մ ֆ ո փ ու մ)

Հայ պատմիչների (սկսած Ասողիկից մինչև Մատթեոս Ուռհայեցի) հաղորդումների ուսումնասիրությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ ժամանակի տեսակետից ինչքան մոտ է կանգնած պատմիչը բյուզանդական արշավանքների դեպքերին, այնքան հանդուրժողաբար է վերաբերվում դրանց և, ընդհակառակը, տարածությամբ ու ժամանակով որքան հեռու է դրանցից, այնքան բացասաբար է գնահատում այդ արշավանքների հետևանքները:

Բյուզանդական ագրեսիայի մեղմությունը՝ սելջուկյան նվաճումների համեմատությամբ, այն հանգամանքը, որ ժամանակակիցները հավանություն էին տալիս նվաճված հայկական հողերի աշտպանության համար Բյուզանդիայի իրականացրած միջոցառումներին և դրանց արդյունավետության վերաբերյալ հույսերը մեղմացնում են բյուզանդական էքսպանսիայի ժամանակակից հայ պատմիչների կարծիքը կայսրության քաղաքականության մասին: Բայց այդ փաստարկները արդեն չէին կարող դեր խաղալ հետազայի պատմաբանների համար, որոնց հետաքրքրում էին բյուզանդական էքսպանսիայի ոչ թե մեթոդները, այլ արդյունքները: Դրանով էլ, ըստ երևույթին, բացատրվում է բյուզանդական քաղաքական կուրսի լուսաբանման մեջ եղած տարբերությունները XI—XII դդ. հայ պատմիչների մոտ:



## ОБРАЗ ВИЗАНТИИ В АРМЯНСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ X в.\*

Доктор ист. наук В. А. АРУТЮНОВА-ФИДАНЯН (Москва)

Утверждение, что ни одно государство не сказало такого влияния на все стороны жизни армян, как Византия, а армяне играли достаточно серьезную роль в Византийской империи, банально, но вполне справедливо. Византия была «другой» по отношению к армянам совсем не в той степени, как по отношению к Руси, Болгарии, Италии, и, тем более, к мусульманскому миру (Арабскому халифату, сельджукам). Однако для Армении и Византии надежными многовековыми «инструментами отчуждения» являлись противоречивые конфессиональные и государственные интересы.

Стремление ввести армянские земли в орбиту византийского политического влияния, логично сочетающееся с включением византийских идеологических ценностей в общественно-политическую теорию, обусловило создание позитивного образа Византии—великого христианского государства, естественного союзника в борьбе с мусульманским миром и законного сюзерена Армянского царства—в «Истории Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци, который, таким образом, целенаправленно смягчал действие основополагающих «инструментов отчуждения» обеих стран—государственного и конфессионального.

Армянская историография X в., начавшаяся трудом Иоанна Драсханакертци, завершается «Всеобщей историей» Степаноса Таронечи по прозвищу Асолик.

Степанос Таронечи или Асолик, как и Иоанн Драсханакертци, создал историческое сочинение смешанного жанра, включающее в себя хронику и мемуары<sup>1</sup>. В начале работы перечисляются «поэты и риторы», труды которых он использовал для «точного изображения прошедшего»<sup>2</sup>. «Всеобщая история» Асолика делится на три раздела. Первый—состоит в основном из хронологических списков израильских, персидских, эллинистических, римских, ассирийских, мидийских, парфянских и армянских царей. Второй—содержит краткую историю Армении от Трдата I до Ашота I и изложен как конспективные выдержки из трудов предшественников. Третий раздел охватывает историю 117 лет от Ашота I до Гагика I. История первых Багратидов написана на основе «Истории Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци, заключительная же часть, назван-

\* Первая часть исследования, посвященная образу Византии в «Истории Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци, опубликована в «Византийском временнике», 1991, № 52, с. 113—126.

<sup>1</sup> Ստեփաննի Տարոնցի Ասոլիկի Պատմութիւն տիեզերական. Ս. Պետերբուրգ, 1885: Всеобщая история Степаноса Таронского Асолика по прозвищу—писателя XI столетия. Переведена с армянского и объяснена Н. Эминим. М., 1884 (далее: Всеобщая история).

<sup>2</sup> Библия, Евсевий Кесарийский, Сократ Сколастик и «бесчисленное множество греческих историков, между которыми они блистают как яркие светила между звездами». Армянскими источниками для первых двух частей Асолик называет Агафангела, Мовсеса Хоренаци, Елише, Лазаря Парпеци, Фавстоса Бузанда, Себеоса, Гевонда, Шапуха Багратуни и Иоанна Драсханакертци.

ная «историей времен, повествуемых самостоятельно» (с 929 до 1004 гг.)—свидетельство очевидца<sup>3</sup>. Это летопись изложенных часто без внутренней связи, но с четкой фиксацией дат, событий так называемой «эпохи мирного строительства». (Такое своеобразное наименование получили семьдесят пять лет самого, может быть, спокойного периода армянской средневековой истории).

Нам известна чуть ли не вся жизнь Иоанна Драсханакертци, но мы почти ничего не знаем об Асолике. Собственно, все наши заключения основываются на его прозвище и нескольких фразах из «Всеобщей истории». Таронечи—значит родом из Тарона (вошедшего в 967/8 г. в состав Византийской империи), «Асолик»—по всей вероятности, выдающийся певец и музыкант. Сам он сообщает, что написал «Всеобщую историю» по приказу католикоса Саркиса (992—1019 гг.). Иоанн Драсханакертци был католикосом, Степанос Таронечи—близким к католикосу человеком, обоим, следовательно, были доступны архивы католикосата и Багратидов. И Иоанн Драсханакертци, и Степанос Таронечи были учеными вардапетами, знатоками Библии и трудов своих предшественников—армянских и греческих философов и историков, оба работали над изложением общеармянской истории<sup>4</sup>.

Однако «Историю Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци отличает блеск «орнаментальной прозы», создавшей ему репутацию «искусного и многоумного великого ритора»<sup>5</sup>, а речь Асолика, сторонника ясного и даже сухого стиля, по его собственному определению (с точки зрения вкусов его современников), была «скудоумной»<sup>6</sup>. Иоанн Драсханакертци—одно из действующих лиц его «Истории Армении», осознающий и обосновывающий свои авторские цели и задачи, а также специфику своего сочинения во введении (с. 43—46) и завершающий свой труд непосредственным обращением к читателю («Особое слово в память имени моего») своего рода иштатакараном (с. 237—239). Труд Иоанна входит, таким образом, в ареал «греческой литературы», если, вслед за С. С. Аверинцевым, считать основным признаком принадлежности к ней замкнутость и пластичность формы, подчеркнутую присутствием прооймюна—«места подготовки к долгому рассказу» и четко проведенную границу в его конце («замкнутое и вычленившееся из жизненного потока произведение есть коррелят замкнутой вычленившейся авторской индивидуальности»<sup>7</sup>). Асолик также начинает свой труд прооймюном и завершает памятной записью, однако наглядная разница между яркой личностью Иоанна и подчеркнуто отказавшимся от индивидуального авторства Асолика ставит под сомнение часто постулируемое сходство между представителями одного жанра анналистической литературы<sup>8</sup>.

Основным конституирующим элементом Kaiseridee Асолика было «согласие с церковью», «подражание Христу», «угодность богу»

<sup>3</sup> М. Абебян. История древнеармянской литературы, Ереван, 1975, с. 290.

<sup>4</sup> Լ. Ն. Քարաշահյան, Դրժագիր Հայաստանի դարձացած ֆեոդալիզմի դարաշրջանի լատինագրության օրինակ, 1981, էջ 114—116:

<sup>5</sup> Иованнес Драсханакертци. История Армении. Пер. с древнеарм., вступ. статья и комментарий М. О. Дарбинян-Меликян. Ереван, 1986.

<sup>6</sup> М. Абебян. Указ. соч. с. 290.

<sup>7</sup> С. С. Аверинцев. Греческая «литература» и ближневосточная «словесность».—В кн.: Типология и взаимосвязи литератур древнего мира. М., 1971, с. 220—224.

<sup>8</sup> Р. Досталова. Византийская историография (характер и формы).—Византийский временник, т. 43, 1982, с. 22.



и «строительство церквей и монастырей». Иными словами, на первое место выходит благочестие царя и симфония светской и духовной власти.

Ашот Багратуни (885—890 гг.)—родоначальник армянских Багратидов—муж «кроткий», непорочный, «угодный богу», он помогает духовенству и украшает церкви. Асолик подчеркивает знатность и древнее его происхождение от аспетов—венцевозлагателей армянской династии Аршакидов, осознавая важность этих сведений для утверждения права Ашота на возрождение царской власти в Армении. В «царское зеркало» первого Багратида входит, как бы слегка теряясь между этими двумя главными элементами, и определение Ашота как «победителя соседних народов», но звучит оно достаточно декларативно (с. 153). Можно заметить, что Асолик в этом «зеркале», в основном, следует за своим источником, т. е. за «Историей» Иоанна Дранакериди.

Иное дело, сын Ашота Смбат I (890—913 гг.). Он не получает никаких сведений о жизни, хотя факты, приведенные Асоликом, как будто говорят в его пользу. Смбат в начале царствования выигрывает сражения с арабами и «во дни его в нашем отечестве царствовал мир... Поля превратились в имения, селения в города по многолюдству своему и богатству, так что даже пастухи стали являться в шелковых платях» (с. 161). Однако именно чрезмерное благоденствие страны, достигнутое усилиями Смбата, стало по мнению Асолика причиной гибели и страны, и самого царя, поскольку упоенные земными благами они забыли бога (с. 162), и в результате Смбат погиб, а страна была разрушена измаильянами (с. 162, 165), Асолик, таким образом, ставит «соблюдение царем заповедей божьих» гораздо выше его успехов в ратном деле и управлении царством<sup>9</sup>. Поэтому, очевидно, Ашот II Еркат—прославленный воин, изгнавший из Армении «войска измаильян», характеризуется хотя и панегирически, но чрезвычайно лаконично (с. 169—170).

Принципы создания парадигмы идеального правителя гораздо отчетливее выступают в оригинальной части труда Асолика.

Сын Ашота Ерката Абас (929—935 гг.) водворил мир и благоустройство в земле армянской, «руководимый кротким своим нравом» (с. 171). Основное его достоинство—глубокая преданность армянской церкви (эпизод с Бером) (с. 172—173).

Сын Абаса Ашот Шаханшах (953—977 гг.) «превзошел всех кротостью и милосердием». Он лично помогал нищим и калекам, собирая их во дворце, раздавал такую щедрую милостыню, что опустошил казну (с. 180), при нем было построено множество монастырей (с. 181—182). Абас Карсский—муж, исполненный разума и мудрости, положил конец разбоям и грабежам в своем уделе, но главная его заслуга заключалась в том, что он заставил всех соблюдать посты и строил монастыри (с. 196—197).

Гагик I (990—1020 гг.) был, по Асолику, человеком «ума проникательного», сведущим в военном деле, щедрым и прилежно посещающим церкви. И «по самый день писания этой летописи никакой

<sup>9</sup> Совершенно так же осуждается Асоликом и Смбат II (977—990 гг.), которому также удалось достигнуть успехов «и внутри и вне государства». Он возгордился, «его обушло нечестие и надменность проникла в его сердце», и бог от него отвернулся (с. 253—255).

враг не возмущал спокойствия в Армении», однако Асолик явно бросает тень на этот светлый образ, глухо упоминая о каком-то несчастном случае (с. 255—256).

Истинным героем третьей части «Всеобщей истории» следует считать Давида Куропалата. Асолик упоминает его победоносные сражения с арабами (с. 266—267; 269—274). Но не это главное для Асолика. В энциклопедии Давиду, пожалуй, ярче всего проявляются черты идеального царя у этого историка. «Кротостью и миролюбием он превосходил всех государей, живущих в наше время. Он был виновником мира и благоустройства всех восточных стран, в особенности же Армении и Иверии. Он прекратил войны, беспрестанно со всех сторон возникавшие, восторжествовал над всеми окрестными народами, так что все государи добровольно покорились ему. Скончался он в глубокой старости, удрученный летами в 449 (1060 г.)» (с. 275).

С ассоциативной точки зрения интересно построена композиция «Всеобщей истории», где идеальный образ Давида как бы перекликается с идеальным образом Василия II в разделах, непосредственно примыкающих друг к другу.

Переход владений Давида Куропалата под власть Василия II происходит потому, что «у него [Давида] не было ни сына, ни брата, которые бы унаследовали престол его царства и он поручил своих вассалов и свою страну греческому царю Василию» (с. 275). О каком бы то ни было нажиме со стороны императора, известном нам по другим источникам, нет и речи. Асолик упоминает о схватке между русской дружиной Василия и вассалами Давида, но полностью обеляет воинов императора: «Гнев божий тяготел над ними [азатами Давида Куропалата] за их высокомерие» (с. 277).

Вину за обострение отношений между Византией и Грузией в связи с наследством Давида Асолик возлагает всецело на грузинского царя Гургена, а мирное завершение конфликта связывает с терпимостью и миролюбием Василия II (с. 279).

Асолик рассказывает, с каким почетом встретил и как щедро одарил император явившихся к нему армянских владетелей и как он отправил соседним арабским эмирам послание, запрещая им нападать на Васпуракан. Асолик немного, но весьма благожелательно рассказывает о внутривосточном курсе империи (с. 281) и хвалит веротерпимость Василия II (с. 281). И, наконец, в заключении он сообщает: «Император Василий II остановил нашествия, облегчил тяжкие налоги и положил конец грабежам и пленению» (там же).

Факты, которые могли бы изменить положительное восприятие образа Василия II, не упоминаются или толкуются позитивно и, при эпически бесстрастном тоне, отсутствии личного отношения (заданном жанром сочинения), портрет Василия II явно выдержан Асоликом в светлых тонах его собственной парадигмы идеального царя (в отличие от Иоанна Драсханакертци, рисующего портрет византийского императора византийскими же красками). Все прочие византийские императоры упоминаются Асоликом в целях чисто хронологических и лишены сколько-нибудь развернутых характеристик. Исключение составляют императоры-армяне: Лев VI и Иоанн Цимисхий.

Лев «был человек миролюбивый, пекущийся о благе целого государства, щедрый на дары, при раздаче которых он не походил на скаредного грека..., но как сын армянина он превзошел всякого армянина щедростью» (с. 159). Здесь в первый и последний раз Асолик осуждает греков за личные качества (может быть, чтобы подчеркнуть этническую принадлежность императора Льва). Об Иоанне Цимисхии,



непосредственном предшественнике Василия II, Асолик сообщает больше. «Кир-Жан» с юности приводил в изумление всех своими подвигами, поэтому, когда он воцарился, «добровольно покорились ему и платили дань татчики с юга, с севера — сарматы, а с востока — грузины» (с. 184), а когда Иоанн сражался на Балканах против болгар и их союзников «рузов», то рузы обратили в бегство оба крыла птешского войска, но царь с армянской пехотой оставался неподвижным и в конце концов одержал победу. Однако воцарился Иоанн, убив Никифора Фоку, «при коварном содействии царицы, матери Василия», поэтому этого императора никак нельзя поставить рядом с самим Василием. И, кроме того, Kaiseridee Асолика ставит воинскую отвагу, таланты полководца и правителя гораздо ниже «ротости, смиренности, милосердия, терпимости и миротворчества, а этими последними качествами Асолик щедро наделяет Василия II.

На период с 929 до 1004 гг. приходится ряд важнейших этапов поступательного движения Византии на Восток: аннексия Тарона, присоединение Манцикерта, Антиохии, владений Давида Куропалата. «В 415 (966 г.), — пишет Асолик, — было затмение солнца, скончался Ашот, князь Таронский, и греки завладели Тароном» (с. 183). Столь же эпически рассказывает Асолик и о взятии Манцикерта. «В 417 (968 г.) Вард, племянник по брату Никифора, с многочисленным войском пришел в Алахуник, окружил город Маназкерт и, взяв его, срыл до основания городские стены, а в 418 (969 г.) он взял великий сирийский город Антиохию» (с. 183). Тон повествования не меняется — судьба Тарона и Манцикерта и судьба Антиохии описываются одинаково бесстрастно. Асолик рассказывает о войнах империи с арабскими владетелями, в результате которых многие малоазийские города и территории отошли к Византии (с. 184, 186—187, 245, 260—263, 264—265, 374) и восхваляет мужество византийских императоров и полководцев (среди которых было немало армян: Тарониты, Далассины).

Значительное место уделяет Асолик восстаниям малоазийских феодалов против империи (с. 246—251). При этом Варда Склир, избранный царем многими из знатных соотечественников Асолика, все же чаще именуется им «*թիւշխի*» (тиран, захватчик). Несмотря на то, что в восстаниях Варды Склира и Варды Фски принимали деятельное участие многие армянские князья, для Асолика все эти смуты не свое, не кровное армянское дело, все это, по Асолику, происходило «в греческом государстве (*ի Գրիցական Զոհար*)» (с. 192). Последней искрой мятежей было выступление магистра Чордванела, которого разбил в Дсрджане патрикий Иоанн. «С той поры, — с удовлетворением отмечает Асолик, — вся Греция, покоренная под власть Василия, стала наслаждаться миром» (с. 251). Начиная главу о втором болгарском походе Василия II, Асолик повторяет: «После того как непокорные, восставшие против греческого царя были истреблены, он, воспользовавшись досугом, предпринял поход против болгар (с. 260). Асолик, таким образом, включает без оговорок все малоазийские земли, и в том числе вновь отошедшие к Византии армянские территории, в состав «греческого царства»<sup>10</sup>, т. е. воспринимает в полном объеме концепцию о «восстановлении законных прав империи» на господство над народами, некогда подвластными Римской державе. И, кроме того, делает идеальным царем Василия II Болгаробойцу, наиболее последовательного и ревностного приверженца этой концепции, осуществлявшего на практике теоретические построения Константина VII.

<sup>10</sup> Так же как и его современники Аристакес Ластивертци и Григорий Магистр.

Провизантийские тенденции Асолика отразились и на его компиляторской и редакторской деятельности, наложив отпечаток на создание «образа Византии» не только в оригинальной, но и компилятивной части «Истории».

Асолик переписывает пассажи из Мовсеса Хоренаци и Фавстоса Бузанда о христианизации Армении (с. 40, 43, 44, 46), о пребывании католикоса Нерсеса в Византии (с. 47), об огромной роли сирийской и греческой культур в создании армянской письменности и литературы (с. 51, 56), описывает антиперсидские восстания, когда армянские князья «предавались грехам», а Вардан Мамиконян со своей семьей приобщился к вере ромеев<sup>11</sup>.

Упоминания о добровольном принятии «греческой веры» редко встречаются во «Всеобщей истории» (как в двух первых, так и в третьей ее части). Асолик—вардапет армянской церкви и правоверный монофисит—обычно все сближения с халкидонитами объясняет нажимом извне. Так, католикос Езр, лишенный поддержки ученых вардапетов, был «обманут коварными греками», и лишь потому не предал анафеме Халкидонский собор (Всеобщая история, с. 61—62). Католикос Нерсес «приобщился святым тайнам» в Двине с императором Константином, потому только, что последний грозил Армении «совершенным уничтожением» (там же, с. 83). Жалоба греческих воинов, оставшихся в Армении («в этой стране нас считают неверными; Халкидонский собор и послание Льва недостойными»), вызвала повеление императора Констанция правителю Армении Теодоросу Рштуни и католикосу Нерсесу Строителю—установить с греками согласие в вопросах веры (под угрозой лишения имущества, «сана» и власти).

Однако отказ армянских «князей и епископов» принять халкидонитство не только красноречив, но и миролюбив: на греках—«благодарить божественных даров», обширно и могущественно их государство, первосвященство истинно и исполнено божественной благодати, государственные мужи и воинство—христолюбивы, а «многочисленный ваш народ есть народ Христа Бога», армяне смогли сохранить свою веру, только опираясь на «свет славы Боголюбивого Вашего царства» (почти полное совпадение с фразеологией Иоанна Драсханакертци). И тем не менее «епископ и князья» отказываются признать Халкидонский собор, ссылаясь на мнение язычника—Хосрова, персидского царя—утвердившего в своем государстве только одну форму христианства—монофиситство (там же, с. 64—68).

Асолик считает собор в Маназкерте (726 г.), созванный католикосом Иоанном Одзнецом, важным этапом идеологической борьбы, призванным «вывести из Армении учение халкидонитов о двух естествах», «сохранившееся в греческой части Армении со времен Езра» (с. 72).

Он перечисляет ряд ученых вардапетов, которые жили в его время в разных монастырях. Все они по приказанию владыки Анании (943—968 гг.) после глубокого исследования божественных книг и на их основании постановили вторичное крещение для последователей Халкидонского собора (с. 178). Асолик осуждает католикоса Ваханика, «который завел переписку с последователями Халкидонского собора и хотел с ними сблизиться» (с. 181—182).

<sup>11</sup> Именно с пребыванием Вардана в Константинополе связывает Асолик появление «армянской двери» в храме св. Софии.



Однако, выступая против халкидонитов в самой Армении, Асолик, так же как и Иоанн Драсханакеертци, не претендует на религиозное перевоспитание ромеев<sup>12</sup>.

\* \* \*

Армянские историки из регионов, которые в X в. находились в стороне от формирующейся армяно-византийской контактной зоны (Васпуракан, Алуанк), почти не уделяют внимания современной им Византии. Однако образ империи в их произведениях возникает в исторических экскурсах.

Интерес читателей средних веков к произведению обычно подтверждается числом дошедших до нас рукописей. С этой точки зрения «История Хационского креста» была, очевидно, чрезвычайно популярна. Мы располагаем несколькими десятками списков, древнейший из которых (Матенадаран, № 3777) относится к 1185—1187 гг.<sup>13</sup> Один из списков сохранился в составе сборника, объединенного общим названием «История Анонимного повествователя (Псевдо-Шапух Багратуни)». Мнение первого издателя сборника (1921 г.) М. Тер-Мовсисяна, считающего рукопись историей Шапуха Багратуни, опровергнуто последующими исследованиями арменоведов<sup>14</sup>, пришедших к выводу, что первая часть рукописи—собственно история Хационского креста—сборник повестей, а связь ее со второй частью—циклом оказаний о князьях Арцруни—условна; «Историю Хационского креста» можно датировать IX—X веками (с. 35).

Первая часть—цикл повестей, близких по времени и содержанию, но различных по жанру<sup>15</sup> (каждая из них завершается памятной записью как отдельное произведение), начинается сказанием о Маврикии, затем следует рассказ о персидских походах Ираклия, об обретении им древа животворящего креста, повествование о Махметс—арабском полководце и армянском католикосе Сааке, рассказ о князе Теодоросе Рштуни и его сыне Варде Патрике. Информация об истории Византии и Армении VII в. носит обобщенный и неточный характер, заставляющий предположить наличие устной традиции. Во всяком случае авторы не знакомы ни с армянскими, ни с греческими историческими сочинениями (по крайней мере с теми, которые дошли до нас). Нет решительно никаких совпадений формальных или лексических с историей Себеоса (равно как и с «Хронографией» Феофана или «Бревиарием» патриарха Никифора) основными источниками по истории VII в. В «Истории Хационского креста» указаны несомненные и самые основные события этого периода—воцарение Маврикия, войны Ираклия, обретение им животворящего креста, но это канва, по кото-

<sup>12</sup> Асолик, в отличие от Иоанна Драсханакеертци, не скрывает, что в Двине греческие войска безуспешно осаждали не только эмира Сбука, но и шаханшаха Ашота I, его союзника (с. 167—168). Однако он не сомневается, что воцарение Ашота I произошло «с соизволения греческого царя Василия» (с. 157), а Смбаг царствовал «с соизволения греческого царя Льва, как и Ашот II Еркат» (с. 159).

<sup>13</sup> История Анонимного повествователя (Псевдо-Шапух Багратуни). Древнеармянский текст с параллельным переводом. Перевод с древнеармянского, предисловие и комментарии М. О. Дарбинян-Меликян, Ереван, 1971, с. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Там же, с. 5—6, 23—26.

<sup>15</sup> «Повесть о животворящем кресте»—образец довольно распространенных в средневековье сказаний об обретении святынь, а «Повествование о Теодоросе князе Рштуника и его сыне Варде Патрике»—житие.

рой рисует узоры легенда. Какими же в ней предстают представители Византии и прежде всего «Мурик, царь ромеев»? Из сказания следует, что он родом из Армении, что по разумному совету своего отца («Давида из Ани») он разогнал или перебил «больших» ромейских вельмож, пожаловал «малым» людям достоинство «стратигов и патриков» и создал войско из простолюдинов. Таким образом, «весьма укрепилось царство его»<sup>16</sup>. «Овладев всей страной ромейской... он захватил Египет... окружил стеною Иерусалим», владения его простирались на Восток, Запад и Юг и в них входили страны «Армянская, Алванская и Абхазская». Он был женат на сестере персидского царя, платившего ему дань (с. 50—51). «И восстановил он по всей стране мир, так что иные, сложив притчу, говорят: «Он сидит себе беспечно, словно во времена Мурика» (там же).

Все это рассказывается об императоре Маврикии (582—602 гг.), который вовсе не был армянином, женат был на Константине, дочери своего предшественника Тиберия, царствование его было бурным (выступления крестьян и солдат, мятежи знати), и сам он был лишен престола и казнен. Маврикию принадлежит идея депортации армян во Фракию, при нем был основан халкидонитский католикосат в Аване в противовес монофиситскому католикосату в Двине. А автор «Истории царя Мурика» хвалит его за мудрость, мужество, благочестие (с. 50—51) и даже сближает его с армянским миром, делая армянином «из Ани». Единственный упрек Маврикию—он поставил над Востоком некоего Махаза родом из страны Армянской, мужа злого и несправедливого» (там же)<sup>17</sup>.

«История Ираклия царя греческого», прежде всего сообщает, что император объединил под своей властью «все фракийские страны, Грецию, Великую Армению и Абхазию» (с. 52). Цель византийско-персидских войн, по Псевдо-Шопху, — освобождение животворящего креста, поскольку крест находился у «царя персидского Касра» (с. 52—60). При перечислении воинских отрядов, собранных на эту войну Ираклием (грузинские, алуанские, месопотамские, греческие и франкские), на первом месте названы армянские войска, а отношения с армянскими владетелями иллюстрируются верноподданническим поведением княгини Сюника, которая помогла Ираклию «ратными мужами» и множеством даров (с. 52—60)<sup>18</sup>. Взамен княгиня попросила частицу животворящего креста для нее. Император советуется о том, как ей помочь, с Иоанном Майрагомеци, «которого любил за святость» (с. 62—63). Между тем, Иоанн Майрагомеци—это независимый мыслитель и выдающийся вардапет, бескомпромиссно защищавший национальную церковь, его считают составителем полемического сборника «Исповедание веры» («Печать веры»)<sup>19</sup>. Он был и антихалкидонитом, и антимонотелитом, а католикос Езр—сторонник унии с Византией—отлучил его от церкви (629 г.)<sup>20</sup>. «Narratio de rebus Armeniae» (произведение армянина-хал-

<sup>16</sup> История Анонимного повествователя, с. 45—49.

<sup>17</sup> Махаз был правителем византийской Армении в 593—594 гг., т. е. «Восток» — это восточные армянские провинции Византии.

<sup>18</sup> Аллюзия на современные автору повести события (помощь Ашота Багратуни Иоанну Цимисхию).

<sup>19</sup> Об Иоанне Майрагомеци см.: G. Caritte La Narratio de rebus Armeniae-Louvain, 1952, p. 347. А. М. Кендeryн. Иоанн Майрагомеци (Из истории средневековой армянской риторической прозы). Автореф. канд. дисс. Ереван, 1971, Он же. Հովհաննէս Մայրաղոմէցի. Երևան, 1973.

<sup>20</sup> G. Caritte. La Narratio de rebus Armeniae, p. 44—45, 278—300.



кидонита VII в.) рассказывает о насаждении унии церквей при Ираклии и оппозиции ей Иоанна Майрагомеци<sup>21</sup>. Его богословские труды были хорошо известны, во всяком случае Степанос Таронский, завершивший свой труд событиями 1003 г., пишет: «И при нем [католикосе Комитасе] блистал своей ученостью Иоанн Майрагомеци, которому Комитас вверил управление католикосатом. Этот [Иоанн] написал три книги и имени своего не написал на них... название одной книги «Наставление по поведению», другой «Основы веры», а третьей «Ноемак». Соответственно сближение имени василевса ромеев, распространителя унии в Армении, с именем уважаемого национального богослова, яростного ее противника, было не случайным, а сознательным стремлением стереть конфессиональные различия между армянами и ромеями.

Вард Патрик, перешедший на сторону арабов, был поражен страшным видением моря крови «из дома ромеев», пролитого по его вине. Он кается в «совершенном зле» (с. 100) и получает прощение бога только после того, как построил множество церквей и получил при посредстве отшельника Симеона мощи святого Степаноса из Иерусалима. Вард раздал свои достояние нищим и до смерти не снимал власяницу. Это, разумеется, ситуация вполне агиографическая. Интересно для нас то, что бог послал предостерегающее видение грешнику, который предал «дом ромеев».

История византийско-персидских войн царя Ираклия и спасение животворящего креста нашли отражение во многих памятниках армянского средневековья как факт собственной истории армянского народа, т. е. войны происходили на территории Армении, а в судьбах Иерусалима и святого креста армяне принимали живое участие. Однако, ни Себеос,<sup>22</sup> главный наш источник по этому периоду, ни современники автора «Истории Хацюнского креста» Мовсес Дасхуранци (Калапхатуаци), Фома Арируни, и даже Иоанн Драсханакертци не рисуют столь светлого образа Ираклия, как «История Хацюнского креста», и только в одном памятнике, точнее, в его сохранившихся фрагментах, мы находим ему почти полную аналогию. Это рукопись «Истории Ираклия» (Матенадаран, № 7729, № 923, в особенности список № 993). Еще Н. Я. Марр обратил внимание на «усиленное прославление» Ираклия в этом памятнике. «Император называется не только боголюбивым, но и святым. Существование такого культа императора Ираклия в среде национальной армянской церкви нам кажется в высшей степени сомнительным. Поэтому сказание может представлять для нас особый интерес, как один из редких уцелевших памятников халкидонитского течения армянской литературы»<sup>23</sup>. Еще одним аргументом в пользу халкидонитского происхождения рукописи Н. Я. Марр считает описание пути Ираклия из Персии через бассейн р. Спера, притока р. Чорох,

<sup>21</sup> Асолик, с. 37 (*վանի գրեգորեանի ժողովրդեանն*) — «т. е. это не было принято или в переводе Эмина: «которые, впрочем, не были приняты народом», но даже если они не были приняты народом», то ученым-монахам, богословам и писателям они несомненно были знакомы.

<sup>22</sup> Պատմութիւն Սերէնի, աշխատանքներ Յ. Վ. Արարիանի. Երևան, 1979.

<sup>23</sup> Тексты и разыскания по армяно-грузинской филологии. Кн. IX Ахтпох Стратиг. Плениение Иерусалима персами в 614 г. Грузинский текст исследовал, издал, перевел и арабское извлечение приложил Н. Марр. СПб., 1909, с. 60. Исследование Марра предлагает не только грузинскую, но и арабскую версию, фрагменты греческой версии (с. 9—48) и подборку армянских материалов о завоевании Иерусалима персами (с. 48—62).

где «господствующим слоем, прикрывавшим коренное лазское население оставался армянский элемент», а именно армяне-халкидониты грузинского вероисповедания<sup>24</sup>. Г. В. Абгарян, рассмотревший обе рукописи, отмечает, что в списке № 7729 отношение к Ираклию гораздо более сдержанное, нежели в рукописи № 993. Исследователь полагает также, что писец рукописи № 993 халкидонитом не был, и не находит никаких следов халкидонитского влияния в ее тексте<sup>25</sup>. Список был создан в IX—X вв., т. е. принадлежит к тому же периоду, что «История Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци и «История Хационского креста». К соображениям Г. В. Абгаряна можно добавить, что, отнюдь не отрицая влияния армяно-халкидонитской традиции на становление позитивного образа Византии, никак нельзя безоговорочно ставить знак равенства между провизантийской и халкидонитской тенденциями. Более того, полная их идентификация приводит к смещению акцентов и прямым ошибкам при анализе армянских источников (см. ниже об источниках Мовсеса Дасхуранци).

Византийский мир для авторов «Истории Хационского креста» сконцентрирован в Константинополе. Топография державы ромеев в общем мало знакома армянскому автору (кроме Константинополя упомянут еще только Хрисополь (с. 76—77), остальные города располагаются в основном в соседних с Арменией областях (с. 96), есть упоминание об ассортименте ромейских товаров в международной торговле того времени (с. 100)<sup>26</sup>.

\* \* \*

Арцруни занимали приоритетное положение в юго-западной Армении и (в протектатное положение провизантийски настроенным Мамиконянам) в начале IX в. (838 г.), по свидетельству Генесия, участвовали вместе с Аббасидами в набеге на византийские земли, тем не менее и они пострадали от наступления на права владетелей Армении, предпринятого арабами. Во время похода Буги великий князь Ашот Арцруни был уведён в плен в Самарру и вместе со своей этерней до 868 г. (до возвращения в Васпуракан) находился в резиденции халифа и воевал против врагов халифата. Другие члены его фамилии были отпущены уже в 858 г. и играли роль своего рода антивизантийского форпоста<sup>27</sup>. Имена князей Арцруни—Хамза (Амазасп)<sup>28</sup>, Абу-Ганим<sup>29</sup>, Абу Белч<sup>30</sup>—свидетельствуют, если не о принятии ими ислама, то об их проарабских настроениях. Не следует забывать и мусульманские эмираты в Васпуракане, вокруг оз. Ван и их компактное арабское население. В 908 г.

<sup>24</sup> Там же, с. 60.

<sup>25</sup> Պատմութիւն Սերգիսի, էջ 425—426.

<sup>26</sup> II часть «Истории Антиимного повествователя», дошедшая до нас в одном только списке и записанная, возможно, после XII в.—это уникальный образец армянской средневековой художественной прозы, основанной на родовых преданиях князей Арцруни, дошедших до писца XII в. в устной традиции.

<sup>27</sup> Չ. Մ. Վանդանյան. Արժույթային և աշխարհային մի քանի հարցեր (IX դարի 30—60-ական թթ.)—Историко-филологический журнал, 1984, № 4, с. 138—148.

<sup>28</sup> Там же, с. 139.

<sup>29</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitis. De administrando imperio. Ed. G. Moravcsik. London, 1917, t. I, 43/5, 72, 101, 136, 178, 184, 186; Константин Багрянородный, с. 409, прим. 24.

<sup>30</sup> J. Laurent. Un feodal Arménien au IX siècle Gourgen Ardziscii fils d'Abou Belch. Revue d'Histoire Arménienne. Paris, 1971, p. 46.



Гагик I Арцруни (908—943 гг.) отделился от Великой Армении, возможно, не без участия арабов, и был сразу же признан халифатом.

«История дома Арцруни» была написана тремя авторами: Товма Арцруни писал свою часть «Истории» по заданию князя Григора, убитого в 887 г., и продолжал ее, может быть, до 905 г.<sup>31</sup> Первый аноним—очевидец описываемых им событий—писал при Гагике I, царе Васпуракана (908—943 гг.). Он упоминает Иоанна католикоса как «блаженного», т. е. уже умершего<sup>32</sup>, а второй аноним писал в первой четверти XII в.<sup>33</sup> Товма и оба анонимных автора, посвятившие свой труд дому Арцруни (и очевидно происходившие из этого дома), были любознательными и сведущими вардапетами, занимавшими видное положение в духовной иерархии. Византизм в современных авторам «Истории дома Арцруни» пассажах упоминается редко, а такая вечная тема армянской историографии, как борьба с халкидонитами, совершенно обойдена молчанием. Халкидониты упомянуты всего один раз при перечислении диофиситов вообще в одном ряду с несторианами<sup>34</sup>. Халкидон встречается в этом источнике два раза: один—в связи с проведением Халкидонского собора<sup>35</sup>, другой—как географический пункт в византийско-персидских войнах<sup>36</sup>.

В приложении к «Истории дома Арцруни» (гл. XII) упомянуты следующие даты: 1021, 1041, 1097 и 1121 г. Автор приложения жил при Хеденеке, внуке князя Абдельмсеха Арцруни, владельца крепости Амюк из той ветви Арцруни, которая осталась на родине. Последнее событие труда анонима датируется 1121 г., т. е. автор жил в начале XII в. и был старшим современником Аристакеца Ластивертци. Не будучи очевидцем событий, он опирался, по-видимому, на непосредственную традицию<sup>37</sup> (в рассказе о переселении в Византию Сенеке-рима Арцруни в 1021 г. и Гагика Багратуни—в 1041 г.). Образ Византии обрисован весьма немногословно, но почти идиллически. Армянские цари добровольно передают свои владения—император ромеев принимает их с почестями и дарами и дает им равноценные и даже лучшие владения: вместо просто городов—города великие (*մեծամեծ*), взамен крепостей—неприступные крепости (*անմարտից*) (с. 476—478). Определение императора ромеев (боголюбивого и благочестивого), империи ромеев и ее «богохранимой» столицы вполне соответствует этикетным установкам, принятым предшественниками автора приложений «Истории дома Арцруни».

\* \* \*

«История страны Алуанк» Мовсеса Дасхуранци (или Каланкатуаци), имеющая значительную историографическую традицию, в последние годы получила новый мощный импульс для изучения. В

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Artsruni. History of the House of the Artsrunik. Translation and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson. Detroit, 1985, p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> М. Абе-гян. История древнеармянской литературы, с. 253. Правда, М. Абе-гян считает, что это еще пишет Фома Арцруни, а Р. Томсон полагает, что словосочетание «блаженный» может быть позднейшей вставкой (R. Thomson, p. 20).

<sup>33</sup> R. Thomson, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Քաղաքացիական պատերազմի մասին Արարիկեաց. Երևան, 1985, էջ 394. R. Thomson, p. 318.

<sup>35</sup> Товма, с. 132.

<sup>36</sup> Там же, с. 146, 148.

<sup>37</sup> М. Абе-гян. Указ. соч. с. 255.

1983 г. В. Д. Аракеляном был издан критический текст<sup>38</sup>, в 1984 г. Ш. В. Смбатяном — русский перевод с предисловием и комментариями<sup>39</sup> и, наконец, в 1987 г. вышла в свет монография А. А. Акопяна<sup>40</sup>.

«История страны Алуанк» была составлена Мовсесом Каланкатуаци или Дасхуранци, армянским вардапетом высокого ранга, может быть, католикосом Алуанка (а до этого — настоятелем монастыря в Парисосе) в X в. на основании источников V—X вв., иногда перенесенных в текст без всяких изменений (труды Мовсеса Хоренаци, Елише, Петроса Сюнеци, Пилона Тиракаци, грамоты, послания, каноны и т. д.), иногда подвергавшихся редакторской правке Мовсеса Дасхуранци<sup>41</sup>. Он включает в свой труд источник по истории Алуанка 30-х—80-х годов VII в. (условно именуемый «Историей 684 г.»), автор которого писал изысканно и приподнято, демонстрируя великолепное знание греческого языка, Библии и раннехристианских писателей. Его свидетельства находят параллели в других источниках (армянских, арабских, грузинских), но сообщения о Византии вызывают скептицизм исследователей, в частности — отношения князя Джуаншера с империей<sup>42</sup>. Джуаншер будто бы письменно признал сюзеренитет империи. В ответном письме император жалует Джуаншеру высокие звания анфипата и патрикия, шлет богатые дары и частицу животворящего креста (с. 181). При двух личных встречах император незрительно инстинктивно князю Джуаншеру (сажает его выше всех вельмож за столом, угощает на золоте, опоясывает его царским поясом деда своего Ираклия, накидывает на него свою собственную царскую мантию, жалует ему два знамени и возводит в сан патрикия его сыновей) и признает за ним право наследственного владения на все территории, «которые когда-либо принадлежали первым царям Алуанка», «поручив царственно управлять Восточным краем» (с. 183—186).

Складывается впечатление, что образ Византии — щедрой и милостивой покровительницы «Восточного края», хотя автору источника хорошо известно, что империя под ударами арабов откатилась далеко на Запад (с. 192—195), нужен автору для того, чтобы легализовать притязания Джуаншера на царское достоинство, для чего мало было, по-видимому, и покровительства Бога и личных добродетелей Джуаншера, хотя и то и другое дано ему автором достаточно щедро (с. 185—186, 189—190).

«Божьим провидением со дня рождения он был назначен для славы и величия», он «ничем не ниже царей» и нельзя считать его власть меньшей чем царская только из-за того, что «у него не было на голове короны» (с. 200—201), поэтому-то «мы, смиреннейшие слуги, вправе сравнивать его не с Августом или императором Тиберием, но за великие благодеяния его — с блаженным Константином, получившим венец от Бога и прославившимся».

<sup>38</sup> Մովսէս Կաղանկատացի. Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի, բնական բնագործը և ներածութիւնը՝ Վարդգ Առաքելյանի. Երևան, 1983 (в тексте страницы указаны по этому изданию):

<sup>39</sup> Мовсес Каланкатуаци. История страны Алуанк. Перевод с древнеармянского, предисловие и комментарии Ш. В. Смбатяна. Ереван, 1984.

<sup>40</sup> А. А. Акопян. Албания-Алуанк в греко-латинских и древнеармянских источниках. Ереван, 1987 (обзор литературы, посвященной «Истории Албании», с. 150 и сл.).

<sup>41</sup> Там же. с. 167, 169; 177—242.

<sup>42</sup> Ե. Աղոնց. Քննութիւն Մովսէս Կաղանկատացու. — «Անահիտ», 1940, № 1—3, էջ 22—25; Ե. Աղոնց. Մովսէս Դասխուրանցի (Կոչված Կաղանկատացի) և իր Պատմութիւն Աղուանից. Վիեննա, 1970, էջ 251—252:



Важным структурным элементом идеологии власти в средние века было программное сопоставление императоров, королей и князей с первым христианским императором Константином I. Образ Константина выступает как парадигма идеального правителя и сопоставляется с образом Джуаншера. Джуаншер знатен и богат (с. 185—186), он доблестный и неустрашимый воин (с. 172—180), мудрый и воздержанный правитель (с. 183). В его благочестии четко выделены строительный и церемониальный аспекты веры (вспомним в особенности публичную «Молитву Джуаншера» (с. 187—190). Однако владыкой страны «от пределов Грузии и до ворот Гуннов, до реки Ерасх» он становится только после утверждения его императором ромеев, и лишь тогда Джуаншера признало духовенство Алуанка (с. 182—183).

Главы 9, 14 и 16 второй книги—«История католикоса Вироа» (ИКВ)—небольшое сочинение VII в., автор которого упоминает о том, что ни один владетель Армении, Авирии и Алуанка не отозвался на обращение Ираклия о помощи, и благожелателен к осажденным императором и его союзниками тбилисцам. А. А. Акопян поэтому предполагает, что ИКВ—произведение антихалкидонитское, а католикос Вироа, который, как достоверно известно, был халкидонитом, мог быть его героем только в том случае, если он прижмул к монофиситам<sup>43</sup>. При этом А. А. Акопян ссылается на Н. Я. Марра, который будто бы ставит отношение к Ираклию в прямую связь от конфессиональной принадлежности тех, кто пишет об этом императоре. Это не совсем так. Н. Я. Марр отмечает только, что «культ царя Ираклия был невозможен в армянской национальной церкви»<sup>44</sup>.

Разумеется, прохалкидонитская и провизантийская тенденции шли рука об руку, но тем не менее могли и не совпадать<sup>45</sup>. А все пассажи источника, свидетельствующие о негативном отношении к Ираклию, идут на уровне оппозиции императору ромеев, а не халкидониту. Да и так ли уж отрицательно отношение к императору Ираклию? Он известил своих военачальников о том, что начинает войну против Хосрова, похитителя св. Креста, по милости бога, что «бог способствует его успеху» (с. 130). Автор ИКВ подчеркивает полководческий талант Ираклия (с. 130—131)<sup>46</sup>, называет его «великим» (*hshgirê dhdê*) (с. 131). Что касается симпатий к осажденным тбилисцам, то автор ИКВ не скрывает и их надменности и преступной дерзости по отношению к царю гуннов и Ираклию (с. 140). В тексте, принадлежащем самому Мовсесу Дасхуранци (гл. XV кн. III) Ираклий назван «победоносным императором ромеев», оставившим «о себе на свете славу храбреца» (с. 316—317).

Ираклий опустошил Атрпатахан, летнюю резиденцию царя персов, и решил перезимовать в пределах Алуанка, Армении и Иверии, обратившись к владетелям этих стран именно с просьбой принять его на постой. Владетели же Алуанка отказали ему вовсе не из особой неприязни к Ираклию, а «по повелению самого Хосрова» (с. 132). Они оставили Партав и «укрепились в разных местах». Заступником же горожан перед Ираклием (несомненно разгневанным таким поворотом дел)

<sup>43</sup> А. А. Акопян. Указ. соч., с. 208.

<sup>44</sup> Н. Я. Марр. Антох стратиг, с. 60.

<sup>45</sup> Вспомним явное тяготение армянских авторов к Византии как к государству при стремлении отстоять свою конфессиональную независимость (см. выше об Иоанне Драсханакертци).

<sup>46</sup> Он одерживает в конечном счете победу над Хосровом, несмотря на отступления и неудачи.

остался некий священник Захария, «муж святой, кроткий и смиренный. Клятвами, молитвами и всевозможными ухищрениями он спас многих христиан»<sup>47</sup>, поручился он и за евреев, и за язычников. Впоследствии эти заслуги его были оценены и всеобщим желанием он был рукоположен в католикосы престола Алуанка» (с. 132). В 632 г. на Феодосиопольском соборе армянский католикос Езр Арахезаци (630—641 гг.) принял формулу монофелизма, уступая царю Ираклию, но источники однозначно расценивают этот шаг как принятие халкидонитства. По Себсосу, к Езру примкнула и Алуанская церковь, т. е. ее католикос Захария был халкидонитом. А. А. Акопян, настаивая на антихалкидонитском характере источника и невозможности для такого рода памятника восхвалять халкидонита, считает, что до 632 г. Захария был монофиситом и ИКВ соответственно была написана до 632 г.<sup>48</sup> Из данных ИКВ не следует, что Вирой или Захария были монофиситами. Оба утверждения базируются на том, что ИКВ было антихалкидонитским произведением, в то время как его нельзя отнести даже к антивизантийскому (что вовсе и не всегда одно и то же).

Труд Мовсеса Дасхуранци явно и последовательно антихалкидонитский. Однако антихалкидонитские настроения Мовсеса Дасхуранци не трансформировались в антивизантийские: борьба идей, в основном, шла с отечественными халкидонитами<sup>49</sup>.

Византия и византийцы занимают немного места (в сравнении с «Историей Армении» Иоанна Драсханакертци) на страницах «Истории страны Алуанк». В конце ее помещен очень краткий очерк положения дел в Армении времен царя Ашота Багратуни и его сына Смбата I,

<sup>47</sup> Здесь Ш. В. Смбатян добавляет «из полон» (Мовсес, с. 77). Мне представляется, что в такой вставке нет необходимости. Ромейские войска, как следует из дальнейшего изложения, вели себя, как любая армия на зимних квартирах, т. е. вытаптывали и опустошали селения, но войны они здесь не вели и, следовательно «из полон» никого не угоняли. Да и вскоре персидское войско оттеснило Ираклия в «его страну» (с. 132).

<sup>48</sup> А. А. Акопян. Указ. соч., с. 194.

<sup>49</sup> Ромеи исповедовали халкидонитство—это бесспорно, бесспорно и то, что во время движения на Восток Византия поддерживала халкидонитов и была поддерживаема ими. Но нельзя утверждать, что халкидонитство возникло только в результате экспансии Византии и среди знати. Халкидонитство как сложное и широкое религиозное течение имело и другие пути для завоевания душ кроме войны, о чем говорит его распространение в Алуанке, да и в Сюнике, наиболее удаленных от Византии и не испытывавших ее военного присутствия областях Армении. Мовсес Дасхуранци упоминает о богословском споре Степаноса Сюнеци с армянским аспетом Смбатом, исповедующим две природы Христа (с. 320—321).

Степанос Сюнеци—ученый, философ, переводчик, автор духовных песен, посланий, речей, толкований, по Мовсесу Дасхуранци, именно «в стране ромеев» изыскивал богословские книги для подкрепления аргументации в споре с халкидонитами. Он даже обратился к императору ромеев с просьбой открыть ему книгохранилища и «найдя там книгу о вероисповедании, написанную золотыми буквами, преподнес ее царю» (с. 321). Император отправил Степаноса в Рим за книгами об истинной вере, но обретя эти книги, Степанос вернулся не в Константинополь, а в Армению, т. к. «желал учить свою страну по тем книгам» (с. 321—322).

Мовсес упоминает и о том, что десница Григория Просветителя находилась в Константинополе и была подарена царем ромеев Серобу, епископу Амараса и в связи с этим рассказывает, что сам св. Григорий был рукоположен в Кесарии, которая находилась под властью патриарха ромеев (с. 328).



в их международных контактах и конфликтах отражены только арабы (с. 334—338), а о вассальных отношениях с Византией вообще нет ни слова. Знали, но не упоминал о них осведомленный Мовсес Дасхуранци? Или в глазах историка Алуанка они не были значительны, т. е. не имели в реальной политике его региона такого значения, которое им придает пишущий историю Армении Иоанн Драсханакертци? Однако в немногих посвященных им пассажах византийские императоры характеризуются как правители, получившие власть от бога, благочестивые, храбрые, милостивые к подданным и беспощадные к врагам, справедливые, щедрые (т. е. налицо перечень основных элементов *Keiserides*, восходящий к позднеантичным концепциям и ставших традиционными как в византийской, так и в армянской историографии).

Мовсес Дасхуранци говорит о «великом царстве ромеев», столица которого построена императором Константином, «до того набожным, что ангел божий служил ему и этой верой своей, великой победой сокрушал всех врагов своих» (с. 260, Мовсес, с. 132).

Историки Васпуракана и Алуанского царства, оказавшиеся в X в. в стороне от движения Византии на Восток, поддерживали традицию позитивного отношения к Византии, заданную Иоанном Драсханакертци и продолженную во «Всеобщей истории» Асолика.

Образ великой державы ромеев, единственной опоры армян в борьбе с мусульманским миром, должен был служить, по кардинальной идее труда Иоанна Драсханакертци, созданию сильного и независимого армянского государства, однако, войдя в армянскую историческую традицию, этот образ лег в основу позитивного отношения к идеологическим и политическим ценностям Византийской империи, что послужило основанием, формированию и закреплению армяно-византийской контактной зоны.

### ԲՅՈՒՋԱՆԴՐՈՒՄԻ ԿԵՐՊԱՐԸ X ԴԱՐԻ ՀԱՅ ՊԱՏՄԱԴՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՋ

Պատմ. գիտ. դոկտ. Վ. Ա. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՈՎԱ-ՖԵԴԱՆՅԱՆ (Մոսկվա)

Ա Մ Փ Ո Փ Ո Ւ Մ

Հոդվածում քննության են առնված Բյուզանդիայի մասին պատկերացումները X դարի հայ պատմագրության մեջ: Մուսուլմանական աշխարհի դեմ պայքարի միակ հենարանի՝ «հռոմեացիների» հզոր տերության կերպարը, ըստ Հովհաննես Դրասխանակերտցու երկի առանցքազադափարի, պետք է ծառայեր ուժեղ և անկախ Հայոց պետության ստեղծմանը: Սակայն, սերտաճելով հայ պատմագրության ավանդույթին, այդ կերպարը դրվել է Բյուզանդական կայսրության դադափարախոսական և քաղաքական արժեքների նկատմամբ դրական վերաբերմունքի հիմքում: Այդ ընկալումը հիմք է ծառայել հայ-բյուզանդական առնչությունների դոտու ձևավորման և ամրապնդման համար:

---

Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa

Author(s): Steven Runciman

Source: *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1931), pp. 238-252

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020741>

Accessed: 29/03/2013 00:34

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Cambridge Historical Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## II. SOME REMARKS ON THE IMAGE OF EDESSA

By STEVEN RUNCIMAN

CHRISTIAN relics have never received their due attention in history. Historians, justly suspecting the authenticity of the more eminent of them, have tended therefore to put them all to one side, forgetting that even a forgery can have its historical value; and only the theologians have taken notice of them, in their relations to the apocryphal improvements on Christian thought and story. This neglect is undeserved; for there are some of them that not only throw important sidelights on the history of their times, but even have played an active part in the moulding of that history.

The Image of Edessa, were its authenticity established, would rightly have ranked amongst the first of all the holy relics of Christendom; and in days when pedigrees were less meticulously scrutinised it indeed occupied such a position. Theologians have made it the object of study, chiefly from its connexion with the whole saga of King Abgar. For example, Tixeront has exposed its false claims in his *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, and all the other writers on the Edessan church have had necessarily to refer to it: while von Dobschütz in his *Christusbilder* has given it the honour of a long chapter to itself. But for the last thousand years, since the days of Constantine Porphyrogennetus, secular historians have given it no more than a cursory mention. While the question of authenticity is of theological rather than of historical importance, the fact that the authenticity was for so long accepted by the world is of great historical value, not only as illustrating the state of affairs and mind that led to the various stages of its acceptance, but also in that it enabled this dim piece of canvas to exercise a direct influence on the destinies of Christendom.

The town of Edessa or Urfa stands some seventy miles east of the Euphrates, in a district claimed by geographers alike for Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia. During the last century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. it was the capital of a state called Osrhoene, tributary alternately to the Romans and the Parthians and ruled by a line of Arab

kings most of whom bore the name of Abgar. Christianity reached there in the course of the second century A.D. The first bishop known definitely to history, Palut, who flourished about the year 200, certainly had predecessors<sup>1</sup>; and early in the third century the city authorities had gone over to Christianity, under King Abgar VIII (176–213)<sup>2</sup>, who was deeply influenced by the great but unorthodox teacher Bardesanes. In a few more years Edessa, which was annexed to the Roman Empire in 216, had become the chief centre of Christianity across the Euphrates, and held a certain position as the home of native Syriac Christianity in contrast to the Hellenism of all the other churches of the Levant. This nationalism led to a tendency towards heresy that was continually causing suspicion on the part of the orthodox churches; and so the Edessenes sought to defend themselves by giving their church so irreproachable an origin that no one would dare to attack it.

By the fourth century it was established that the Edessene church was founded during the very lifetime of Christ. According to the story that everyone believed, King Abgar V of Osrhoene (Abgar Ouchamâ, the Black), who reigned from A.D. 13 to 50, heard of Christ and sent an envoy to Him to invite Him to Edessa. Christ refused the invitation but sent back a letter with one of His disciples, Thaddeus or Addai, who converted King Abgar to Christianity. Thus the church of Edessa was founded, though under the persecution of Abgar's wicked successors it practically disappeared.

Historians should not be so much victims to their scepticism as to dismiss a legend as false, unless they can suggest how it was that the false legend arose; for legends are seldom born like Pallas Athene full-grown and fully accoutred from one inventive brain. It is easy to show that the story of Abgar and Jesus as we now have it is untrue, that the letters contain phrases copied from the gospels and are framed according to the dictates of later theology. But that does not necessarily invalidate the tradition on which the story was based; and while we may respect the anxious incredulity that characterises modern believers, we should recognise that there is no reason why King Abgar V should not have suffered from the religious curiosity fashionable at that time, and should not have heard of the Messiah in Palestine and sent to learn more. I do not, however, propose to enter into this difficult question. My concern is with a parasitic growth to the story which in a few centuries entirely covered it.

<sup>1</sup> Addai and Aggai, according to Tixeront (*Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, p. 151). The whole question is discussed and a hypothetical solution given in Burkitt, *Early Eastern Churches*, ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> Gutschmidt's dates, given in *Die Königsnamen in den apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Neue Folge, xix, 2, 171.

The Abgar legend acquired many additions and accumulations. To the further glory of the Syriac church, the number of Abgar's correspondents increased. Miraculous cures were effected. Even the Invention of the Cross was given a Syriac turn and Helena became a princess of Osroene. Of more practical value was Christ's promise that Edessa should never be captured by its enemies. But the chief amongst these additions was the story of the Image of Edessa, the True Likeness of Christ.

The earliest account of the Abgar legend that we now possess is that given by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Book 1, Chapter 13) which he published about the year 325, his version is based, he says, on documents kept at Edessa. In it there is no mention of any portrait of Christ. The next account is contained in the Syriac work known as the *Doctrine of Addai*<sup>3</sup>, which seems to be an emended and enlarged edition of the documents that Eusebius saw at Edessa. I shall discuss its date later.

According to the *Doctrine of Addai* the messenger sent by King Abgar, Ananias, was amongst other things an artist, and during his interview with Christ he painted His portrait, which was brought back to Edessa and hung in the Royal Palace<sup>4</sup>.

Thus a portrait of Christ enters the story. But for about two centuries we hear no more of it: till Evagrius, writing about the year 600, mentions as a well-known fact that there is a portrait of Christ, of divine origin (θεότευκτος) at Edessa, and he proceeds to tell of its miraculous help in the defence of Edessa against the Persians in 544<sup>5</sup>. The portrait of Christ has entered the class of ἀχειροποίητοι icons. Rather more than a century later John Damascene gives us the full story of its origin<sup>5</sup>. The painter sent by Abgar, he says, could not manage to follow the changes on the divine countenance and gave up the portrait in despair. So Christ put His napkin against His face and printed His features upon it. The acheiropoietos icon has become a Veronica icon.

Thenceforward this origin was accepted; but there was still a difficulty which, two centuries later, troubled the writers of the court of Constantine Porphyrogenetus—a school that prided itself on accurate historical research. The continuous history of the Image could only be traced back as far as the siege of 544. Where had it been till then? The answer that they gave was that Abgar's successors had gone back to paganism and the

<sup>3</sup> There is also a fifth-century Armenian translation extant (*Laboudna, Lettre d'Abgar*) translated by the Mechitarist Father Alishan (Venice, 1818), and three ninth- and tenth-century Greek MSS based on it, the Codex Parisinus 548 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Codex Vindobonensis XLV, which gave almost the same version, and the Codex Vindobonensis 315 which gives later variants. See Tixeront, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, ed. and trans. by Phillips (London, 1876), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Evagrius, in Migne [*Patrologia Graeca*], LXXXVI, 2, 2748–9.

Image had been walled up; and it was not till the Persian siege that the bishop had miraculously discovered it. A lamp was still burning before it and during its five centuries of confinement it had managed to reproduce itself. Having been discovered, it then miraculously helped in the defeat of the Persians.

Such, roughly, are the various developments in the legend of the Image. Subsequently minor miracles were attached to it, dealing chiefly with its powers of self-reproduction and the cures that it effected. But these are unimportant; the former class arose to explain the extant replicas of the Image, for it seemed wrong that mortal hands should copy a divinely painted portrait; the latter class belongs to the domain of faith healing, that dangerous field placed between theology and medicine that no one has dared thoroughly to explore. I shall not deal with these minor miracles. Here I want to discuss the real facts that lie behind the metamorphoses, to see how far they illustrate and have affected the course of history.

The first problem is to date the origin of the Image. It is essential here to subdivide this question, to separate the legend that Christ had His portrait painted from the actual icon that existed later at Edessa<sup>6</sup>. The story of the portrait first appears in the *Doctrine of Addai*. Eusebius makes no mention of it in his account of the Abgar legend. Now the *Doctrine of Addai* and Eusebius obviously drew their accounts from the same source, the documents in the Edessene archives cited by Eusebius. But while we know Eusebius to have written his account about the year 320, the *Doctrine of Addai* seems definitely to be post-Nicene in its theology, that is to say, to have been written after 325, though on the other hand it clearly antedates the religious problems of the fifth century<sup>7</sup>; and it would probably be safe to place it before the translation of St Thomas's body to Edessa in 394—as otherwise St Thomas could hardly have been kept out of the story. One may therefore date the first extant version of the legend somewhere in the middle of the fourth century. But the fact that Eusebius does not mention it does not prove that it was not mentioned in the lost archives of Edessa. He includes the passages placed immediately before and after the portrait episode in the account given in the *Doctrine*; but he may well have suppressed the story of the portrait. He disapproved very

<sup>6</sup> It is here that writers like Tixeront fail, in assuming that a legend at once creates the objects that it mentions. Early Christian mentality was not, I think, so invariably childish.

<sup>7</sup> See the theological discussion in Tixeront, *Origines*, ch. iii. But he assumes that the *Doctrine* must post-date the visit of Sylvia-Etheria, because she mentions no icon. That argument is I think valueless. He is also badly handicapped by the fact that when he wrote, Moses of Chorene, who mentions the existence of the icon, was supposed to be a genuine fifth-century author.



strongly of icons. He admitted that pictures of Peter and Paul and even of Christ existed, but he referred to them coldly<sup>8</sup>; and when the Augusta Constantia asked him for an icon of Christ, he snubbed her with an emphatic refusal<sup>9</sup>. It would therefore be strange if he had mentioned a tale that showed Christ Himself to have submitted to portraiture. Eusebius's silence proves nothing. There is also another argument for placing the origin of the legend somewhat earlier. In the course of the fourth century Veronica legends were beginning to appear; it was beginning to be felt that no mortal could ever have painted the divine features, and so icons of Christ were given a miraculous origin. The story of the Death of Pilate, a Veronica story closely akin to the Abgar legend, dates from this century<sup>10</sup>: while Veronica or Berenice herself sometimes even becomes a princess of Edessa<sup>11</sup>. The story in the *Doctrine of Addai* belongs to a simpler earlier stage than these. I am inclined therefore to think that the tradition of the portrait having been painted is very early—possibly Abgar V was a notable patron of the arts—but that Eusebius deliberately suppressed it.

It was the easier for Eusebius to do so, in that no portrait existed at the time at Edessa. Of that we can be certain. The lady pilgrim, known sometimes as Sylvia but more often now as Etheria, who visited Edessa about the year 396<sup>12</sup>, never saw it. She was a sightseer of a thoroughness unrivalled even by the modern American; and, had so interesting a relic then existed, she would certainly have referred to it. But though she saw a statue of King Abgar and his palaces, she saw no icon of Christ. The portrait was therefore only a tradition to be found written down in the archives of Edessa; and the outside world knew of it very vaguely, as was shown by the muddled way in which it was sometimes harnessed to the story of Veronica.

This was the position throughout the fourth and early fifth centuries—there was the tradition of a portrait having been painted, but the portrait itself did not exist. During these years Edessa was being increasingly overrun by heresy; the main body of the Edessene church went over to Monophysitism, and there was a puritanical atmosphere unsuited to the growth of icon legends. The fourth and fifth decades of the sixth century

<sup>8</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii, 18, writing of the statue of Christ that Veronica set up at Caesarea Philippi.

<sup>9</sup> Eusebius, *Epistola ad Constantiam Augustam* (in Migne, xx, 1545).

<sup>10</sup> Given in full in Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 432 ff.

<sup>11</sup> As in the account (written about 400) of Macarius of Magnesia, ed. Blondel (Paris, 1878), p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> I accept the dating given by Weigand ("Zur Datierung der Peregrinatio Aetheriae," in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xx, 1-26), who proves that Meister's date for the pilgrimage (533-540) is untenable, but Etheria visited Edessa shortly after the arrival of St Thomas's body there.

were the heyday of Monophysitism, thanks to the patronage of the Empress Theodora. Under her protection, in 543 a certain Monophysite, Jacob Baradaeus, was consecrated bishop of Edessa, and henceforward Edessa was his headquarters for organising the Monophysite church throughout Syria and Mesopotamia—the church still called Jacobite after his name. Edessa, however, occupied another rôle; it was one of the great fortresses that guarded the imperial frontier against the Persians, and it was filled with a large garrison drawn from all parts of the empire—a garrison unaffected by the Monophysite tendencies of the Syriac church, and probably served by its own aggressively orthodox chaplains<sup>13</sup>.

In 540 King Chosroes I of Persia had declared war on the empire; and in 544 he advanced in full force into Mesopotamia and laid siege to Edessa. The defence of Edessa was a triumph to Byzantine military engineering. The walls of Edessa were tall and strong, but the Persians built a huge tower to overtop them: whence from their great numbers they could swamp the garrison. But before the tower was completed, the defenders burrowed underneath it, made a chamber and filled it with highly inflammable material and set it alight; they then ostentatiously threw brands from the walls. The vast Persian works caught fire from underneath; but the Persians thought that the burning came from above, and so they took the wrong steps to extinguish the flames: till at last it was too late and the whole edifice was consumed. Thereupon Chosroes raised the siege and retired. Such is the account given by Procopius<sup>14</sup>, writing in the cultured circles of the capital and anxious to extol the prowess of the imperial soldiery. At Edessa, however, an addition to the story was told. Evagrius is the first to mention it. Writing half a century later he attributes the flames that saved Edessa to a miracle. Water that had been spattered on the holy Image of Christ was, he says, then cast on the Persian edifice and at once it burst into flame<sup>15</sup>. Four centuries after the siege we get a full story, in the book on the Image written by the disciple of Constantine Porphyrogenetus. Here we learn that when the siege was at its height the Image was discovered by the bishop hidden in the place where Abgar's wicked grandson had walled it up five centuries before. The bishop unearthed it with all due honour and employed it in the successful manner described by Evagrius<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> I owe this and the following argument to v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 106 ff., where he points out that the bishop of this time was Jacob Baradaeus and offers this explanation which I have slightly augmented.

<sup>14</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, I, 12.

<sup>15</sup> Evagrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxi. It is also quoted in full in v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Beilage II. It was clearly not written by Constantine himself, but by one of his courtiers. See Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au Xme siècle*, pp. 105 ff.

It is wrong utterly to reject this later legend, just because Procopius's earthly version makes no mention of it. If he had heard the story he would probably have dismissed it as absurd. But almost certainly there is a foundation for it, a foundation that explains the origin of the actual icon known later as the Image of Edessa. One may conjecture the true story. Edessa in the time of Jacob Baradaeus was full of religious strife; and the orthodox clergy were anxious to have any weapon to strengthen their position. In the stress of the siege, possibly in the course of the mining work, an old icon fell into the hands of the orthodox clergy, who, knowing the tradition, gave it out to be the portrait of Christ. At so desperate a moment it was natural to parade the icon and test its powers; for the divine promise of immunity, the old boast that "Christ stands in front of our city"<sup>17</sup> was no longer carrying conviction. Possibly the garrison clergy, in touch with the military staff, arranged the intervention of the icon to coincide with the completion of the engineering operations; at any rate the icon appeared to achieve the desired result, and Edessa was saved.

Such, I conjecture, are the true facts. Procopius, if he heard them, would not bother to mention them; but the religious Evagrius liked to tell of miracles. By the time of the Constantinian writer the story is somewhat blurred; a miraculous reproduction is added, a fuller past history provided; the discoverer is the bishop. But underlying his account there may well lie a stratum of truth. At the time of the siege there was somewhere hidden in a wall or a cellar, an old icon, whose origin we cannot hope to trace, and there was the old tradition of the portrait sent to Abgar, a tradition growing faint in this Monophysite city. Some orthodox cleric harnessed the two together as a timely political move against the heretics, and thus gave the legend new vitality by providing it with the concrete accompaniment that orthodox piety was beginning to demand.

When the Image emerged into existence it emerged as an "acheiropoietos," an image not made by hands. Probably its sponsors did not know the text of the *Doctrine of Addai* that made the mere mortal Ananias its artist; and anyhow by now it was felt that St Luke alone of mortals was holy enough to have been able to portray the actual features of Christ. Any portrait not by Luke was miraculous. So the Image of Edessa acquired a miraculous origin, though at first the miracle that created it was

<sup>17</sup> These words, quoted from the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (ed. and trans. Wright, p. 53) were no doubt meant metaphorically to refer to Christ's promise of immunity to which Joshua frequently refers (*ibid.* pp. 47, 52). But the Constantinian writer seems to have heard of some such phrase and to have taken it literally—as was natural, the promise by now having been undeniably broken—hence he says that Abgar set up the icon before the gate of the city (*Narratio*, p. 59, in v. Dobschütz's edition).

unknown or at least unrecorded. To Evagrius and to Moses of Chorene, who wrote about the end of the seventh century and probably visited Edessa, it remained vaguely an "acheiropoietos" icon<sup>18</sup>. It was not even the doyen of the "acheiropoietoi"; the Image of Camuliana had a far lengthier and grander history, and its copy, the Image of Melitene, was almost as renowned. Both these icons had been translated in glory to Constantinople, the former in 586, the latter under Heraclius<sup>19</sup>. But in the course of the eighth century it was to outstrip them all.

There were three reasons for this victory. First, the Image of Edessa was able to become what we may call a Veronica. Secondly, it was the one important "acheiropoietos" left outside of Constantinople. Thirdly there was the iconoclastic controversy.

It was almost inevitable that the Image should become a Veronica. Once the idea had been evolved that the divine face could be printed upon the napkin that wiped it, any "acheiropoietos" that was painted upon canvas instead of the more usual wood could hardly escape such an elevation<sup>20</sup>; and the Image of Edessa, though its actual history did not stretch far back, belonged to a family of legends of great antiquity and one which had already had connexions with the Veronica cycle. Moreover the Abgar legend provided a far completer and more convincing setting for its origin than any other icon could claim. We cannot tell when this version first appeared, but it was soon generally accepted; when St John Damascene wrote, about the year 730, he mentioned the story that the Image was printed on a cloth by Christ Himself, in terms that showed that it admitted of no dispute.

The Image was equally helped by remaining in a provincial town—a town, too, that was outside of the empire. In the Middle Ages relics played almost the same part that old masters play to-day: the rich everywhere sought for them and won renown by acquiring them. The emperors built up at Constantinople by far the best collection in the world. But though this added to the glory of Constantinople, it diminished the glory of each particular relic. The Image which in the village of Camuliana seemed marvellous and unique would hardly be noticed next to the Seamless Coat of Christ or the Crown of Thorns or the very Wood of the Cross. But the Image of Edessa had no rivals in its neigh-

<sup>18</sup> Moses of Chorene in his *History of Armenia* calls it merely "the icon of the Saviour—*Pr'gtchagan badgherin*" (p. 134 in Whiston's edition), but in the *Geography* (p. 362 in Whiston's edition) uses the Armenian equivalent of acheiropoietos, calling it an "*antzerakordz badgher*."

<sup>19</sup> Cedrenus, I, 185 (in Bonn edition), *Menaemum of the Emperor Tiberius* (ed. Imbrius, Venice, 1895), pp. 75 ff.

<sup>20</sup> The only variations lay in the question whether the Veronicas were made by water, sweat or the blood sweated at Gethsemane. The Image of Edessa at various times claimed each of these origins.

bourhood, save only its minor companion piece, the correspondence of Christ and King Abgar, a relic that seems to have been valued unexpectedly low<sup>21</sup>. Then the fact that it was preserved outside of the empire gave it a great advantage over its fellows when the empire fell into the hands of heretics.

But it was the Iconoclastic Controversy that raised the Image of Edessa to its greatest eminence. The Eastern world had strangely changed during the last two centuries. In the sixth century the Image had been brought forward by the imperial authorities to counter the Syrian Christians; now the Syrian Christians were using it to counter the imperial authorities. The Moslem conquest had entirely altered the situation. The greater number of the Monophysite heretics of the sixth century had been actuated by political separatist motives rather than by strong views about the nature of Christ. They made no effort to resist the Moslems and most of them were converted to Islam. Thus the Moslem conquest purged the Syrian churches, and though the orthodox were deprived of political power they emerged as easily the supreme Christian sect. They worshipped their icons and were proud of them; and their one important relic outside of Palestine was now the Image of Edessa.

In 725 the Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, issued his famous iconoclastic decree. There were outcries throughout Christendom; but the most able spokesman of all his opponents was a Syrian Christian, John of Damascus. Early in the controversy John Damascene introduced the Image of Edessa<sup>22</sup>. Possibly it had not hitherto been well known at Constantinople; and certainly there were advantages in citing an icon outside the heretic emperor's dominions; but John spoke of it in terms that assumed its authenticity to be unquestionable; and, from the air of triumphant finality with which the other champions of image worship mentioned it, it may be assumed that the iconoclasts never ventured to challenge its value as evidence.

Certainly, if it were accepted, the Image was an unanswerable argument against iconoclasm. There was one other icon which was almost as potent a weapon, the portrait of Mary by St Luke, of which she said: "My grace will go with it"<sup>23</sup>. But while it was possible that even St Luke, just possible that even the Mother of God herself might be mistaken, if Christ had

<sup>21</sup> The whole history of the letter of Christ to Abgar is very obscure. Possibly even in the Middle Ages its authenticity was doubted—there was some question whether Christ's message was written or merely verbal (as in the *Doctrine of Addai*). Certainly it never seems to have been regarded as a major relic. Later we are told of two quite distinct occasions on which the letter was taken from Edessa to Constantinople.

<sup>22</sup> John Damascene, in Migne, xciv, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, ch. xvi, and *De Imaginibus Oratio*, I, ch. xxvii.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted by the Eastern patriarchs, see n. 26, p. 247.

made a print of His own features, then the Christological argument that God cannot be represented falls to the ground; and if Christ sent His portrait to King Abgar in lieu of His person, He must have meant the portrait to be revered with something of the reverence due to Himself. Indeed to the less subtle it offered an argument for unqualified image worship<sup>24</sup>; and as a concrete proof that Christ disagreed with the iconoclastic theories it provided the sort of refutation that carried most weight in the Middle Ages. Subsequent image worshippers returned to it; the patriarch Nicephorus made play with it<sup>25</sup>; the Eastern patriarchs, writing to Theophilus, mentioned it along with St Luke's portrait of Mary<sup>26</sup>; and Theodore the Studite referred to it not only as a proof that Christ wished His features to be perpetuated<sup>27</sup> but also to illustrate how contemplative worship is comparatively worthless "unless the mind picture Him in man's likeness on the right hand of the Father—unless one denies that the Word was made flesh....Abgar worshipped Christ," he continued, "contemplatively<sup>28</sup> when he received faith but he worshipped Him more manifestly in the miraculous image that Christ sent him<sup>29</sup>." The Image had become so reputable a theological authority that even the best intellects of the time were prepared to draw morals from it.

It was perhaps inevitable, considering the temperament of the average Byzantine subject, that iconoclasm should fail. But the orthodox felt that the Image of Edessa had helped them to victory, and its credit rose to unprecedented heights. It is possible that its now world-wide fame helped to popularise Veronica legends in the West. In Constantinople, when orthodox emperors sat once more on the throne, it was marked down as a relic that must at all costs be secured for the imperial collection. At Edessa it became the pride of the town. Even the Moslem emir and his followers, who formed the majority of the citizens, though the Koran bade them look upon portraits with loathing, felt that it did them credit—the Syrian Moslems always held a superstitious regard for Christian relics, and a relic so intimately connected with the Prophet Jesus did, quite illogically, command a certain reverence. Its fame spread round the neighbouring lands, and in Armenia it was thought to be the Veronica itself. But it was in the Arabic-speaking lands that men spoke of it most, as was shown when next it entered into Byzantine history.

<sup>24</sup> The controversy hung largely on verbal subtleties, the difference between *προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία*—the former being the worship championed by the orthodox.

<sup>25</sup> Nicephorus Patriarch, *Antirrhetica*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, c, 461. He refers to it also by implication on p. 260.

<sup>26</sup> Letter to Theophilus, under John Damascene in Migne, xciv, 352.

<sup>27</sup> Theodore Studites, in Migne, xcix, 177.

<sup>28</sup> *νοερώς* is the word that he employs.

<sup>29</sup> Theodore Studites, in Migne, lxiv, 1288. He refers to it briefly on p. 1153.



The public of Constantinople was fickle. After the fall of iconoclasm, the religious controversies that occupied the city were the Photian dispute and next the question of the Emperor Leo VI's fourth marriage. In neither of these could icons play a part, and so the Image of Edessa passed out of men's notice. But towards the middle of the tenth century, under the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus, there was a military revival on the eastern frontier. Imperial armies led by the great general John Curcuas penetrated beyond the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. Edessa, for the first time since the Saracen conquest, became a practicable objective. At once men thought of the Image, and the pious old emperor determined to capture it. But now there was a curious change in its nomenclature. During the iconoclastic controversy the Greek authors, though they knew that the Image was a piece of our Lord's cloth, called it simply an icon. Now they all mentioned it as the "*Μανδύλιον*," while the contemporary Arabic writers called it the "mandil." "Mandil" was a word long engrained in the Arabic language<sup>30</sup>, though probably it was originally derived from the Latin "Mantile" or "Mantilium," our "mantle." But *Mandelon* was new as a Greek word. Owing therefore to the emphatic pride with which the Edessans spoke of their image, the Greeks took over their Arabic name for it; and thus, by that roundabout means, another Latin word entered the Greek language.

At last, in the spring of 943, the imperial armies appeared before Edessa and seemed likely to take the town. But instead of ordering an assault John Curcuas informed the emir that not only would he spare the town but he would also release 200 Moslem prisoners if the Image were handed over to him. The emir did not know what to do. If he refused, Edessa would certainly fall, unless help came from Bagdad—and the authorities there were not in a condition to help him. In despair he sent to the khalif to ask his duty.

Once again the Image of Edessa played an active rôle in history. John Curcuas held up his campaign till the matter was settled, contenting himself merely with raiding Dara and Ras Ain, though all Mesopotamia lay at his mercy and he might even have struck a deadly blow against the Hamdanids. Meanwhile at Bagdad the khalif sat with his counsellors, and a strange debate was held. The cadis whom he consulted were all careful to say that of course the Image had no intrinsic value, but at the same time they could not bear to let an object so greatly venerated by the Christians pass out of their hands. Throughout the speeches there showed the curious half-respect that the Moslems held for Christian relics. But at

<sup>30</sup> "Mandil" has in Arabic the plural "Man-i-dil"—a form that few foreign words ever acquired. It means a cloth or handkerchief.

last the wise old ex-Vizier Ali Ibn-Iza, a pillar of blameless piety, convinced them that the liberation of fellow-Moslems outweighed all other considerations. The Image must be given up<sup>31</sup>. This decision was carried back to Edessa; and in the early spring of 944 Abraham, Bishop of Samosata, a town that had recently acknowledged imperial suzerainty, was deputed to receive the Image in the name of the emperor.

Abraham had a difficult task. The Image, as we have seen, had the power of miraculously reproducing itself, and two copies existed at Edessa, the one in a Nestorian church and the other with the original—this latter had come into being to cure a Persian princess, the daughter of King Chosroes. The inhabitants wanted to pass off one of these copies on Abraham; so to avoid all risks he insisted on having all three pictures<sup>32</sup>. At the same time he demanded the letter written by Christ to Abgar. But here he was less successful; the Edessenes managed, it seems, to give him a copy, for in 1032 we hear once again that the divine letter was handed over to the imperial general and sent to Constantinople<sup>33</sup>. The Edessenes, Moslem and Christian alike, were very loath to let the Image go. The emir had to use all his authority to prevent riots breaking out; and when Abraham, accompanied by the Bishop of Edessa, finally set out, a rabble followed them to the banks of the Euphrates and would have taken the Image from them, had not the bishop's boat been wafted with miraculous speed without the help of oars or rudder across the river. The Image made a short stay at Samosata, where many unspecified marvels occurred; then it resumed the road to Constantinople. The last portion of the journey was made by sea. The Paracoemomenos Theophanes met it at the mouth of the river Sakaria and escorted it for the rest of the way; how far the oriental bishops travelled is unknown.

On the outskirts of Constantinople the Image declared its political opinions. The reigning Emperor Romanus Lecapenus had twenty-five years before usurped the throne of his son-in-law Constantine Porphyrogennetus. Romanus was very old now and the question of his successor was becoming acute; would the Emperor Constantine regain control, or would Romanus's sons, Stephen and Constantine, already crowned emperors, oust him? As the Image was lodged at the monastery of Eusebius in the Optimatan theme, a possessed man saw it and cried: "Constantinople,

<sup>31</sup> See the account given in *Ali Ibn-Isa* by H. C. Bowen (Cambridge, 1928), to whom personally I am indebted for information on the Arabic attitude to the Image.

<sup>32</sup> Actually all the reproductions described to us were made on tiles, so the bishop should not have had much difficulty. Two copies on tiles were shown to Anthony of Novgorod and to Robert de Clari (see below).

<sup>33</sup> The Constantinian writer mentions the letter as coming with the Image, but Cedrenus, II, 501 (in Bonn edition), speaks definitely of the letter written to Abgar by the hand of Christ coming to Constantinople in 1032.

take the glory and grace, and you, Constantine the Purple-born, your realm," and was straightway healed. On 15 August 944, the Image reached Constantinople and passed the night at the church at Blachernae; next day the three younger emperors—Romanus himself was too ill to appear—and the patriarch, Romanus's son Theophylact, took the Image in procession round the land walls and the sea walls of the city, then in through the Golden Gate to St Sophia. Eventually it was deposited in the church by the lighthouse, that is to say, the Palace Chapel of Bucoleon. The letter of Christ or its copy was placed there with the Image, but the two reproductions of the Image were sent back to Edessa<sup>34</sup>.

Miracles continued to accompany it. During the procession through the city a paralytic was cured by the mere sight of it. A little later the holy hermit Paul (surnamed of Latrum) asked a court official called Photius to apply a cloth of the same size to it and then to send it to him. When he opened out the cloth St Paul found a complete reproduction of the portrait on it. Unfortunately no one but the saint could see it<sup>35</sup>. A somewhat similar incident occurred when the young emperors had their special view of it—ordinarily it was probably covered over with metal work—an incident which provides the only information that we have of its appearance. When it was displayed to them Constantine Porphyrogenetus saw the whole portrait very clearly, but to his wicked brothers-in-law it seemed extremely blurred<sup>36</sup>. It is possible that the young Lecapeni were drunk: though in that case it was curious that Constantine, who was notoriously fond of stimulants, should have missed the opportunity of drinking too. More probably one needed the intense faith that characterised Constantine to decipher the divine features. To the ordinary mortal the picture was in fact decidedly worn and dim; and its worthlessness as a work of art or as a portrait helped in the decline of its prestige.

For, like almost every icon that took the road to Constantinople, magnificent though the journey was, on its arrival the Image of Edessa fell into the background. There were too many rivals at Constantinople. In the Bucoleon chapel, where the Image was housed, there were the major relics of Christendom, the Crown of Thorns, the Wood of the Cross, the Holy Blood, the Lance that pierced Our Lord's side, His Seamless Coat, the Sponge that gave Him vinegar, and many others of almost equal rank. In such company this smudged piece of cloth was impressive only to those who knew its history. However, travellers to Constantinople con-

<sup>34</sup> *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, pp. 73–85 in v. Dobschütz—the fullest and most credulous account: *Theophanes Continuatus*, pp. 432 ff. (Bonn edition), which has slight but not inconsistent variations.

<sup>35</sup> "Vita S. Pauli in Latro" in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xi (1892), 150 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Theophanes Cont.* p. 432.

tinued to mention it amongst the objects to be noted in the great collection: William of Malmesbury, William of Tyre and Anthony of Novgorod, amongst others, put it in their lists, but gave many other relics precedence over it; and some visitors like the Scandinavian Nicholas of Thingeyrar apparently did not know clearly what it was<sup>37</sup>. It was a sad afternoon to its great career.

But worse was to follow. In 1204 the Crusaders, exchanging their piety for greed and envy, captured Constantinople, and the great collections of relics were destroyed or dispersed. At first those housed in the Bucoleon chapel were left where they were as the property of the new Latin emperor. But the Latin emperors were extravagant and incompetent. By 1239 the Emperor Baldwin II was in desperate financial straits. He had sold the lead from his roofs, he had even pawned his son, and now he took the final step of disposing of his relics. That year the Crown of Thorns passed to the Venetian money-lenders, and during the next seven years the whole collection followed one by one. When the Venetians put the relics on to the market they were all bought up by St Louis, the King of France. He, however, felt that such a method of acquisition was not very satisfactory; so in 1247 he induced Baldwin to issue a Golden Bull transferring all rights of possession from the emperor to himself. Among the relics listed in the bull was a holy towel—*sanctam toellam tabulae infertam*. This is the Image of Edessa<sup>38</sup>.

So the Image of Edessa journeyed to Paris and found its last resting-place in the Sainte Chapelle. But on this journey and in its new home the Image was still overshadowed by its neighbouring relics. Consequently its true fate was hardly known. But everyone knew that it had travelled westward; and soon any church that possessed a portrait of Christ painted on canvas and could not claim it to be the Veronica—the icon at St Peter's by now had papal approval in usurping that position—claimed it to be the Image of Edessa. The Persian author Xavier, who wrote about the year 1600 and took an interest in the Abgar legend, said that the Image was to be seen at Genoa<sup>39</sup>. Others placed it "*in titulo sancti Silvestri*" at Rome<sup>40</sup>. Actually it was lying at Paris barely noticed save by officials that periodically made an inventory of the chapel treasury.

<sup>37</sup> Their lists are given in De Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II, 211 ff. Nicholas of Thingeyrar's *maettull* is clearly the same as William of Malmesbury's *mantile*; but the latter adds "quod visui Domini applicatum imaginem vultus eius retinuit," whereas Nicholas does not apparently possess this information.

<sup>38</sup> The bull is quoted in full in De Riant, *op. cit.* II, 135 ff. De Riant (*Exuviae*, I, clxxxi) is certainly right in identifying this *toella* as the Image. Robert de Clari calls it a *touaille* (*ibid. loc. cit.*) in his inventory of relics taken at the time of the capture of the city; and it occurs at roughly the same place in the Chrysobull as in the various lists.

<sup>39</sup> Xavier, *Historia Christi*, ed. de Dieu (Leyden, 1694), p. 358.

<sup>40</sup> Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 944, no. xvi.

The end came in 1792, when the godless revolutionaries sacked the Sainte Chapelle and destroyed or lost all its contents. And so amid the birth pangs of Modern Europe the Holy Image of Edessa passed from history.

Such, briefly, was the career of the Image of Edessa, a career to whose active distinction few other pieces of canvas have attained. It had had many achievements to its credit. When first it was discovered by the well-timed ingenuity of an orthodox priest, it acted as a weapon against Jacobite heresy; and its efficiency is proved by the readiness with which its authenticity was everywhere accepted. Next, with its divine origin thought unimpeachable, it was able to act as a weapon against another and far more powerful heresy, the iconoclasm that the emperors attempted to force upon Christendom, and to provide an unanswerable argument for the orthodox. Thenceforward its renown was enormous, particularly in its native city where even the heretic Nestorians eagerly preserved a copy of it, and this renown was enough to affect the course of a whole Byzantine campaign, when John Curcuas threw away triumphs and the chance of greater triumphs in the pious and well-praised desire to secure it for his imperial master. And underlying these achievements we can watch the general flow of ideas in the medieval Levant, how legends grew and altered there, and how great a part was played by the Christian subjects of the khalifate, whose spokesmen swayed the opinions of Christendom and whose relics could have such world-wide glory that the emperors longed for them and even the Moslems felt a strange awe for them. The Image of Edessa did indeed outlive its greatness. Its last action was to provide a little money for the disreputable ruler of a dying empire; and there followed five centuries of unworthy obscurity. But its admirable activities entitled it to rest; and they entitle it now to be given some day the honour of a full-length biography.



---

## The History of the Image of Edessa : The Telling of a Story

Author(s): AVERIL CAMERON

Source: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students (1983), pp. 80-94

Published by: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036083>

Accessed: 20-02-2017 02:26 UTC

### REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036083?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036083?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents)

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>



*Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*



## The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story

AVERIL CAMERON

There is no doubt that in Byzantine society religion had so far extended its domain that it constituted the single most important set of power relations. How and why that situation came about belongs not to Byzantine history, but to the history of late antiquity, where, as always, it is easier to document the change than to explain it. Nevertheless, to see the development over time of a single religious token, as we can with the image of Edessa, an image of Christ “not made by human hands,” will help us to see both where the shifts take place and what the crisis points are. For the thought-world of the Byzantines was not, as is so commonly supposed, entirely static and self-contained: it, too, developed and changed over time, even if the development took the form, as it often did, of a defensive reaffirmation in stronger and more all-embracing terms of the attitudes already adopted. Probably the hardest problem confronting the modern Byzantinist is to understand, with the full degree of seriousness which it deserves, the centrality of religion in the Byzantine world-order, to see how it functioned, and to avoid an anachronistic separation between “purely religious” elements in a given situation and “underlying” or even “real” social or economic factors. In the case of the image of Edessa, and almost uniquely here, we are able to see over time how embedded religion was in Byzantine society and, above all, how the “telling” of the image was progressively extended and developed as new situations arose. It is a long story, but one which can be very suggestive for the problem outlined above.

It very soon becomes clear, for instance, that the Mandylion of Edessa, the miraculous portrait of Christ on a cloth known and loved by generations of Slavs through countless copies in Slavic churches<sup>1</sup> and venerated by Russian soldiers as recently as during the First World War, cannot be traced back either as a miraculous image or as an impression

<sup>1</sup> See A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon: Le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe, Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1931).

on cloth, as distinct from a painted picture, beyond the sixth century. The universal understanding of later writers that this image of Christ was somehow miraculously created simply does not occur in the earliest literary sources. This understanding itself goes back to the moment when icons had assumed a special and contemporary significance, and the detailed stories of its origin follow naturally upon that understanding. We can best see how the notion of a picture of Christ at Edessa gathered round itself greater and greater symbolic value by surveying the texts in order, beginning with the earliest.<sup>2</sup> The fullest, not surprisingly, is the latest, namely, the *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, composed to commemorate the arrival of the image in Constantinople in A.D. 944; but we can only approach the *Narratio* after a full consideration of what went before.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest reference, in fact, to a picture of Christ at Edessa (modern Urfa in Turkey) occurs in a Syriac work known as the *Doctrina Addai*, which in its present form seems to date from about A.D. 400.<sup>4</sup> Eusebius had told the story of King Abgar's letter to Jesus and Jesus' reply in the *Church History*, around 300,<sup>5</sup> claiming to have derived it from city records in Edessa, but not mentioning any picture. While some have claimed that he might have omitted such a reference because of his own distaste for religious images,<sup>6</sup> it seems likelier that the motif of the picture entered the complex of the Abgar legend only later, since the

<sup>2</sup> For an earlier chronological survey, see the excellent paper by S. Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 238-52; Averil Cameron, "The Sceptic and the Shroud," Inaugural Lecture, King's College, London (1980) (= *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* [London, 1981], chap. V), where the subject is treated obliquely. I am glad to have the chance of developing this more straightforwardly. For Edessa in general, J. B. Segal's *Edessa: The "Blessed City"* (Oxford, 1970), though impressionistic in parts, is still very useful.

<sup>3</sup> Thus it is quite wrong to make it primary, as does Ian Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin* (New York and London, 1978) (= *The Turin Shroud* [Harmondsworth, 1979]), e.g., chap. 15. The notion that the Mandylion of Edessa and the Shroud now at Turin are one and the same thing is quite impossible (see fn. 2 above). The *Narratio* is to be found at PG 113: 425ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. and trans. G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle* (London, 1876). A full treatment of the early texts will be found in E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 120ff.; see now also H. J. W. Drijvers, "Edessa," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin), 9 (1981): 277-88.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.13. For the latest view on the date of Eusebius's *Church History*, see T. D. Barnes, "The Editions of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980): 191-201, who has Eusebius beginning it in the mid 290s.

<sup>6</sup> Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 241f. For a valiant attempt to argue against this general attitude in Eusebius, see Sister C. Murray, "Art and the Early Church," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 303-345.

pilgrim Aetheria, who visited Edessa in about A.D. 380, saw no picture, but merely the letter of Jesus.<sup>7</sup> No doubt the *Doctrina Addai* derives from the same set of material known to Eusebius, but that the picture was an element added to the story at a late stage also seems likely because two sixth- or seventh-century papyri which appear to preserve variants of the whole complex earlier than and distinct from that of the *Doctrina* are equally without mention of a picture.<sup>8</sup> We must now ask, therefore, what the story of the picture in the *Doctrina* amounts to and why it should have entered an otherwise self-contained complex of myth at precisely this stage.

A close look at the *Doctrina* reveals that already there has been some conflation of personages. Abgar sent to Jesus among other envoys one Hannan (Greek Ananias), described as the keeper of the archives, who is said to have written down for the king everything he saw Jesus doing and all that he heard him say. The next stage is the sending of a letter, again via Hannan, to whom Jesus also dictated his reply. We then learn that Hannan was the king's painter, and that he painted a picture of Christ for Abgar. But the conversion of Abgar is not achieved here (as it is in later texts) by the sight of the picture: the conversion of Edessa is apparently laid upon Thomas after the ascension of Christ, and Thomas in turn sends Addai (Greek Thaddaeus), who is at the centre of this text. It is Addai who cures Abgar of his disease, and it is through Addai that Abgar becomes a Christian. Clearly this text is concerned with the apostolic origins of the church of Edessa, that is, with affirming its authority.<sup>9</sup> Here the picture is of minimum importance. Yet there are already several different elements uneasily coexisting: the letter, the picture, Hannan, Addai, Thomas. There was already an established connection between Thomas and Edessa, and the pilgrim Aetheria came to see Thomas's shrine.<sup>10</sup> The *Doctrina*, however, promotes the claim that Addai brought Christianity to Edessa, with a rather crude attempt to harmonize this story with the existing ones about the letter and with the Thomas connection. By the sixth or seventh century, as the Greek

<sup>7</sup> *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, 19, ed. H. Petré, in *Sources chrétiennes* 21 (1948): 162-71.

<sup>8</sup> R. Peppermüller, "Griechische Papyrusfragmente der *Doctrina Addai*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971): 289-301.

<sup>9</sup> It is likely, in fact, that Christianity came to Edessa in the second century.

<sup>10</sup> For Thomas and Edessa, see Drijvers, "Edessa," pp. 282f.; A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa, de Stad van de Apostel Thomas* (Baarn, 1962). The *Acts of Thomas* are of the third century and have been thought to have originated in Edessa; already, however, Thomas is presented as the apostle of Parthia and India.

*Acts of Thaddaeus* (Addai) show,<sup>11</sup> the emphasis has changed; though Addai is still the nominal hero of the *Acts*, the agent of Abgar's conversion is the picture, which is now a miraculous picture on cloth; furthermore, the cure takes place even before Addai arrives at Edessa. Thomas can now be discarded altogether, because now everyone knows that what really mattered in this complex was the image of Christ. Further, Hannan's role has had to be modified: he could not have painted the picture if it was a miraculous image. So we read that indeed he was unable to do so, whereupon Christ took a cloth, asked for water with which to wet his face, and then impressed his image on the cloth. From now on, this or a version of it becomes the standard explanation for the origin of the image.<sup>12</sup> By comparison, the reference to a picture in the *Doctrina Addai* is unemphatic and low-key; the thrust of the text is clearly concentrated elsewhere. Thus the entry of the picture into the tradition is likely to be for unspectacular reasons.<sup>13</sup> While the letter was venerated not only in Edessa but over a wide area, it probably had its critics:<sup>14</sup> an extra proof would be welcome to the Edessan church authorities, and would by this time be likely to take pictorial form. An authentic picture of Jesus would be more immediate and persuasive evidence of the unimpeachable origins of Edessan Orthodox Christianity than even a supposed letter, which after all was only dictated. The transfer from letter to picture — or, rather, the juxtaposition of letter and picture — is part of the move towards the codification of the religious discourse. By telling about the religious tokens, and by increasing its complexity, the subject's potential is increased. Thus the "addition" of the picture is not an unfortunate accretion to be swept away by the historian,<sup>15</sup> but a deliberate move in the Christianization process needing full appreciation. And the recording of this move in literary texts (and, we must suppose, spoken intercourse, too) is a crucial part of the process. The move necessitated an actual picture, and called forth explanations of the picture's origins; but at the same time the explanations gave the picture (and later the miraculous image) its real power in society.

<sup>11</sup> See below, fn. 32.

<sup>12</sup> For example, St. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* IV.16; *De imaginibus* I.27.

<sup>13</sup> Rather than as a counterpart to pictures of Mani (Drijvers, "Edessa," p. 280).

<sup>14</sup> It was officially declared apocryphal in 494 (E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, vol. 8 [Leipzig, 1912]). Procopius seems to reflect some doubt — see below and fn. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 239: "a parasitic growth to the story which in a few centuries entirely covered it." But the story was not a "given" at a particular point in time, but a growing and changing phenomenon.

These explanations were not slow in forthcoming, once the further idea of icons not made by human hands had spread. For a time, the simple notion of Hannan's painting was sufficient. But by the late sixth century the first of the icons "not made by human hands" had appeared in the Syriac-speaking milieu to which Edessa belonged.<sup>16</sup> Chief among them was the Camuliana icon, first attested in Syria in 558 and taken to Constantinople by 574.<sup>17</sup> The official hierarchy, therefore, recognized the potential of these powerful religious tokens; the Camuliana Christ-icon was paraded round the battlefield and on the walls of Constantinople, and both events were fully recorded.<sup>18</sup> Thus the icon acquired a multifaceted role, both in private devotion and as a symbol of unity. It was only to be expected that the image at Edessa should also serve to fulfil these new functions. Perhaps the only too human painting by Hannan (or what passed for such) had been lost. At any rate, we hear for the first time at the end of the sixth century of just such a miraculous image at Edessa, "found" in the city gate by the bishop just at the time of the greatest Persian threat to the city, in A.D. 544.<sup>19</sup> The problems surrounding the date of the first appearance of the real icon (to which I shall return) are of less interest in themselves than the setting in which the "finding" was located in the later texts. For Edessa in A.D. 544 was deeply divided; not only were there some who looked for ways of avoiding the fate that had befallen Antioch in 540 by making a rapprochement with Chosroes, but the church was at odds internally. Jacob Bar'adai had very recently been made Monophysite bishop of Edessa—in name only, it is true, yet with a rapidly growing constituency.<sup>20</sup> The Orthodox needed a counterweight to his magnetic pull, just as they needed an explanation for why Edessa was actually spared, if at high cost. We shall see the rival religious groups wrangling over possession of the image in the seventh century; and a similar context, together with the tension of extreme danger from the Persian army, was the stage for the image's "finding."

Evagrius, writing at the end of the sixth century, had no doubt that Edessa had been saved by the miraculous image. Yet Procopius, who

<sup>16</sup> See E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 8 (1954): 85-150.

<sup>17</sup> See Averil Cameron, "Images of Authority: Elites, Icons, and Cultural Change in late sixth-century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 84 (1979): 18ff.

<sup>18</sup> A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), pp. 31ff.

<sup>19</sup> Evagrius, *HE* IV.27.

<sup>20</sup> E. Honigsmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, CSCO Subsidia, 2 (Louvain, 1951); W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 283ff.

wrote much nearer to the time of the actual events and had a detailed knowledge of Edessa, did not even mention it.<sup>21</sup> It has been thought that the “rational historian like Eusebius” would have left it out.<sup>22</sup> But Procopius was no more rational than Evagrius. He did not leave out the miracle which saved Apamea from Chosroes on the same occasion, nor the efforts of Bishop Megas of Beroea, nor the sign sent from God before the sack of Antioch.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, he knew of the letter of Jesus at Edessa and was clearly intrigued by it; his “rationalist” doubts about the authenticity of its addendum promising that Edessa would never be captured did not prevent him from concluding that the letter and its addition served a useful social purpose for the Edessenes.<sup>24</sup> It is very hard to believe that Procopius would have left the image out of his account, had he known of it. Much simpler to suppose that the miraculous image was “found” only after the event, and that its immediate function was to justify a course of action taken by a certain sector of the Edessenes. Evagrius, whose bias was deeply Orthodox, very naturally emphasized the “miracle” which saved the town from the Persians, for it was an Orthodox miracle, and the image was housed in the newly rebuilt Orthodox cathedral. Procopius, on the other hand, did not mention it, not merely because he did not know it, but because it did not yet exist. He was, indeed, writing very soon after 544, certainly before 550.<sup>25</sup> Thus the image was born during the tense questioning which would have followed Edessa’s costly escape from Chosroes. By comparison, when Evagrius wrote, in the 590s, such icons in Byzantine-Persian warfare had become almost a commonplace,<sup>26</sup> and the connection of Edessa’s escape with a miraculous icon would have been fitting.

Another, less easily dated text bears on this question of date: a hymn in Syriac celebrating the rebuilt Orthodox cathedral at Edessa, which mentions the image.<sup>27</sup> We have a *terminus post quem* for the church, and thus for the image, of A.D. 553, when Amazonius became bishop.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> BP II.26-27 (and cf. 12.6-13.11).

<sup>22</sup> Runciman, “Some Remarks” (fn. 4), p. 244.

<sup>23</sup> Apamea: BP II.11. 14-30; *ibid.*, 6.17f.; Antioch: *ibid.*, 10.1.

<sup>24</sup> BP II.12.30.

<sup>25</sup> Books 1 to 7 of the *Wars* were finished in 550 (B. Rubin, *Prokopios von Kaisareia* [Stuttgart, 1954], pp. 80-81).

<sup>26</sup> Cameron, “Images of Authority,” p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> A. Grabar, “La témoignage d’une hymne syriaque sur l’architecture de la cathédrale d’Edesse au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle et sur la symbolique de l’édifice chrétien,” *Cahiers archéologique* 2 (1947): 41ff.; translation: C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), pp. 57ff.

<sup>28</sup> According to Jacob of Edessa, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO Script. Syri III*. iv (Paris, 1905), p. 243.



There are problems about the interpretation of the reference to the image, and it is oddly unemphasized for something that was to become so celebrated so soon.<sup>29</sup> Yet the hymn does refer clearly enough to an image not made by human hands, at a time very soon after the Persian attack, though later than Procopius's *Persian Wars*. By contrast, the author of the Syriac *Chronicle of Edessa*, written soon after 544, already used the theme of divine intervention in the escape of Edessa from Chosroes, but with no mention of a miraculous image.<sup>30</sup> All this points to an emergence, by some means or other, of a miraculous image at Edessa in the middle of the sixth century. The discourse had thickened, yet at its heart was a physical object, which we must now consider.

For there seems to have been a change in the object — or, if not that, then a change in the way in which the object was seen. From now on, the texts refer to a miraculous impression on *cloth*. Paint was not enough; the image must have been transferred by Christ himself as he pressed a napkin to his moistened face: an alternative has it bedewed with sweat during the agony in the garden.<sup>31</sup> This development is the product both of an increasingly persistent call for the most immediate memorials of Christ — for whom there was, after all, nothing to equal the Virgin's robe and girdle at Constantinople or her house at Ephesus — and of the growing complexity of the discourse about the image. More and more detail was being added about the origins of the image, and an account of its exact miraculous coming-into-being was now a prerequisite for a satisfactory understanding. Thus the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus*<sup>32</sup> know the image as an impression on a cloth, as we have seen. Hannan is on his way down to second-rank, but has retained a place in the story. The image, however, is central, even over the part played by Thaddaeus himself. As yet, though, we do not find the embroidery that Hannan was prevented from painting Christ's picture by the radiance of the divine presence, or the conflation of the Hannan and Thaddaeus stories that make Thaddaeus-Addai the bearer of the image to Edessa. The total story grows only gradually. Another text seems to point to the notion of a cloth already in the seventh century, namely, the odd passage in the

<sup>29</sup> See Cameron, "The Sceptic and the Shroud," pp. 9-10.

<sup>30</sup> Ed. I. Guidi, *CSCO Script. Syri* III.xiv.1 (Paris, 1903), trans., p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Narratio*, PG 113:432D f.

<sup>32</sup> R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 273-78.

*Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, a distorted text written in Greek but surviving only in Ethiopic, where a Jew of Alexandria called Aubaruns is said to have possessed the *mandil* and towel with which Christ girded himself when he washed the feet of the disciples; these objects are said to have passed to the church of the Tabenniosites in Alexandria in the early sixth century (patriarchate of Timothy, 517-35).<sup>33</sup> Surely this is a garbled version of the Abgar legend, and it links Abgar with a cloth. It also seems to show that the term *mandylion* (meaning “small cloth, kerchief, napkin”) was beginning to be applied to the image on the cloth, or rather to the cloth itself, almost as soon as the idea of a cloth took hold. The Arabic *mandil*, later also applied to the image, is obviously a Greek loan-word,<sup>34</sup> and means much the same as the Greek (in turn derived from the Latin *mantelium* or *mantele*). Another important element has entered the complex: the image of Edessa is to be thought of as an impression on a small cloth, the sort that a man might use to wipe his face, and this is how it is glossed in the later Greek writers.<sup>35</sup>

A natural question is what was the image of Edessa actually like. Was there at some stage an actual substitution of a piece of cloth for a painted icon? Or did the image always look much as any other ancient icon might have looked, even if the local people told themselves that it was on a piece of cloth? The tenth-century *Narratio* tells of its having been nailed onto a board, and fixed in a gold frame.<sup>36</sup> Probably it was indistinguishable from any other precious Christ-icon; what changed was the discourse, not the object. That, at any rate, is what is suggested by references to painted copies being made well enough to be mistaken for the original.<sup>37</sup> The language for the description of works of art is notoriously elusive and ambiguous. The word *eikon*, for instance, continued to be commonly used for the image by writers who were convinced that it was an impression on a cloth, while the language of painting could be applied to it with an equal freedom. Most telling, however, is probably the account by Michael the Syrian of copies made from the image in the early Arab period; the artist carefully used dim colours so that the copy would look old, which suggests to me (for we

<sup>33</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated from Zotenberg's *Ethiopic text* (London, 1916), pp. 144-45.

<sup>34</sup> See below on Eutychius, fn. 48.

<sup>35</sup> E.g., by *cheiromaktron* (*Narratio*, PG 113:429D) or *soundarion* (e.g., Germanus of Constantinople; see fn. 41 below).

<sup>36</sup> PG 113:437A.

<sup>37</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XI.16, trans. J.-B. Chabot, II.iii (Paris, 1904), pp. 475 ff.

are also told that this copy fooled people into accepting it as the original) that the image never actually looked like a cloth at all. For this reason, we must conclude that the artist of the Sinai icon of Abgar and the Mandylion, in which the depiction is of a free-flowing cloth, was using his imagination;<sup>38</sup> the reality must have looked quite different.

The early Arab period in Edessa, and the years immediately preceding it, were in fact crucial in the development of stories about the image. Just as the miraculous image had been "found" in a context of tension and division, so now it became a talisman fought over by Monophysites and Orthodox. The reign of Maurice (582-602) saw severe struggles between the two groups, during which four hundred Monophysite monks were said to have been killed. Later, however, the Monophysites (or "Jacobites") gained the upper hand, and had gained control of the cathedral of Edessa under Heraclius, since that emperor had handed it back to the Orthodox.<sup>39</sup> It was at this point that a copy was made by the Jacobites and (so the story goes) passed off to the Orthodox as the genuine article.<sup>40</sup> In the last years of Byzantine rule in Edessa, the image's political potential, which had been there from the beginning, was greatly intensified, and, we must suppose, the detailed story of its origins as a face-cloth was worked out, giving it an even greater claim to authoritative and immediate contact with Christ. Certainly by the early eighth century the image had achieved a wider fame, though Edessa itself was cut off from the Byzantine world by Arab rule. Two factors worked to increase its prestige and indeed to preserve it—the Iconoclastic controversy and the control of Edessa by the Arabs. The former called forth a yet more developed codification of the meaning of icons, in which the image of Edessa now held a central place; the latter protected the image from the destruction which was the lot of most of the great icons in the Byzantine world, while allowing its reputation to grow unhindered, for the Arabs made no attempt to weaken or destroy the church in Syria. A heightening of the political role of the image, therefore, was followed by a set of circumstances which peculiarly favoured its rise to become the major surviving early icon during the Iconoclastic period.

In this process, a crucial factor was the amount of attention given to it in contemporary iconophile writings, even though as a miraculous

<sup>38</sup> See K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *Cahiers archéologiques* 11 (1960): 163-84.

<sup>39</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X.23, XI.3; see R. Devréesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1945), p. 293.

<sup>40</sup> See fn. 36.

image not made by human hands it was strictly irrelevant in the technical arguments about the circumscribability of Christ. Nevertheless, iconophiles appealed to the prestige and tradition surrounding the image and to its authority as, they believed, contemporary witness to the appearance of Christ. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople deposed in 730 by Leo III for his support of icons, cited the example of the image of Edessa in a speech made before the emperor.<sup>41</sup> Above all, St. John Damascene, the greatest defender and apologist of icons in the eighth century, who himself wrote under Moslem rule, more than once used the same example, clearly drawing on the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus*.<sup>42</sup> These passages in the works of Germanus and John Damascene became famous; the patriarch Nicephorus, himself deposed by the Iconoclast emperor Leo V in 815, repeated Germanus's arguments about the Edessan image almost *verbatim*.<sup>43</sup> And so, through Iconoclasm and the debates to which it gave rise, the image of Edessa was transformed from a local possession fought over by local groups into a major religious token in the Christian east as a whole. The iconophile writers of the eighth and ninth centuries brought it out into the full glare of publicity and made the image the centre of a far wider debate than had touched it in Edessa itself.

We can still, however, capture a glimpse of the local honour paid to the image in the eighth and ninth centuries from the work of Theodore Abū Qurrah, bishop of Ḥarrān in the late eighth to ninth century, who wrote a treatise on images in Arabic in which the preeminence of the image of Edessa is clear.<sup>44</sup> For Theodore, the most notable of all images is that "in our city" (i.e., Edessa). To bring that home to any who did not appreciate how sanctified the image was, he resorted to some strange examples: supposing, he said, that there was a picture of someone's father on the door of the church and everyone spat on it as they went in—how would the son feel?<sup>45</sup> Or—and here we see the kind of

<sup>41</sup> Quoted by George Monachus, *Chron.*, p. 740 de Boor, and cf. p. 321.16f.

<sup>42</sup> See fn. 12.

<sup>43</sup> *PG* 100:461A, with 260.

<sup>44</sup> Theodori Abu Qurra, *De Cultu Imaginum*, ed. J. Arendzen (Bonn, 1897), chap. 23, pp. 46-47; translation: G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra* (Paderborn, 1910), pp. 328-30. A happy meeting with Dr. Sydney Griffith, who is preparing a new edition of Theodore's work, drew my attention to its importance, as to that of Eutychius (see below).

<sup>45</sup> Theodore, chap. 23. As Dr. Griffith points out, Theodore's immediate concern was a pastoral one, to defend images in general, and especially the image of Edessa from critics near at home who were evidently protesting at the honours paid to it.

argument that was offered by the opponents of images — suppose there was a king whose mother had committed adultery, and that a painter had painted a picture of her in the act and then showed it all round the city — would not the king grow furiously angry and tear the painter limb from limb? It would be no kind of defence, Theodore continued, for the wretched painter to cry “I’ve done nothing to your mother; it’s only paint.” It was obvious, then, that the attention paid to an image, good or bad, was attention paid to the person represented. Honouring the image of Christ at Edessa with processions and feast days was the same as honouring Christ,<sup>46</sup> and conversely, insults to the image were insults to Christ. So Theodore spoke of the homage paid to the image in Edessa just after 800.<sup>47</sup> Clearly, iconoclastic arguments had reached Edessa, probably from Moslem as well as Byzantine quarters, and provoked in men like Theodore an intensified devotion to images and a detailed defence. The image’s holiness had been taken for granted in its early days; now an iconophile dialogue had to be elaborated. It is harder, however, to know whether to press Theodore’s language — again the language of colours and paint — or the implication that the image was placed on the very door of the church. Perhaps neither should be taken literally. But in view of the next Arabic allusion to the image, this is an important point.

We come next, in fact, to the *Book of the Demonstration* of Eutychius, the tenth-century patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>48</sup> In this work Eutychius tells of the “signs” which God sent to prove the truth of Christianity (as Jesus himself is said in the Qu’rān to be a sign); they include the holy places, relics, the oil of the chrism, and the Eucharist. But the only relic actually mentioned is the image of Edessa. Eutychius says: “the most wonderful of His relics which Christ has bequeathed to us is a napkin in the Church of ar-Ruhā [i.e., Edessa] in the region of Jezireh. With this Christ wiped His face and there was fixed on it a clear image, not made by painting or drawing or engraving and not changing.”<sup>49</sup> The *terminus ante* for this passage is 944, when the image went to Constantinople. But note that Eutychius not only uses the term *mandil*, the Arabic equivalent of *mandylion*, but also expressly denies that the image was a painted icon — denying it the very word (*as-surāh*) which Theodore had un-

<sup>46</sup> Theodore, chap. 23.

<sup>47</sup> He was bishop in Harrān from 800 to 812.

<sup>48</sup> P. Cachia and W. Watt, *Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of the Demonstration*, CSCO, 192 (Louvain, 1960), p. 384.

<sup>49</sup> Cachia and Watt, *Eutychius*, p. 384.

hesitatingly applied to it. This alone is indicative of how unwise it is to press exact terminology in specific passages. More importantly, though, Eutychius's reference tells us of the centrality of the image, standing alone as a direct token of Christ, and with a preeminence far beyond anything known in its earlier history. It is matched, for Eutychius, only by the coffin and shroud of the Virgin, which had been taken to Constantinople and which "proved" her Assumption. No such relic of Christ existed to rival the claim of the Edessan image; and certainly no such physical token as could be claimed for the Virgin.<sup>50</sup>

Given this multiplication of attention paid to the image, the Byzantine government was bound to want it removed from the obscurity of Edessa to a proper home in Constantinople. But that did not happen until 944, in the context of renewed Byzantine-Arab warfare. And now the Byzantines were in the stance vis-à-vis Edessa that Chosroes had been in in the sixth century: Edessa was an enemy city which the Byzantines wanted to capture. The sources, not unnaturally, claim that the trading of the image for 200 Moslem prisoners was reluctantly agreed to by the caliph and that the people of Edessa resisted surrendering the image with force. More probably they bought their safety this way as they had paid Chosroes to leave them alone in 544.<sup>51</sup> On both occasions the reasons for Edessa's escape were disguised in miraculous stories. Again we hear of copies of the image, and the attempt to pass one off as the genuine article.<sup>52</sup> One such was in a Nestorian church in Edessa; another, kept with the image itself, was associated with the cure of a daughter of Chosroes I during the sixth-century invasion. When the image went to Constantinople it was accompanied by a copy on a tile, subsequently kept with it in the Pharos chapel. This tile, too, had to be given a miraculous origin. The *Narratio*'s author knows it as having originated when Hannan-Ananias was taking the original cloth back to Edessa: he hid it for safety in a heap of tiles, but there was a fire, for which he was unjustly blamed. He was saved from the charge when his accusers discovered the

<sup>50</sup> It is striking that no author of this period mentions a surviving burial cloth or shroud of Christ which might have had equal claims with the Mandylion, or indeed with the Virgin's relics. Eutychius is a case in point; more noteworthy, perhaps, is the fact that Photius, for all that his homilies of Holy Saturday dwelt on the events of the burial of Christ, never suggests any such surviving shroud—nor do the remaining Byzantine homilists, for whom Holy Saturday was naturally a standard theme.

<sup>51</sup> So A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (Oxford, 1973), p. 319; *Narratio*, PG 113:444f.; Georg. Mon. Cont., pp. 918-19; Leo Gramm., pp. 325-26; Theoph. Cont., p. 432; ps. Symeon, pp. 748-49.

<sup>52</sup> See Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 249.



cloth itself and a tile beside it with the imprint transferred onto it. From that time both relics were preserved together at Edessa.<sup>53</sup> Much of the *Narratio* recording the transfer to Constantinople in 944 is concerned with the details of the journey and the wonders on the way, and with the liturgical reception of the image in the city. For the first time we encounter the notion of the image being placed with the letter in a casket, from which it was removed by the emperors.<sup>54</sup> It was certainly also fixed on a wooden backing and framed in gold with an inscription (all attributed to Abgar himself).<sup>55</sup> But the *Narratio* also preserves an alternative version of its origin — “a different story,”<sup>56</sup> in which Hannan has no part and in which Christ used the cloth to wipe his face during the agony in the garden, after which he gave it to Thomas, telling him to give it to Abgar through Thaddaeus-Addai after the Ascension. We recognise here in a more precise organisation the same conflation observable in the *Acts of Thaddaeus*. Curiously, the *Narratio* claims to be an *archaiologia*, an “archeology” of the image. And it is interested in proof: the story of the “finding” of the image in the sixth century (all connection with the picture in the *Doctrina Addai* has been lost) is adorned not only with the name of Evagrius, who recorded it in his *Church History*, but also with those of three patriarchs who had written a letter to the emperor Theophilus in support of images, citing the image of Edessa and the story of its finding.<sup>57</sup> In a sense, the *Narratio* marks the end of this story; the discourse about the image has been fully developed, and the image itself has come home to be placed beside the crown of thorns, the lance, and the tunic of Christ, where it can be quietly taken for granted until disturbed by the arrival of the Crusaders. It was seen in the Pharos chapel and reported shortly before 1204, when it was listed by Robert of Clari.<sup>58</sup> But during these years there was no need for further elaboration of its story; that had been done in the context of Edessa, and brought

<sup>53</sup> PG 113:432Af.

<sup>54</sup> PG 113:449B.

<sup>55</sup> PG 113:437Af.

<sup>56</sup> PG 113:432Df.

<sup>57</sup> PG 113:441A.

<sup>58</sup> 1200-1201: Anthony of Novgorod, ed. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), pp. 97-98; Nicolaus Mesarites, in A. Heisenberg, *Nikolaos Mesarites, Die Paläst-revolution des Johannes Comnenos* (Würzburg, 1907), pp. 29ff.; 1204: Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), chap. 83. The relation of chapters 82 and 83 to chap. 92 on Blachernae is complex, but not relevant to the present discussion. However, the discussion in A. Nada Patrone, ed., *Roberto di Clari, La Conquista di Costantinopoli (1198-1216)* (Geneva, 1972), pp. 18ff., is entirely confused and should be avoided.

to a conclusion in the *Narratio*, itself as much a formal celebration of the image as the ceremonies it describes with which the image was received in the capital—a progress by boat round the city from Blachernae to the Golden Gate, then another through the city to the .Augusteum, St. Sophia and the imperial palace, where it was placed on the throne in the Chrysotriklinos before being finally deposited with the letter in the Pharos chapel.<sup>59</sup> As for the appearance of the image by then, we may guess that it was faint and dim: Constantine Porphyrogenitus was miraculously aided to see in it what was indistinguishable to his brothers-in-law and rivals.<sup>60</sup> So the same story shows that the image had not lost its political potential. Its removal to Constantinople boosted the claim to the throne of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; on the way, to use the phrase of Steven Runciman, the image itself “declared its political opinions”<sup>61</sup> by inspiring a man possessed by demons to cry out that the kingdom belonged to Constantine. The kudos for Constantine was as great as that won by Heraclius with the recovery of the True Cross, and the event was publicised in art and ceremonial. But there was no more “telling” to be done.

When the Crusaders entered Constantinople in 1204, the image was still in its place in the Pharos chapel. But from that time on its history is dark. Most probably it was the *toella* which passed with most of the other Pharos relics in 1247 from Baldwin II to Louis of France.<sup>62</sup> Subsequently its history goes undocumented. The Sainte Chapelle, where the Eastern relics were placed, was sacked in the French Revolution, and with this, one supposes, the image of Edessa disappears. If it was not transferred to France, its history is equally silent. No one speaks for the image of Edessa after 1204, only the copies in Western or Slav churches which preserved its memory, out of context, for many centuries.<sup>63</sup> The original had lost its point and never attained in the West the commanding position it had enjoyed in the East.

The image of Edessa belongs to the years of the ascendancy of images. Its history, therefore, despite the early signs in the *Doctrina Addai*, is properly compact. Protected from official Byzantine Iconoclasm by its

<sup>59</sup> PG 113:449B-452D.

<sup>60</sup> Theophanes Cont., p. 432 Bonn.

<sup>61</sup> Runciman, “Some Remarks,” p. 249.

<sup>62</sup> So Runciman, “Some Remarks,” pp. 251-52. For the text, see de Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1878), pp. 134-35.

<sup>63</sup> For the former: Runciman, “Some Remarks,” p. 251; for the latter: Grabar, *La Sainte Face*.

remote situation in Arab Syria, it was uniquely able to ride the storm and reemerge with an unrivalled claim to antiquity. Through all of this we can see its place at the centre of social and political consciousness, and we can see the growing detail and exactitude with which the story of the image was told, together with the steady reinforcement of its authority by a closer and closer tracking down of its bodily contact with the physical being of Jesus. Indeed, the affirmation of body imagery, which also took the form of emphasis on objects that had been in bodily contact with holy personages or holy places, was an important aspect of the establishment of early Christianity.<sup>64</sup> Icons “not made by human hands” naturally played a special part in this development. Thus the image of Edessa is both a sign of the authorities’ wish for control and a prime example of the way religious tokens could, in this society, become tension points in a network, both synchronic and diachronic, of shifting power relations. The image of Edessa may not help very much with the why, since, as we have seen, its story really begins only when the preeminence of such tokens in the social organisation of the Byzantine world has already been established. But it is an illuminating example of the how, which is perhaps where historians should stop. Why Orthodox Christianity became for Byzantine society the touchstone of all else has to be explained in relation to the Christianisation of late antiquity, and then especially with reference to the sixth and seventh centuries. But this was when the story of the Edessan image was just beginning. I offer the “telling” of this image in admiration to Ihor Ševčenko, who has done so much by his detailed and exact scholarship to open up the ensuing centuries, when, for very good reasons, the reputation of the image of Edessa was at its most potent.

*King's College London*

<sup>64</sup> As can be seen, I owe much to M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (Eng. trans.; London, 1978) (here pp. 65, 126ff.).